JAINA-RŪPA-MAṆḌANA

Volume I

जैन - रूप - मण्डन

भाग १

(Jaina Iconography)

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Plate I

FRONTISPIECE

Kamatha's Attack on Pārśvanātha, from U.P. or Rajasthan, now in Indian Museum, Calcutta, Gupta Period

To

My Revered Parents

&

The Jaina Samgha

Preface

Before 1953 when I was awarded Ph.D. degree on my thesis on *Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India)*, I had published, from 1940 onwards, some important chapters on Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, on the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī, on the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās, on Jīvantasvāmī, on Kapardī and Brahmaśānti Yakṣas, Kṣetrapāla, on Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantras, on the History of Tantra in Early Jaina Literature, on the Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara images and the earliest known Śvetāmbara bronzes, Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, etc. In 1954 I gave lectures on Jaina Art in the Banaras Hindu University under the auspices of the Jaina Cultural Research Society when the late Dr. V.S. Agrawala presided. The lectures, published as Studies in Jaina Art, mainly dealt with Symbol Worship in Jainism. Since then several articles on Jaina iconography, art, and culture have been published by me, besides three books on Jaina paintings—New Documents of Jaina Paintings (jointly with Dr. Moti Chandra), More Documents of Jaina Paintings and Gujarati Paintings of the sixteenth and later centuries, and Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras. A Brief Survey of Jaina Bronzes with many illustrations was published in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.

Every time I tried to revise my thesis for publication I was required to postpone it and undertake works on Jaina paintings mentioned above, as well as the book on Art of the Akota Bronzes or the editing of the rare Jaina work on music entitled Saṅgītopaniṣad-Sāroddhāra and the work of Critical Edition of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and so on.

The accidental discovery of the Akota Hoard of Jaina Bronzes was a landmark in the study of Jaina Iconography and Western Indian Sculpture. I was fortunate in retrieving the hoard dispersed amongst people in Baroda. The Akota Bronzes, discovered in 1951-52, helped me in getting solutions of problems like the Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jainism, Age of Differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Tīrthaṅkara-images, Introduction of cognizances on Tīrthaṅkara images, identification of Jīvantasvāmī images etc., and finalising the thesis with some satisfaction.

My work does not aim at exhausting everything in Jaina iconography. The thesis was more or less a first systematic attempt at putting the study of Jaina iconography on scientific basis. In the thesis, I had concentrated only on North Indian Jaina images, though I tried to study most of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara literary sources in Prākṛt, Sanskṛt, Apabhraṁśa and Gujarati. For the first time I could bring to light and refer to tantric Jaina texts (published as well as a majority in manuscript form). For this study good deal of material also exists in Kannada and Tamil literatures. Prof. S. Settar of Dharwar is doing good work in Karnataka, has brought to light several sources, especially of Kannada Purāṇas, and has published a valuable work on Śravana Beḷagoḷa. Dr. Sarayu Doshi brought to light several rare Digambara Jaina paintings and, in Marg, a special issue on Gommateśvara.

Before I started my studies around 1938, some important works and articles on Jaina art and iconography were published:

A. Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Reports published valuable information about Jaina sites and noticed sculptures, inscriptions etc. from several sites like Mathura, Khajuraho, Gwalior, etc. G. Buhler published two articles on Jaina inscriptions from Mathura and a paper on Jaina sculptures from Mathura, in Ep. Indica, between 1892-94 A.D. His discussion on Naigameṣin from Jaina and Medical

sources was remarkable. In 1887 he wrote 'On the Authenticity of Jaina traditions', in W.Z.K.M., and in 1896, a paper on 'Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathura'. His 'Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathura was published in German in S.K.A.W., Wien, 1897. In 1903, Burgess translated in English Buhler's paper 'On the Indian Sect of the Jainas', appending himself an 'Outline of Jaina Mythology'. J. Anderson in his Catalogue of Archaeological collections in the Indian Museum (c. 1883) noticed a few Jaina sculptures in the Museum. He had also mentioned some Jaina bronzes, of which the bronzes from Gwalior were neglected hitherto. I have recently published these Gwalior bronzes along with other Jaina bronzes from Prof. Eilenberg's collections.

V.A. Smith (1901) published his 'The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura', a work of outstanding value for all later studies of Jaina antiquities from Kankali Tila, Mathura.

On the basis of some Canarese Dhyāna-ślokas obtained from South India, J. Burgess discussed 'Digambara Jaina Iconography' in Indian Antiquary, vol. 32 (1903-4), and illustrated various yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs with modern line-drawings. His Archaeological Survey Reports entitled 'Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachchha' (1876), 'Report on the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts' (1874) and 'A Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (jointly with H. Cousens)' noticed Jaina sites and images and shrines. Also noteworthy is his Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India, Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. V (1883), as also Cave Temples of India (jointly with J. Fergusson) and Inscriptions from Cave Temples of India (with Bhagwanlal Indraji, 1881).

Growse, F.S., wrote on Mathura and also discussed some Mathura Inscriptions in Indian Antiquary, vol. 6. Later J.Ph. Vogel published his famous Catalogue of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathura (1910), La Sculpture de Mathura, Art Asiatica, Paris, 1930, and wrote on the Mathura School of Sculpture in ASI, A.R., 1906-07 and 1909-10.

Bhandarkar, D.R., wrote on the now famous Jaina Caumukha Temple at Ranakpur (ASI, A.R., 1907-08). In an article on Jaina Iconography (ASI, A.R., 1905-06) he identified and described a sculpture depicting the Aśvāvabodha-tīrtha and Śakunikā-vihāra story associated with the life of Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata, and discussed the Jaina Samavasaraṇa in another article on Jaina Iconography in Indian Antiquary (1911). In 1915, he discovered from excavations at Vaḷā (ancient Valabhi) five unique Jaina bronzes assigned to c. fifth and sixth centuries A.D., now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. As Superintendent, Western Circle, he surveyed a number of sites (Jaina as well as Hindu) in Western India.

Banerji, R.D., discussed 'New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period' in Epigraphia Indica, X (1909-10) and described some Jaina images and pedestals. In his notes on Mangya Tungya Caves (ASI, A.R., 1921) he described some early mediaeval Jaina carvings in Maharashtra. In his Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture he discussed Jaina images discovered from Bengal; in his Age of the Imperial Guptas he discussed some known Jaina sculptures of the Gupta Age.

In 1914, Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy opened a new line of studies in his 'Notes on Jaina Art' wherein he discussed miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra, a cosmographical chart and a canvass paṭa of Pārśvanātha. In his Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, vol. IV, Jaina Paintings, 1924, he described Jaina miniature paintings, Jaina Jātaka-scenes. He also discussed iconography of Tīrthaṅkaras, deities like Indra, Naigameṣa and others and described the five kalyāṇakas in the life of each Tīrthaṅkara. In his Boston Catalogue, vol. IV, in the Portfolio of Indian Art and in his History of Indian and Indonesian Art he published some Jaina sculptures and temples. In 1935 was published his beautiful paper on "The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Painting" (JISOA, vol. III) wherein he tried to interpret the fourteen prognostic dreams of a Jina's mother. His remarkable pioneer study of Yakṣas (parts I and II) (1928-31) has been largely helpful in our study of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs in Jaina art and literature.

Two monumental studies by H. Cousens, entitled 'Chalukyan Architecture' and 'Antiquities of Somnath and Kathiawad', were very useful in our study of Jaina antiquities in Karnataka and Kathiawad. His studies of shrines at Aihole, published in ASI, A.R., 1907-08, were equally illuminating.

Rama Prasad Chanda made valuable advancement in the study of Jaina art and iconography by publishing 'Notes on Jaina Remains at Rajgir, ASI, A.R., 1925-26, describing and illustrating almost all important Jaina sculptures from this ancient site. He supplemented these notes in the same report with another long article on 'Śvetāmbara and Digambara images of the Jainas' wherein he discussed the age of differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina images and placed it roughly in the age of king Āma (Nāgāvaloka) and Bappabhaṭṭi sūri, in c. 750-840 A.D. In his Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum (1936), he brought to light some beautiful Jaina sculptures.

T.N. Ramachandran was the first scholar to give a systematic account of Jaina iconography in his 'Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples' (1934). The book included study of wall-paintings in Jaina temples at Jina-Kanchi, supplemented by illustrations of Jaina bronzes and sculptures in these temples, an account of Jaina Cosmography and Iconography of yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs from Hemacandra's work and three late Kannada sources.

Publications on Jaina miniature paintings by W. Norman Brown, Coomaraswamy, Sarabhai Nawab, Moti Chandra and others were also helpful.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya gave, for the first time, an outline of the scope of a work on Jaina Iconography by giving lists of different types of Jaina deities for whom sādhanas were traced by him in Jaina texts. The paper on Jaina Iconography was published in Śrī Ātmānanda Śatābdi Smāraka Grantha (1935).

Brindavan C. Bhattacharya had published a study of the 'Goddess of Learning in Jainism' in Malaviya Commemoration Volume (1932) with the help of sources like Nirvāṇakalikā and Ācāra-Dinakara. In 1939, he published a work on Jaina Iconography, which was the first work of its kind aiming at presenting iconography of various Jaina deities with the help of literary as well as archaeological sources. Unfortunately it is marred by some cases of incorrect interpretations of the text, incomplete references, vague statements and in a few cases wrong identifications. However he deserves all the credit for publishing a pioneer work on Jaina iconography.

Sankalia, H.D., in 1938, identified some Dhank sculptures as Jaina which were formerly supposed to have been Buddhist. In 1940, he published a paper on Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs and published two sculptures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī from the Prince of Wales Museum, along with a few reliefs from the Jaina cave at Badami. His paper on Temples at Deogarh hardly added anything new to what was published in the Archaeological Reports and what was already mentioned by B.C. Bhattacharya.

Vasudev Saran Agrawala's Catalogue of Mathura Museum (volume on Jaina sculptures) has been very useful to all students of Jaina art and culture. He wrote several articles on Jaina sculptures, for example, an article on Presiding Deity of Child Birth in Mathura art, and Brahmanical Deities in the Jaina Art at Mathura, etc.

K.P. Jayaswal's discoevry of 'Torso of a Jaina Image of Mauryan Period' from Lohanipur near Patna, published in JBBORS, vol. XXIII, was an epoch-making discovery in the study of Indian iconography of historical period.

J.E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw published her famous work on the Scythian Period (1949) in which she discussed several Jaina images of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathura and focused our attention on the importance of dating Mathura sculptures of c. Ist cent. B.C. to c. 4th cent. A.D. It may be pointed out here that all Mathura inscriptions—Jaina, Hindu and Buddhist—deserve to be read again.

This is not an exhaustive list of all work done before I wrote my thesis and published articles on Ambikā, Sarasvatī etc.; this is but a brief survey of the work done. Since 1949 till today many authors have made substantial contributions in the field of Jaina art and culture. In this new revised edition of my thesis I have tried to incorporate results of all such researches by various scholars. However here too I crave indulgence of scholars for all acts of omissions.

In my researches for many years I had concentrated only on North Indian Jaina images and my thesis was entitled 'Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India)'. I am glad to note here that my friend Prof. Klaus Bruhn (now in Berlin) carried out the study of Jaina Art and Iconography further by doing exhaustive studies of the Jaina shrines at Devgadh. Only the first volume entitled the Jaina

Images of Deogarh is yet published. Prof. S. Settar of Dharwar is doing good work in the South. He has brought to light important references from Kannada literature and has published a beautiful monograph on Śravaṇa Beḷagola besides some important contributions on Brahmadeva Pillars, Jvālāmālinī, Jaina yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs mainly from Karnataka. M.N.P. Tiwari is doing good work in North India, especially on sites like Khajuraho and has written in Hindi a book on Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna besides several articles. Some of his articles are collected in his book entitled 'Elements of Jaina Iconography'. Since he had read my thesis (from Prof. Dalsukh Malavania) and used its title for his book noted above, I have changed the title of my book now and called it 'Jaina Rūpa-Maṇḍana (Jaina Iconography)'. I have also tried to include study of several Jaina sculptures from South India though this study is not exhaustive. Two or three more volumes of this work will be published as early as possible.

For my studies I am very much indebted to my guide and teacher the late Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Ex-Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda and author of the standard text on Buddhist Iconography and editor of several original ancient works. I am also indebted to late Prof. A.N. Upadhye for his guidance in Digambara traditions and to late Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji for all his help regarding Śvetāmbara traditions Through him I had easy access to Śve. Jaina temples as well as Bhandaras. In various ways I am indebted to several scholars like the late Dr. V.S. Agrawala, Dr. Moti Chandra, Rai Bahadur K N. Dikshit, Dr. Amalananda Ghosh, and almost all the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India, Curators of all museums in India and abroad and many Jaina friends.

Most valuable are the blessings of my parents, the help and cooperation of my wife, brother and son, all of whom have suffered in various ways for me.

But for the great patience and sincerity of Shri Shakti Malik of Abhinav Publications this work would not have been published. I am also thankful to his proof reader.

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Contents

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

ŚVETĀMBARAS AND DIGAMBARAS

Jainism, primarily an Indian religion, hardly spread outside the borders of ancient India, unlike Buddhism which spread in almost all the countries of South and South-East Asia, and as far as Central Asia, Korea, China and Japan. However, Buddhism almost disappeared in India during the late mediaeval period, revived only in the twentieth century, but Jainism has been a living religion throughout the course of history from the time of Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara (8th century B.C.) and the last (twenty-fourth) Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (6th century B.C.) till today.

Buddhism and Jainism are the two ancient principal heretical sects which revolted against Vedic priestly domination and ritualism involving animal sacrifice on a large scale. Out of many other such revolting sects and beliefs only Buddhism and Jainism have survived. Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of Jaina belief, were contemporaries.

The followers of Mahāvīra were called Nirgranthas and Mahāvīra is referred to as *Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta* (naked scion or son of the Jñātṛ-clan) in Buddhist texts.[1] They are later more commonly known as Jainas,[2] followers of the Jina or the Conqueror. One who conquers the enemies in the form of passion, attachment, jealousy, etc. resulting in karma-bondage, is a Victor—a Jina. Buddha was also called a Jina[3] in ancient Buddhist works, and an emancipated soul was also called a Buddha in early Jaina texts. Similarly the epithet Arhat (i.e. deserving respect and veneration) was used by both the Buddhist and the Jaina sects in ancient India, but later it came to denote a Jina or a Tīrthaṅkara. Later on, the terms Buddha and Jina[4] came to be specially used for the founders of Buddhism and Jainism respectively.

Jainism is a living faith in India and as such there are a large number of Jaina shrines still in worship in almost all the States of India. It is therefore very difficult to explore and study exhaustively all available Jaina images from all Jaina shrines and sites in India. But after a preliminary outline study of Jaina iconography and art, special studies of selected sites[5] or regions can be undertaken by future workers.

The Jainas claim very great antiquity for their religion. According to the Jaina Conception of Time, there is an ever-revolving Wheel of Time, with twelve spokes (*ārās*, representing different periods or ages, aeons, of mixed and unmixed happiness and misery); six of them, when coming up, constitute the *utsarpiṇī* or evolutionary cycle, followed by a downward process of the spokes representing the *avasarpiṇī* or involutionary and degenerative process. In each of these two main cycles are born, in this *Bharata-Kṣetra* (sub-continent), twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, at different intervals. In the present *avasarpiṇī* cycle twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras have already lived. The first of them was Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādinātha (the first Lord) who is said to have flourished some millions of years ago. He was born in Vinītā (Ayodhyā) and obtained Nirvāṇa on mount Aṣṭāpada (supposed to be Mt. Kailasa), where a temple and a stūpa were built in his honour by his son Bharata, the first Cakravartin. The twenty-second Jina Nemi or Ariṣṭanemi is regarded in Jaina traditions as a cousin brother of the Hindu Lord Krishna. The twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, son of king Aśvasena and queen Vāmā of Varanasi, lived in about the eighth century B.C., i.e., about 250 years before Mahāvīra whose Nirvāṇa took place in 527 B.C.

J.C. Jaina writes: "It is curious to note, however, that most of the Tīrthaṅkaras have been assigned to the Ikṣvāku family and are said to have attained salvation at the mount Sammeta (modern Pārasanātha hill in the Hazaribag district, Bihar). So far no historical or archaeological evidence has come forth to warrant the historicity of the first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras; on the other hand, taking into consideration the long duration of their careers and the intermediate periods between each Tīrthaṅkara, they appear to be legendary figures introduced perhaps to balance the number of Jinas with the number of Buddhas."[6]

Pārśvanātha and his disciples are referred to in various Jaina Canons. We learn from the Ācārāṅga Sūtra[7] that the parents of Mahāvīra followed the faith of Pārśva and were adherents of the *Samaṇas*. Mahāvīra himself seems to have first followed the order of Pārśva. The Bhagavatī Sūtra records a discussion between Mahāvīra and *Samaṇa* (Śramaṇa) Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva. Samaṇa Gāṅgeya gave up the *Cāujjāma Dhamma* (Cāturyāma Dharma—the Doctrine of Four-fold Restraint) and embraced the *Pañca-Mahāvrata* (Five Great Vows) of Mahāvīra.[8] It is stated in the Sāmaññaphala-sutta of the Buddhist Dīgha-Nikāya that a Nigaṇtha is restrained with four-fold restraint (Cāturyāma-Samvara). Jacobi has shown the existence of the Nigaṇṭhas before Nātaputta (Jñātṛ-putra) Mahāvīra, on the strength of references in the Pali Literature.[9] These Nirgranthas (knotless, i.e., free from bondage, attachment, etc.) were obviously followers of Pārśva. The followers of Mahāvīra also were originally known as Nirgranthas.

Pārśva emphasised the Doctrine of Ahimsā (non-injury) as a protest against Brahmanical sacrificial animal-slaughter, and added three more precepts, namely, abstinence from telling lies, from stealing, and from external possessions.[10] Mahāvīra added the fifth vow of *brahmacarya* (celebacy) to the above four preached by Pārśva. Another important difference between the Doctrine of Pārśva and Mahāvīra was that the former allowed an under and an upper garment (*santaruttaro* whereas the latter forbade clothing altogether (for Jaina recluses).[11]

Mahāvīra was born in Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in Bihar) in the house of King Siddhārtha by his queen Triśalā (acc. to Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition) or Priyakāriṇī (acc. to Digambara Jaina tradition). According to the Śvetāmbara tradition as recorded in the Kalpa-sūtra, Mahāvīra was first conceived in the womb of a Brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā residing in another part of Vaiśālī but his embryo was transferred to the womb of the Kṣatriya lady Triśalā by (the goat-faced) Hariṇegameṣin, the commander of infantry of Śakra, since the Indra thought that Tīrthaṅkaras were never born of Brāhmaṇa ladies. The supernatural element in the account obviously lends doubt to the historicity of the incident, which, it is interesting to note, is not reported in the Digambara tradition. In the Bhagavatī-sūtra, a canonical text acknowledged by the Śvetāmbara Jaina sect, is described the meeting of the Brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā and the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. After the departure of the lady, Mahāvīra, when questioned, explains to his chief disciple Indrabhūti (Gautama), that the lady was his (Mahāvīra's) mother. This further lends doubt to the historicity of this incident.[12] A stone panel depicting Hariṇegameṣin seated on a throne and with some attendant ladies on one side, with one lady at the far end carrying a small baby in her hands, is obtained from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura (*Fig. 19*). The stone panel is broken at one end and we do not know what figured beyond the representation of Hariṇegameṣin seated on the throne. Below we find inscribed *Bhagava Nemeso*. Surely, this cannot be taken as the scene of transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo. As we have shown elsewhere,[13] Hariṇegameṣin, as Nejamesa or Naigameṣa is known to Vedic ceremony of Sīmantonnayana where three mantras addressed to Nejamesa are recited and in Brahmanical and ancient Indian traditions, Naigameṣa is known as one of the attendants of Skanda, the Commander of God's army. Naigameṣa was propitiated by Krishna for obtaining a beautiful son, according to the Jaina text Vasudevahiṇḍi.[14] So this panel may simply represent Hariṇegameṣin as a god connected with protection of children, etc. Goat-faced terracotta figurines are obtained from many other north Indian sites, not necessarily showing Jaina association. During the early centuries of the Christian era, and perhaps a few centuries before, belief in malefic and benefic deities connected with child-birth, rearing of children, diseases of children etc., was very popular as can be seen from the Buddhist account of Hārīti and the references to Pūtanās, Ṣaṣṭhī, Revatī, Bahuputrikā yakṣī, and the Bāla-grahas obtained in ancient literature.

Mahāvīra renounced worldly life at the age of thirty, after practising meditation and penance at home for about a year or more prior to retirement. After renunciation, he wandered from place to place suffering great hardships and molestations from people of Rāḍha, etc., and practised severe penance, finally attaining Kevalajñāna on the bank of the river Ujjuvālīyā near Jambhiyagāma. He was at that time sitting with upright knees like a milkman sitting while milking the cow (*godohikāsana*).

For thirty years Mahāvīra wandered as a preacher from place to place, and at the age of seventy-two, two hundred and fifty years after Pārśva's death, died in Pāvā in 527 B.C.[15]

Like Pārśva, Mahāvīra organised his community (*Saṁgha*) into four orders, namely, monks (*sādhu*), nuns (*sādhvī*), laymen (*śrāvaka*) and laywomen (*śrāvikā*). Gautama Indrabhūti and Candanā were Mahāvīra's first male and female disciples, leaders of his orders of monks and nuns respectively. Mahāvīra had, amongst his monk disciples, eleven *Gaṇadharas* (Fig. 167), i.e., heads of schools or groups of monks of whom Gautama Indrabhūti was the oldest *Gaṇadhara*.

The obstacles (*upasargas*) suffered by Mahāvīra before Kevalajñāna have been a popular theme of the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra; see, for example, Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Figures 159 and 160 illustrating pages from a Kalpa-sūtra from the Śrī Ātmārāma Jaina Jñānamandira, Baroda. For more illustrations, see W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sūtra*, pp. 35-38, Figs. 75, 76, 77 and 78. Another *upasarga*, narrated in later texts, is that from the *Śūlapāṇi Yakṣa* (the trident-bearer yakṣa) (Fig. 171) who seems to be no other than Śiva, the Brahmanical God, and the story echoes some strong opposition, faced by Mahāvīra, from the Śaivites.

The life of Pārśva is also noteworthy for what is known as *Kamaṭhopasarga*, the attack by Kamaṭha, again a Brāhmaṇa ascetic (*tāpasa*) practising penance with fires kindled around him. Once while wandering, Prince Pārśva saw a cobra burning in the logs of wood in the fires kindled by Kamaṭha and as Pārśva removed the logs, the snake came out half-burnt and died but was born as Dharaṇendra, the Lord of the Nāga-kumāra class of semi-divine beings. Kamatha, after death, was also born as a god, Meghamālin. When after renunciation, Pārśva was standing in deep meditation, Kamaṭha, reborn as god, saw him and taking revenge, poured torrential rains, flooded the area, and sent his host of terrific beings to hurl rocks, etc., to disturb Pārśva's meditation. Dharaṇendra, remembering the obligation, rushed to the scene with his chief queens and protected Pārśva by spreading his cobra-hoods over the head of the saint, while Dharaṇendra's queens played music and danced in order to lessen the miseries inflicted on the saint. Unmoved by the obstacles of Kamaṭha or the sweet music and dance of the Nāga queens, Pārśva continued his meditation.

This incident is a very popular theme of reliefs in several Jaina sites in South India (at places like Aihole, Badami, Ellora, Kalugumalai, etc; cf. Figs. 50, frontispiece), and in paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra. No sculptures or reliefs of this scene are as yet discovered from Śvetāmbara sites.[16]

The attack of Kamaṭha reminds one of the attack of Māra in Buddha's life so often portrayed in Buddhist reliefs. Both the Jaina and the Buddhist accounts remind one of the Indra-Vṛtra fight of the Vedic lore. These seem to be echoes of the eternal fight between forces of good and evil, truth and untruth, devas and asuras, light and darkness.

Sometime after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa in 527 B.C., schisms began occurring in the Jaina Church. According to Śvetāmbara accounts, the schism headed by Śivabhūti, pupil of Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) sthavira (Fig. 21), turned out to be the biggest in course of time, and resulted in two principal sects of Jainism, namely, the Śvetāmbaras or the white-robed, and the Digambaras or the sky-clad ones. The Digambaras were also called Boṭikas in texts of the other sect. This schism took place in 136 years after Vikrama, that is, in 79 A.D. according to the Digambaras, and in 82 A.D. (609 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa) according to the Śvetāmbaras. Some of the main points of difference[17] between these two sects are:

(1) The Śvetāmbaras worship images showing a lower garment carved or painted on the person of the Tīrthaṅkaras and further decorate their idols with additional ear-ornaments, glass-eyes, necklaces, armlets, crowns of gold or silver and jewels, while the Digambaras worship their Tīrthaṅkaras unadorned and showing no garment on the body.

The eyes of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the Śvetāmbara worship are shown wide-open. Usually there are

glass-eyes attached to Jina-images in almost all temples still in worship. In the case of Digambara images, the eyes are generally shown half-closed in the original carving, and no glass eyes etc. are attached. This observation regarding eyes applies to images carved after the Gupta period, in what we call the mediaeval period.

(2) The Śvetāmbaras assert that there are twelve heavens of different groups of gods (the *kalpa* heavens), the Digambaras maintain that there are sixteen such types or groups.

(3) According to the Śvetāmbaras there are sixty-four Indras for various heavens or groups of gods, the other sect speaks of one hundred such Indras.

(4) According to the Digambaras, final emancipation is not possible for a woman, while the Śvetāmbaras believe that a soul can obtain salvation even when born as a woman. This is perhaps an inevitable corollary to the Digambara insistence on the nudity of monks (as well as of the Tīrthaṅkara images) which was regarded as the ideal stage of *aparigraha* (possessionlessness) which was not practical in the case of nuns.

(5) (as a corollary to above) The nineteenth Jina Mallinātha was a male according to the Digambaras but according to the mythology of the Śvetāmbara sect, Malli was a princess who later renounced the world and became a Tīrthaṅkara. The earliest Śvetāmbara source for this, so far known, is the canonical text *Nāyādhammakahāo*, which, in its present form, does not seem to be earlier than the third or the fourth century A.D.

The Digambaras do admit a nun's order, but these nuns can reach only upto a certain spiritual stage in the hierarchy of monks and nuns. For attaining the highest stage of Kevalajñāna they have to be reborn as males.

(6) All the Śvetāmbara monks use at least two garments, one upper and another a lower one. The Digambara monks, barring a few primary stages, remain naked.

(7) The Śvetāmbaras acknowledge authenticity of the extant *Aṅgas* (or Scriptures, part of the Jaina Canonical or Āgama literature) and regard them as works of the immediate disciples of Mahāvīra. The Digambaras think that all the twelve original Aṅga texts are lost and hence regard, as authoritative, works like *Mūlācāra, Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā, Mahādhavalā, Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, etc.*, composed by earlier leading monks, since such works are based on original tradition handed down from the ancient line of ācāryas.

(8) According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the mother of a would-be Tīrthaṅkara sees fourteen (different objects in) dreams, while according to the Digambaras she sees sixteen such dreams at the time when the Jina is conceived in her womb. This event is the first auspicious event in the life of a Jina. It is known as the *Cyavana Kalyāṇaka*, auspicious event of the Descent from heaven in the Mother's womb.

(9) The lists of eight auspicious objects—*the aṣṭamaṅgalas*—are slightly different in the traditions of the two sects.

There are several other points of difference which are not quite relevant for students of iconography. However, one must note that these differences have grown gradually. Almost all the hitherto-found Tīrthaṅkara images in the standing or the *kāyotsarga* posture, dating *before* the fifth century A.D., are naked, while images of Tīrthaṅkaras in the sitting posture (in the *padmāsana*), dating before the fifth century, do not show the *lingam*, but since they do not show any mark of drapery on the body we have to presume that the very posture of sitting was such that even though there was no garment, nudity could not be shown.

After the fifth century, we find standing images (of Tīrthaṅkaras) in the Śvetāmbara tradition showing a lower garment, though the Śvetāmbara-Digambara differentiation in the case of images in the sitting posture was not explicit. But still later, probably after the seventh century, we find that even in the case of seated figures, markings of garments and their ends, and/or of a girdle (holding the loin-cloth) were clearly done by the Śvetāmbaras while the Digambaras managed to show the *lingam* even in the case of a Jina sitting in the *padmāsana* or the *ardha-padmāsana*.

Tīrthaṅkara images, of both the Jaina sects, are found in two postures only, namely, the standing or the *kāyotsarga mudrā*, and the sitting or the *padmāsana* or the *ardha-padmāsana* posture. The *ardha-padmāsana* posture is more popular in South India in the Digambara Jaina worship, where images in the *padmāsana* posture are hardly found.

A Tīrthaṅkara image can be differentiated from a Buddha image by noting the presence or absence of

the upper garment or *samghāti*, since there is no upper garment shown on the person of any Tīrthaṅkara.

A dialogue between monk Keśin of the school of Pārśvanātha and Gautama, the first pupil of Mahāvīra, recorded in the Uttarādhyayana sūtra, shows that the doctrine of Pārśva allowed an under and an upper garment (*santaruttaro*) while that of Mahāvīra forbade clothing altogether. Gautama cleverly bridges over this difference of the two law-givers pursuing the same end by saying that the outward symbols were introduced as they were useful for spiritual life and that, as a matter of fact, knowledge, faith and right conduct were the only three causes of liberation.[18]

The Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya of Samghadāsa gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (*circa* 5th-6th cent. A.D.) says that the doctrine of the first and the last Tīrthaṅkaras prescribed nudity while that of the intervening pontiffs allowed the option of both nudity and wearing garments (to the Jaina monks).[19]

Even this statement was only used in perpetuating the controversy between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras so far as image-worship is concerned. We however know that Mahāvīra himself followed, in the beginning of his career as a recluse, the order of Pārśvanātha. The Ācārānga-sūtra, regarded as the oldest preserved section of the extant Jaina Canons, says, about Mahāvīra, that "for a year and a month he did not leave off his robe, thereafter he moved about naked and leaving garment became a houseless sage (*anāgāre*).[20]

"The Buddhist texts refer to the existence of large numbers of Nigaṇṭhas (Knotless, i.e. naked, i.e. Unattached ones) who followed the *cāturyāma samvara*, the four-fold restraint that Jacobi and others have convincingly identified with the teachings of Pārśva . . . Whereas the Digambaras may reject the authenticity of the Keśī-Gautama dialogue, particularly with regard to its position on nudity, the Buddhist reference to cāturyāma forces them to confront the "discrepancy" between the teachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra which this dialogue seems to express."[21] The above remarks of Padmanabha Jaini are noteworthy. He says that the Buddhists have failed to make clear what the term *cāturyāma samvara* entails. The Śvetāmbara canon gives the first comprehensive definition. "Cāturyāma is said to involve restraint from four sorts of activities: injury, nontruthfulness, taking what is not given, and possession. This list agrees with that of Mahāvīra except that it omits the fourth of his five vows, which specially prohibits sexual activity . . . Abhayadeva and Śāntyācārya interpreted the vow of non-possession as including celebacy . . . The recent research of P.K. Modi, however, shows that this interpretation is subject to serious difficulties. First, we should expect Mahāvīra, as a follower of the tradition of Parśva, to have initially taken the same vows as his predecessor. Yet even the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* of the Śvetāmbaras has him pledging only to follow a single great restraint called *sāmāyika-cāritra*, which entails avoiding all evil actions whatsoever. Moreover, the term cāturyāma never appears in Digambara literature; Mahāvīra is invariably said therein to have undertaken the *sāmāyika-samyama*, which in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* is shown to be identical to the sāmāyika-cāritra. In the light of these facts Modi has suggested that cāturyāma did not imply four *vows* at all, but rather the four *modalities* (mind, body, speech and the senses) through which evil could be expressed. Thus, he concludes, both Pārśva and Mahāvīra practised and taught the same, single, all-encompassing sāmāyika restraint, while the five vows that Mahāvīra set forth are no more than a specification of the main areas of conduct to which this restraint applied."[22]

The Buddhist Pali texts talk of certain *eka-śāṭaka Nigaṇṭhas* which is regarded as a testimony showing the clothed state of at least a few Jaina monks in Mahāvīra's time. A passage in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* states that weak men, who cannot tolerate going sky-clad but wish to practise fasting and other virtuous activities, should do so while continuing to wear clothing.[23] The *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* permits the use of garments under certain conditions, the *Ācārāṅga* provides for begging of garments, the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* refers to the worry of monks about their garments being old and torn. It would seem that even Mahāvīra did not insist on nudity, nor did he regard the use of garment as *parigraha*; nakedness was not insisted upon as the means to attain salvation.[24]

From very early times there were two modes of conduct practised by the Jaina monks, namely, the *Jinakalpa* and the *Sthavirakalpa*. The first enforced nudity and rigorous austerities while the second enjoined a modified living with a few bare necessities including garments, alms-bowl, etc. According to the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* (c. 700 A.D.) Municanda, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and a follower of the school of

Pārśva, who called himself a *Samaṇa-Niggaṇṭha*, placed his disciple at the head of the *gaccha*, and went to practise the Jinakalpa outside the town. The ascetics of the order of Municandra are said to have indulged in activities which, according to the doctrines of Mahāvīra, constituted preliminary sin; they put on clothes (*sapariggaha*) and also practised the Jinakalpa.[25]

Nudity was thus the highest ideal and specially those who practised Jinakalpa were required to have no *parigraha* whatsoever.

In the early days both the Jinakalpa and the Sthavirakalpa monks were allowed to remain in the Jaina Samgha, and there were no strict rules about one's wearing clothes or going about naked. The *Ācārāṅga* says: 'if a naked monk thought he could bear the pricking of grass, cold and heat, stinging of flies and mosquitos, or any other painful thing then he could leave the privies uncovered."[26] But (when the number of articles in a monk's equipment increased and) when the monks began staying more and more among people, then he could cover the privies with a *kaṭibandha*. In later stages the *kaṭibandha* (loin-cloth) was replaced by a *Colapaṭṭa*.[27]

Ārya Mahāgiri, a senior contemporary of Samprati (the grandson of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka), was an exponent of the Jina-kalpa, while his contemporary Ārya Suhasti, teacher of Samprati, followed the Sthavira-kalpa.[28] Naturally Suhasti had a larger following. But the Jina-kalpa possibly lingered on upto the age of Ārya Rakṣita. When Ārya Rakṣita initiated his family, his father was unwilling to discard all clothes due to modesty. Later on after great persuasion he accepted a *kaḍipaṭṭa*.[29]

The division of the Jaina community into two sects, according to the Śvetāmbara accounts, is ascribed to Śivabhūti, a pupil of Ārya Kaṇha, in the city called Rathavīrapura. Koḍinna and Koṭṭivīra were Śivabhūti's first pupils.[30]

The Digambaras relate another legend according to which, during the reign of Candragupta (Maurya) in Ujjain, sage Bhadrabāhu predicted a twelve years' famine. At this Viśākhācārya, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, led the Jaina Samgha to the Punnāṭa kingdom in the south, while Bhadrabāhu and others migrated to Sindhu region. In course of time when all returned to Ujjain, famine was still raging though not so acute, and the monks were allowed to use a piece of garment (held before their privies) (*ardhaphālakam puraḥ kṛtvā*) while going out for alms (compare Fig. 21 of the Tablet of Homage from Kankali Tila, Mathura, depicting the venerable ascetic Kaṇha; and Figs. 12, 15 showing on pedestals figures of Jaina ascetics holding such cloth-pieces). When the famine was over all the monks did not follow their elders' advice of reverting to nudity, and some retained the piece of cloth, which brought about the schism in Jainism dividing the Samgha into the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects. The earliest available literary source for this Digambara legend is the *Bṛhat-kathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (V.S. 989=932 A.D.),[31] while the earliest source for the Śvetāmbara account of the schism is the *Uttarādhyayana Niryukti* (of Bhadrabāhu II, not later than c. 500 A.D.).[32] According to the Śvetāmbaras, the origin of the Boṭikas (Digambaras) took place 609 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, that is, in (609-527=) 82 A.D.[33]

Introduction of Jainism in the South certainly dates from at least the first two centuries before the Christian era and even earlier as is evident from the Tamil Classics Maṇimekhalai and Śilappaḍikaṛam,[34] and from inscribed stone beds for monks in caves (e.g. the Sittāṇṇavāsal Jaina cave) and caverns mainly in the Tamil Nadu, the inscriptions being in what is now called Tamil-Brāhmī (that is, in Brahmī script and in Tamil language).[34a] A Śvetāmbara account shows that it was the Mauryan ruler Samprati who first patronised or facilitated the migration of the Jaina monks to the Dakṣiṇāpatha, to the land of the Andhras and to other places further south.[35] It is indeed difficult to say which of the two—the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara—legends regarding the schism is correct. In fact, the differences between the two sects grew gradually[36] and the final separation came later. Even Hariṣeṇa refers to a third big sect of the Jainas. The sect was known as the *Yāpanīya* sect which is referred as *Yāvanika* in the Hoskote copper-plate inscription of Pallava Simhaviṣṇu. The Yāpanīyas, unlike the Digambaras, believed in the authenticity of the Śvetāmbara Canons but retained the practice of nudity.[37] It seems that they also believed in the possibility of *mukti* (emancipation) for females.

The first known archaeological evidence of the name of the Śvetambara sect, discovered hitherto, is the grant of the Kadamba ruler Śiva Mṛgeśavarman,[38] who, issuing a village grant in his fourth regnal

year from his capital Vaijayanti, divides the village income into three shares, the first for the Holy Arhat, the second for the congregation of the eminent ascetics called the Śvetapaṭas (*Śvetapaṭa-Mahāśramaṇa-saṃgha*), who were intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat, and the third for the enjoyment of the congregation of the eminent ascetics called the Nirgranthas.[39] What is noteworthy in this record is *the fact that the same image of the Holy Arhat in the village seems to have been respected and worshipped by followers of both sects, even though they lived in different quarters and differed in certain beliefs.*

The same practice is evident from the finds af a large number of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Kankali Tila, Mathura. The names of the monks and the branches (*gaṇa, kula, and śākhā*) to which they belonged, mentioned in the inscriptions on the pedestals of these sculptures, are available in the Śvetāmbara tradition of the Kalpa-sūtra Sthavirāvali while all the Tīrthaṅkaras represented here show no trace of any garment on their person.[40] *The standing images are all nude, while those shown in the padmāsana posture show neither the mark of nudity nor of any garment.* It is therefore quite certain that during the Kuṣāṇa period both the sects worshipped naked images of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Hitherto known Jaina sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras upto the fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. (Gupta period), obtained from Rājgir (*Fig. 26*), Mathurā (*Figs. 13, 14, 23*), and Vidiśā (Fig. 27), though limited in number, show no trace of a garment on the person of the Tīrthaṅkara.[41] But the standing Ādinātha image, in brass or bronze, from Akota, with silver studded eyes, datable to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., is the earliest hitherto known image with a lower garment on the person of a Tīrthankara (Fig. 22).

The Mathura finds include a stone plaque representing *Kanha Samaṇa* (Kṛṣṇa Śramaṇa) by name, holding on his forearm a piece of cloth to cover his nudity which suggests the existence of the *ardhaphālakas* (monks with partial covering!) in the second century A.D.[42] This Tablet with the figure of Kaṇha (*Fig. 21*) bears an inscription dated in the year 95, and is noteworthy because this ascetic Kaṇha is very likely the same as the teacher of Śivabhūti, the leader of the Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism.[43]

These ardhaphālakas are seen on pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara images, on one side of the dharma-cakra, in sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period obtained from Mathura (*Figs. 12, 15, 21*). These pedestals deserve more critical attention than what they have received so far.[44] Usually there is, in the centre, a *dharma-cakra* (Wheel of Law) sometimes with the rim facing us and mounted on top of a pillar, or sometimes the Wheel is mounted on a *tri-ratna* symbol. To the right of the Wheel, the first figure or sometimes the first two figures represent a Jaina monk holding a piece of cloth on forearm to cover his privies from front view. Obviously the monks follow what in later literature is called the *ardhaphālaka* tradition.[45]

The earliest known Jaina sculpture was obtained from Lohanipur near Patna (ancient Pataliputra) which is a continuation of the ancient site of Kumrahara (site of Pataliputra). The sculpture is assigned to the Mauryan age on account of the high Mauryan polish on it and represents a Tīrthaṅkara standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* and having no garment on his person (*Fig. 2*). The head and lower parts of legs are lost but the position of the arms and the legs sufficiently warrant the inference that the figure stood in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* which is a peculiarity of Tīrthaṅkara images in the standing attitude. The modelling of the torso is in the best traditions of ancient Yakṣa statues and the Harappa torso (a surface find). It has been argued that this torso need not be assigned to the Mauryan age as this type of polish continued even upto the first or second century A.D. We may add that some people have been able to produce similar polish on stone sculptures even in our age. This type of reasoning is not valid in the case of the torso under consideration. The 'Mauryan polish' did exist in the Mauryan age though of course it continued for a long time. So there is a possibility of existence of a Tīrthaṅkara image carved in the Mauryan age and having what is known as Mauryan polish on it. There was no prohibition about image worship in Jainism as it was regarding the worship of the Buddha image in early Buddhism. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, is known in Jaina traditions to have patronised Jainism in different ways including installation of Jina images. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela refers to the *Kalinga-Jina* image carried away by the Nanda king which was brought back by Kharavela. The Lohanipur excavations revealed foundations of a brick structure with bricks of the size known to have existed in the Mauryan age. A few

punch-marked coins were obtained. This torso was obtained from near these foundations. From all these considerations it is advisable to assign this image to the Mauryan age, probably to the age of Samprati.

The earliest known image showing any garment on the person of the Jina, discovered so far, is the bronze image of a standing Tīrthaṅkara, identified as Ṛṣabhanātha, obtained in the Akota hoard and assigned to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. (Fig. 22).[46] All standing metal images of Tīrthaṅkaras, from the Chausa (Bihar) hoard, now in the Patna hoard, dating from a period c. 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. to c. 4th cent. A.D., show no garment on the person of the Jina (*Figs. 4, 8*).

Varāhamihira, who lived in c. 492-551 A.D., prescribes in his Bṛhat-Samhitā that the god of the followers of Arhats is to be represented as young, naked, peaceful and beautiful in appearance, with arms reaching his knees and with the Śrīvatsa mark on his chest.[47] Varāhamihira's silence over the Śvetāmbara type of the Tīrthaṅkara-image is significant, especially when in the Jaina traditions Varāhamihira is regarded as brother of Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Niryuktis. It is quite obvious that the Śvetāmbara type of the Jina-image, even if it existed, had not become popular enough to obtain recognition in the Bṛhat-Samhitā.

The Śvetāmbara traditions speak of a dispute over the ownership of the Jaina temples at Mt. Girnar, which took place in the times of Bappabhaṭṭi sūrī (c. 743-838 A.D.).[48] The case was decided, with the help of supernatural elements, in favour of the Śvetāmbaras and against the Digambaras. From that time onwards, in order to avoid future disputes, the Śvetāmbaras started the practice of showing an *añcala* or the end of the garment of the Tīrthaṅkara on images of the Jinas. Obviously this refers to the Tīrthaṅkara images in the sitting posture. The Digambaras also clearly showed the *liṅga* of the Jina even when he was sitting in the padmāsana or the ardha-padmāsana posture.

The account of this dispute, given by writers of the fourteenth and later centuries, containing some supernatural element, may not be wholly correct, but one fact emerges that there was a dispute over the ownership of the Girnar temples in the age of Bappabhaṭṭi sūrī. The dispute could arise only in the case of images of the Jinas in the sitting posture which hitherto left the matter ambiguous (so far as nudity was concerned), while on the other hand, so far as the ancient images at Lohanipur (Pataliputra), Mathura, Rajgir and other places were concerned, these clearly represented the Tīrthaṅkaras as naked, and from fifth century A.D. the Śvetāmbaras started showing a lower garment on the person of a standing Tīrthaṅkara image.[49]

THE JAINA CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY

According to Jaina philosophy, the substances are real, characterised by existence, and are six in number. They can be broadly divided into the living (*jīva*) and the non-living (*ajīva*). Jīva means the soul or the spirit. It is essentially a unit of consciousness and there are infinite souls. The class of non-living substances is made up of infinite matter (*pudgala*), principles of motion and rest (*dharma* and *adharma*), space (*ākāśa*) and time (*kāla*). These substances are eternally existing, uncreated, with no beginning in time. As substances they are eternal and unchanging, but their modifications are passing through a flux of changes. Their mutual cooperation and interaction explains all that is implied by the term "creation", and Jainism admits of no intelligent Creator who can be credited with the creation of this Universe. There is thus no place in Jainism for a Supreme God-head, a Creator-God.

Consciousness (*cetanā*) is the very essence of the soul. The soul is inherently endowed with infinite vision (*ananta-darśana*), infinite knowledge (*ananta-jñāna*), and infinite power (*ananta-vīrya*). These original faculties or characteristics of the soul are suppressed in the case of mundane souls because they are bound by subtle matter called *karma*. This bondage results in the cycle of birth and death, happiness and misery. By cultivating pure thoughts and actions the influx of *karma*-matter (clinging to and binding the soul), both good and bad, must be stopped, and the already binding stock of *karma* must be consumed by rigorous religious austerities. When the *karmas* are completely destroyed the soul becomes liberated manifesting all qualities of *ananta-jñāna*, *ananta-vīrya*, etc. This liberated and perfect (*siddha*) soul is the

embodiment of infinite power, knowledge and bliss. He is freed from all bondages of attachment and aversion (*rāga* and *dveṣa*) etc. and does not frown upon nor favour anybody. He then becomes a *Jina* (who has conquered enemies like *rāga* and *dveṣa*) and an *Arhat* deserving respect and adoration and when he establishes and organises the Samgha (*Tīrtha*), he is a Tīrthaṅkara. When he leaves the last bondage of the human body he is completely liberated and perfect, a *Siddha*.

The ultimate goal of every follower of the Jaina Faith is the attainment of Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa which consists in completely liberating the soul from the bondage of and defilement by the karmas. Right Knowledge (*samyak-jñāna*), Right Faith (*samyak-darśana*), and Right Conduct (*samyak-cāritra*) collectively constitute the path of liberation. These are known as the Three Jewels—*Ratna-traya* or *Tri-ratna*.

There is thus no place in Jainism for God as the Supreme Being, Creator and distributor of happiness and misery, of fruits of action, worship and devotion. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that in the beginning there might not have been any Jaina worship of cult images in temples. But human mind needs some support and resort (*āśraya*) and as such, out of respect for the liberated souls and Tīrthaṅkaras, worship of the Jina (Tīrthaṅkara) image was started at an early stage. By God Jainism understands a liberated soul (*siddha*) as well as the Tīrthaṅkara (who is also a siddha and) who is the highest spiritual ideal to which any soul can aspire; the God is, therefore, an example to inspire and guide. And by worshipping the God (i.e. the siddha or the Jina) a person is reminded of the God's highest qualities which the pious Jaina worshipper tries to develop in one's own self. The Jaina Conception of the Deity and His worship are therefore different from those of the Brahmanical faith.

The Jaina ideal of worship was for the sublimation of human thoughts and instincts and not for obtaining any material rewards. But this highest ideal, though acknowledged in theory to this day, was in practice never strictly adhered to by the Jaina masses, and, even in the age of Mahāvīra, propitiation of Yakṣas, Nāgas, Hariṇegameṣin and others for obtaining children etc., was not unusual with the laity. It is this tendency which led to the eulogising of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhī mantra or the Navakāra mantra as potent enough to save the worshipper from all calamities.

In its purer form, Jaina worship is based on the conception of *bhakti* of an ideal, or an apostle representing an ideal, not for reward but for self-purification. In essence it is more psychic than material and it is for this reason that, in both the Jaina sects, *Bhāva-pūjā* is said to be always superior to *Dravya-pūjā*. Kundakunda, an early Digambara ācārya, strongly supported *Bhāva-pūjā* in preference to *Dravya-pūjā*.

JAINA WORSHIP—BEGINNINGS

Evidence of Jaina sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura,[50] and adjoining sites has shown the prevalence of *Stūpa-worship* in Jainism, from at least c. first century B.C. A Stūpa of Muni-Suvrata at Viśālā is referred to in one of the Niryuktis.[51] This Muni-Suvrata may be the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara of Jaina belief or the sage (*Ṛṣi*) Suvrata referred to in Brahmanical literature.[52] The Jaina stūpa, which once existed on the site of the Kankali Tila, is regarded as a stūpa of Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara in some late Jaina accounts, but, as we have shown elsewhere,[53] it was very probably the stūpa of Pārśvanātha who flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra, in *circa* eighth century B.C., according to Jaina traditions. The antiquities from the site, discovered so far, with a few perhaps dating from c. first century B.C. (*Fig. 18*) and almost all others dating from c. first century A.D. to the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, suggest that the stūpa was enlarged, repaired or perhaps rebuilt and adorned with sculptures in the beginning of the Christian era. Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions speak of repairs to the Jaina stūpa of Supārśvanātha in the age of Bappabhaṭṭi surī in the eighth century A.D. Antiquities from the Kankali Tila show no repairs of the eighth century A.D.

These antiquities from Kankali Tila, Mathura, attest to the existence, amongst the Jainas, of the worship of the Stūpa (cf. *Fig. 21*), the *Caitya-tree*, the *Dharma-cakra*, the *Āyāgapaṭa* (*Figs. 10, 11, 16, 17*), the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* (eight auspicious symbols) like the *Svastika*, the *Nandyāvarta* diagram, the *Vardhamānaka* (powder-box), the *Śrī-vatsa* mark, *Mīna-yugala* (pair of fishes), the *Padma* (lotus), the *Darpaṇa* (mirror), and *Sthāpanā* (cross-stand for holding a book) (*Figs. 10, 11*).[54] Images of Tīrthaṅkaras, represented both

in the standing (*Figs. 9, 14*) and the sitting (*Figs. 10, 12, 23*) attitudes, show no trace of drapery which clearly suggests that even though the Śvetāmbara-Digambara schism had come into being in the second century A.D., the final crisis in the differentiation of Tīrthaṅkara icons of the two sects had not yet taken place. Hence the evidence of art from Mathura refers to Jaina worship prevalent in and common amongst both the sects in the first three or four centuries of the Christian era and not restricted to the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara sect alone.

From Mathura are found a special type of sculptures, called *pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā* in the inscriptions on their pedestals, which show a Tīrthaṅkara image on each of its four sides, facing each different direction (*Fig. 14*). These four-fold images, later more popular as *Caumukha-pratimās*[55] on account of their facing four directions, have remained popular in Jaina worship of both the sects. The *sarvvato-bhadra-pratimās* from Kankali Tila, Mathura, date from the Kuṣāṇa period. It must however be remembered that not all the four-fold images from the Kankali Tila have inscriptions calling them *pratimā-sarvvato-bhadrikā*.

An image of Sarasvatī, installed in this period, is also found from the Kankali Tila (*Fig. 20*). Reliefs showing incidents from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras and other scenes from Jaina mythology seem to have existed in Jaina art at Mathura as is evident from *Fig. 18* depicting the scene of Dance of Nīlāñjanā and the consequent retirement of Ṛṣabhanātha. The relief dates from c. late first century B.C. We also have a panel showing Harinegameṣin on throne attended by some figures (*Fig. 19*).

The full *parikara* obtained on Tīrthaṅkara images of the mediaeval period is not yet evolved in the Kuṣāṇa age, and only the halo, the Caitya-tree, the flying Vidyādharas or heavenly garland-bearers, heavenly musicians etc., all together or in different groupings are depicted in relief. During the Kuṣāṇa period one does not find any cognizance (*lāñchana*) on the pedestal of a Jina or an attendant Chowrie-bearer (*cāmaradhara*) with the figure of a Tīrthankara at Mathura. Instead of the attendant *cāmaradhara yakṣa* on each side of the Jina, we obtain, in the early stages of Tīrthaṅkara iconography, a donor and his wife (e.g. no. J.7 in Lucknow Museum), or more generally a monk and a nun (*Fig. 9*), or two monks or, in the case of Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, figures of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, on the two sides of the Jina The Tīrthaṅkara is represented either standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture on a pedestal or meditating while sitting in *padmāsana* on a *simhāsana* (lion-throne). The pedestal or the *simhāsana* shows lions on two ends and the *dharma-cakra* (Wheel of Law) in the centre, sometimes placed on a pillar, and flanked by figures of *sādhus* (monks), *sādhvīs* (nuns), *śrāvakas* (Jaina laymen), and *śrāvikās* (Jaina laywomen) (*Figs. 12, 13*).

The Tablets of Homage called *āyāgapaṭas* in the inscriptions on them, obtained from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, offer an interesting study. In the inscription on the Tablet dedicated by Vasu, the daughter of Lonaśobhikā, the Tablet is called a *Śilāpaṭa*.[56] In the Jaina canonical literature, we find, in the stock description of the *yakṣāyatana* (*caitya*, explained by commentators as Yakṣa shrine), reference to *Śilāpaṭa* worshipped on a simhāsana placed adjacent to the trunk of a *Caitya*-tree. The Jaina āyāgapaṭas of Mathura have for their prototypes these Śilāpaṭas of ancient worship, as is evident from the inscription on the Tablet dedicated by Vasu, referred to above. The Buddhists also worshipped Śilāpaṭas as shown in the reliefs from the Bharhut stūpa. A study of some of these Jaina āyāgapaṭas or śilāpaṭas shows that in each of them one of the *maṅgala* (auspicious) symbols is prominently displayed in the centre. Ācārya Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita refers to *Bali-paṭas* with *aṣṭamaṅgala* marks which are thus the same as the *āyāgapaṭas* of the older tradition at Mathura. Now-a-days we find, in Jaina temples, plaques of metal with reliefs of all the eight auspicious symbols on them (*Fig. 153*).

In the āyāgapaṭa illustrated in *Fig. 10* we find on one end a pillar surmounted by the *Dharma-cakra* and on the other end a pillar surmounted by a lion. In the āyāgapaṭa illustrated in *Fig. 11* we find on one end a pillar surmounted by the Wheel of Law while on the other end we find a pillar surmounted by an elephant. Since the lion and the elephant are the cognizances of Mahāvīra and Ajitanātha respectively and since ācārya Hemacandra lists such cognizances as *Dhvajas* of the different Jinas in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi-kośa, we should identify the pillars with the lion and the elephant as the *Dhvaja-Stambhas* or Dhvaja-pillars in front of temples of Mahāvīra and Ajitanātha supposed to have exsited in the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura. The Jainas also erected *Dharma-cakra* pillars. We find such pillars in the centre of the simhāsanas of some of the Jaina images from the Kankali Tila (*Figs. 12, 15*). *Figure 164* from Kankali

Tila, Mathura, shows worship by circumambulation of a Dhvaja-Stambha by a Jaina couple.[57]

It seems that Jainas adored another type of pillars from fairly early times, at least from the Kuṣāṇa period if not earlier. The Kahaon pillar (in U.P.) with an inscription of the Gupta period is perhaps the oldest extant Jaina pillar of this type so far discovered. It has on top four Jina figures facing four different directions and one Jina figure at the base.[58] This is the type known as the *Mānastambha* or the *Māṇavakastambha* in early Jaina texts of both the sects.[59]

Some of the four-fold sculptures obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, seem to have been either on the top or at the bottom of such *Mānastambhas* since a careful examination has shown that there are sockets either at the top or at the bottom of these sculptures for joining another stone. This proves the existence of the practice of erecting *Mānastambhas* in front of Jaina shrines in the Kuṣāṇa period.

The practice of erecting pillars or votive columns is very old in India. The pillars not only remind us of votive columns one of whose early types was the wooden *sthūṇā* of the Vedic age, but also the *Yūpa* of Vedic sacrifices.[60]

Coomaraswamy drew our attention to the reliefs of Amaravati[61] where the Buddha is represented as a fiery pillar with wheel-marked feet below supported by a lotus, and with a '*triśula*-head', and has remarked that they "represent the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the axis of the universe, extending as a pillar between the Earth and Heaven."[62] The worship of Agni as *Skambha* (or a *sthūṇā*) should, according to Coomaraswamy, be regarded as the origin of later practice of erecting pillars dedicated to different deities and surmounted by their *vāhanas* (*dhvajas*) or by symbols like the *Dharma-cakra*.

According to the Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra, a Jaina canonical text, there was a big *maṇipīṭhaka* in the centre of the Sudharma Sabhā of Indra. On it was a *Caitya-Stambha* called *Māṇavaka*, in the central part of which were gold and silver boards with pegs (*nāga-danta*, of ivory) with hangers (*sikkaka*) attached to the latter. In these hangers were round boxes of *vajra* (diamonds) with bones of many Jinas preserved therein, worshipped by gods and goddesses. On the *Māṇavaka-Caitya-Stambhas* were placed *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* and umbrellas.

The Digambara text Ādipurāṇa describes a type of pillars known as the *Mānastambha*, in the first rampart of the *Samavasaraṇa* (congregation hall or theatre, erected by gods, in which the Tīrthaṅkara delivers his sermon). At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of the Jinas. The pillars were lofty and adorned with bells, fly-whisks, etc.[63] They were placed on triple platforms and on top were triple umbrellas. Being erected by Indra, they were called *Indra-Dhvajas*. They are also described by the Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇatti which says that the Jina images were on top of such pillars.[64] The pillars found in front of Pārśvanātha Basti on Candragiri, Cannaṇṇa Basti on Vindhyagiri and Bhāṇḍāri Basti in Śravaṇa Belagola are *Mānastambhas*.

The *Indra-dhvaja* is perhaps an ancient *dhvaja-pillar* associated with the *Indra-maha*[65] referred to in Jaina canons, and reminiscent of the worship of the ancient Vedic god Indra. It may be noted that even today, when a Jina image is taken out in procession in a car (*ratha*), in front of the procession is an Indra-dhvaja, with flags on all sides, also carried in a car.

The Bhagavatī-sūtra discusses supernatural powers of certain classes of Jaina monks who can fly to the mythical *Nandīśvara-dvīpa* and worship the Caityas (*Ceiyāiṁ*) thereon.[66] Obviously these Caityas are the *Śāśvata-Jina-āyatanas* situated on the different mountains and also referred to as *Siddhāyatanas* in different texts.

The Jaina texts refer to *maḍaga-ceiya* (mṛtaka-caitya),[67] i.e., funeral caityas, *maḍaya-thubhiya* (mṛtaka-stūpa), i.e., funeral stūpa and *devaya-ceiya* (daivata-caitya), i.e., caitya (image as well as edifice) dedicated to gods (for worship).[68] Caityas existed in the pre-Buddhist epoch, at least in the sixth century B.C., or, say in the latter part of the Sūtra period. These caityas were sanctuaries, holysteads, both with or without an icon, including the *dhātu-caityas* (funeral relics, memorial structures) referred to in Buddhist texts.

The description of the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya* (which is the Jaina canonical stock description of a Caitya = a Jakkha-āyatana, a Yakṣa shrine) in the Aupapātika-sūtra does not refer to any image of the yakṣa worhipped therein and describes only the *Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭa* on a simhāsana at the stem of the Aśoka tree

in the forest-grove (*vanakhaṇḍa*) of the Caitya. This Śilā-paṭa was possibly meant to represent the Pūrṇabhadra Yakṣa. Mahāvīra visited and stayed in such shrines. Nowhere is it said that he visited a Jaina shrine or worshipped a Jina image. Obviously shrines dedicated to Tīrthaṅkaras seem to post-date Mahāvīra[69] and the canonical passages referring to Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimās and Śāśvata-Jina-āyatanas must be regarded as later than the epoch suggested by the description of the Pūrṇabhadra-Caitya. The stock description (*varnaka*) of such Caityas, explained as Yakṣa-Caityas by commentators, is as under.

The Pūrṇabhadra Caitya was in the *udyāna* (park) called Āmraśālavana, situated to the N.E. of the city of Campā. It was very old in age (*cirātīta*), recognised by people as old, ancient (*porāṇa*), famous, praised everywhere and *jñāta* (of the Jñātṛ-people ?). It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, *atipatākās* (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or bunches of peacock-feathers (*lomahatthaga*) and having a railing (*vitardikā*, *vedikā*, according to Abhayadeva, which would also mean 'containing a sacrificial altar'), its inside floor was coated with cow-dung and the wall-surfaces were polished by rubbing with cowries; it bore palm-impressions in red *gośīrsa* or *dardara* sandal, was adorned with *candanaghaṭas* (auspicious jars), and on its entrance gates were *toranas* (arches) with *candanaghaṭa* decorations. It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water and garlands were hung; it was fragrant with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of *kālāgaru*, *kundurukka* and *turukka*. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers, boxers, experts in mimics (*viḍambaka*), ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers (*lāsaka*), picture-showmen (*maṅkha*), pipe-players, lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste, etc., gifts, adoration and respect, and which like a benefic, auspicious divine (*devayam*) *celam* (caityam, image according to commentators), deserved to be propitiated with due respect, and which when worshipped with desire did not fail to fulfil it (*saccopāye*), and which was attended upon by divine *prātihāryas*. It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices (*Aupapātika sūtra*, sūtra 2).

The above description shows that this Purṇabhadra Caitya, which according to the explanation of commentators, was a *Yakṣa-āyatana*, a Yakṣa-shrine, was situated in a big park called Āmraśālavana (a forest of mango and śāla trees) and was ancient even in the days of Mahāvīra. It had a *Vitardikā* (*Vedikā*) or railing around. The wall surfaces were polished. It had entrance gates with *toraṇas* (arches). This would suggest that the shrine had walls as well as a railing. Does it mean that its compound or courtyard had a railing with four entrance gates (on four sides and) adorned with arches?

There is no mention of the image worshipped and the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) in which it might have been installed. The fact that it was visited by actors, dancers, showmen and the like shows that it had a big compound around in which these people could perform dancing etc. But where was the Caitya in this *udyāna*? Was it in the centre of the *udyāna*?

In the next sūtra we are told that on all sides of it (i.e., on all sides of the *Caitya* or shrine) was a big forest grove (*vanasaṇḍa*) with a central big Aśoka-tree (obviously a *Caitya-vṛkṣa*). Attached to its stem and under the tree was a *Pṛthvī-Śilā-Paṭa* placed on a *simhāsana*. This *Śilā-paṭa* had a very smooth surface and was soft to touch like butter, etc. Its surface was shining like a mirror. Thus this plaque (*śilā-paṭa*) made of earth (*Pṛthvī*), that is, the terracotta plaque, was a highly polished one, what we know as N.B.P. ware. This was not unknown in the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra as is proved by the discovery of such ware of different colours obtained in excavation of the foundations of the *Ghoṣitārāma* at Kauśāmbī. We find, in the reliefs of Bharhut, scenes of worship of *Śilā-paṭas* placed on a *simhāsana* under a *Caitya*-tree. Obviously such scenes represent continuation of such traditions from the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra and even still earlier. The *Śilā-paṭa* was placed under the tree reclining a little against its stem (*īsim khandhasamallīṇe*) and deposited on a *simhāsane* (*sīhāsanasamṭhie*) obviously because it was an object of worship. It rested on the lion-throne, not vertically but horizontally, either slightly raised on the trunk side or with its one end probably slightly thrust into the stem of the tree. This was possibly meant by the expression *īsim khandhasamallīṇe*. That the *paṭa* was horizontally placed obtains confirmation from representations of the Bodhi-shrine at Bharhut.

The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya ends with the description of the Aśoka tree and the *Śilā-paṭa*. So what was the object of worship in the Pūrṇabhadra shrine? We are told in this text sūtra 2,

translated above, that the Caitya was in the udyāna called Āmraśālavana. And then later the text says in sūtras 3-5 that in the centre of this forest-grove was the Aśoka-tree. So where was the walled Caitya of sūtra 2?

It is reasonable to suppose that in the different *vācanas* of the Jaina canon some portions of the original texts might have been lost and some were not understood or misunderstood. To us it appears that two stages in the evolution of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya are here mixed up. In the first stage, there was no walled structure around the object of worship which was none else than the *Pṛthvī-Śila-Paṭa* under the Caitya-tree. It was open on all sides and at the most there was a railing around as we see a caitya-tree with a railing in the *Āyāgapaṭa* set up by an unknown donor (Smith, *Jaina Stupa* . . . , pl. IX, p. 16 and Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 11, pp. 81-82). In the next stage perhaps there was a big platform around the tree and the *simhāsana* with the *paṭa* was on the platform (Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, figs. 41, 46, 51; Barua, B.M., *Book of Bharhut*, III, figs 26, 28, 30, 31).

The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva 69.42) forbids even the felling of leaves of trees that are known as Caityas. Mm. Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, II, p. 895) here interprets Caitya as "trees like the Aśvattha that have a platform (*caitya*) built for them." Coomaraswamy cites a case where, in explaining the Suciloma Sutta of Samyutta Nikāya, II.5, a stone dias, stone, or platform (*tankite mañco*) is stated to have been Yakkha's haunt (*bhavanam*).[70] Coomaraswamy writes, "most of the Yakkhacetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees."[71] The Vasudevahiṇḍi (c. 400-450 A.D.) supplies definite evidence in support of the above inference. According to this text, there was, in Sāliggāma in the Magadha Janapada, an udyāna called Manorama. Therein was the *Jakkha Sumano*, whose stone-plaque or platform (*silā = śilā*) was placed there under an Aśoka tree, the *silā* was known as *Sumana*. There the people worshipped this Yaksa (*tattha Sumaṇo nāma Jakkho tassa Asogapāyavasamsiyā Silā Sumaṇā tattha ṇam janā puyanti*—Vasudevahiṇḍi, p. 85). A certain person, Satya by name, is further said to have spent a night in meditation in this area (*silāpaesa, ibid.*, p. 88) of the Sumanasilā, standing in the kāyotsarga pose, to propitiate this Yakṣa.

The *Śilā-paṭa*, placed on the simhāsana, became a spot for laying offerings to the spirit of the tree. Nay, it also became the *pīṭha* for representation of a spirit (or deity) or of a symbol as can be inferred from a relief of a *Dhamma-cakka* shrine from Bharhut, illustrated by Coomaraswamy (*HIIA*, fig. 41). At some stage the object of worship was carved on the *Śilā* itself and offerings placed on it, e.g. the *Āyagapaṭas* illustrated in *Figs. 10 and 11* which have in each a figure of a Tīrthaṅkara in its centre.

These *Yakṣa-caityas* were open on all sides but at some stage stone umbrellas supported by a staff in the centre were introduced to serve as roofs over these *Śilā-paṭas* or images of deities placed on such *Śilā-paṭas*. At some stage images of Yakṣas or other deities were worshipped under such Caitya trees and walls were raised on all the four sides[72] and there were entrance gates with toraṇas, as described in the Aupapātika sūtra, sūtra 2, noted above. It would mean that still the shrine could be visited from any of the four directions on account of entrance gates facing the four directions.

Another stage in the worship of the *Caitya-vṛkṣa* can be imagined in the erection of a *pīṭha* or platform with a *Śilā-paṭa* or an image on each of the four sides of the tree.[73] This served as the basis of the conception of a *Caturmukha* shrine. Such an inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of *Caitya-vṛkṣas* in the Samavasaraṇa of Ādinātha described by Jinasena in his Ādipurāṇa. According to this text, they are *Caitya-vṛkṣas* because at their roots are placed on four sides four images of the Jinas.[74]

In Jaina canons the stock description of a Jaina temple is that of the *Siddhāyatana*. The Siddhāyatana to the N.E. of the Sudharmā Sabhā of Vijayadeva was 13½ yojanas in length and six yojanas and one krośa (about half of the length) in breadth and nine yojanas in height. It had on it, above the entrance doorway, the *vedikā*-panel motif and an arch, surmounted by sālabhañjikās; it had beautiful pillars of Vaiḍūrya gems, its floor inlaid with gems and gold and silver, its walls decorated with figures of mythical animals (*īhāmṛga*), oxen, kinnaras (half-men and half-horses or birds), crocodiles, birds, dragons, winged-deer (*sarabha*), yaks (*camara*), elephants, creepers and lotus-rhizomes. The abacus of columns had crowning figures of *vidyādhara*-pairs, with mechanism to show them moving. The shrine was adorned with thousands of sculptures or reliefs and with many domes (*thubhiya*), the tops decorated with

bells, flags, etc. white, lustrous, adorned with palm-impressions of sandal; its gates were adorned with auspicious pictures and arches surmounted by *candana-ghaṭas*; there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incenses. It was adorned with figures of apsarasas.

The shrine had three entrances. In front of each entrance was a portico (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) adorned with the *aṣṭamaṅgala*-motifs. In front of these were *prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapas* or assembly halls (theatres). In front of each prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapa was a *Caitya-stūpa* on a *maṇipīṭhikā* (jewelled platform). The Caitya-stūpas were white and shining, each two yojanas in area (*āyāma*=circumference or length × breadth) and more than two yojanas in height, its surface covered with jewels, and surmounted by *aṣṭamaṅgalas*, black chowries and flags. On four sides of each stūpa were maṇipīṭhikās, each platform surmounted by Jina figures sitting in the *paryaṅka-āsana* and facing the stūpa.

In front of each Caiya-stūpa was a maṇipīṭhikā with a Caitya-vṛkṣa on it. In front of each Caitya-vṛkṣa was a maṇipīṭhikā surmounted by a *Mahendra-dhvaja* (*Indra-dhvaja*) with a round staff and adorned with thousands of flags, aṣṭamaṅgalas, etc. In front of each Mahendra-dhvaja was a *Nandā-Puṣkaraṇī*, an artificial reservoir or tank.

In the centre of the *Siddhāyatana* was a maṇipīṭhikā, two yojanas in length and breadth and one yojana in height on which was a big *Devacchandaka*, two yojanas in length and breadth and a little more than two yojanas in height, all made of jewels. In this Devacchandaka were installed 108 life-size images of Tīrthaṅkaras. On top of the Siddhāyatana were aṣṭamaṅgalas, flags etc.

It seems that the *Devacchandaka* was a sort of miniature shrine with pillars and arches in front, and containing only the sanctum. It is something like the *Gandhakuṭi* on top of a Stūpa. In the Jaina account noted above, there was a row of such miniature shrines or ornamental niches, each with an image of a Tīrthaṅkara.

The above account from the Jīvājīvābhigama Sūtra, 3.2.137ff includes all types of Jaina worship practised in ancient times. The *Caitya-stūpas*, *Caitya-vṛkṣas*, and the *Mahendra-dhvajas* described here do not form part of the main structure of the Siddhāyatana. It seems that the Jaina temple of the age of composition of this passage consisted of a sanctum, an adjacent hall (or rather a portico only) and a *prekṣāmaṇḍapa*. This last mentioned hall was possibly a little separated from the main structure though the Jaina texts do not explicitly say so. The plan of the shrine would suggest that the passage dates from the early Gupta age. Though the plan of the shrine can be assigned to this age, it must be remembered that the general description of decorative motifs, pillars etc. is of a much earlier tradition reaching back to at least the Kuṣāṇa period and sometimes to the age of the Sanchi and Bharhut Stūpas. We have little evidence of shrines of the Kuṣāṇa and Śunga periods, but it is not unlikely that the plan of the Siddhāyatana noted by the passage may refer to plan of Jaina shrines of the Kuṣāṇa age. Most of the text of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon preserved for us seems to be the text of the Mathura Council of c. early fourth century A.D. The descriptions of Caitya-Stūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas as apart from the main shrine suggest that there were in worship such separate cult-objects, analogous to those in reliefs from Bharhut, compare Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, figs. 41, 55, 70 (*Bodhi tree*), fig. 45 (*Dharmacakra shrine*), fig. 42 (*Caitya-stūpa*), also from Amaravati illustrated in *HIIA*, figs. 142 and 144-146.

ORIGIN OF STŪPAS AND CAITYAS

Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras believe that the first person to erect on this earth the temples of the twenty-four Jinas of this age was Bharata Cakravartin, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha.[75] Referring to the nirvāṇa of Ṛṣabha, the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti, gāthā 435, says:

निव्वाणं चिइगाई जिणस्स इक्खाग सेसयाणं च ।
सकहा थूभे जिणहरे जायग तेणाहि अग्गित्ति ।।

Haribhadra sūri, commenting on the above gāthā, says that Bharata erected in honour of the Lord

a Stūpa and a Temple called *Simhaniṣadyā-āyatana*, one yojana in area and three gavyutis in height and installed therein life-size images of the twenty-four Jinas, as also images of the hundred sons of Ṛṣabha including himself and in order to protect these from violation by others, he placed as gatekeepers mechanical figures made of iron (*lohamayān yantrapuruṣān*).[76] This he did on the Mt. Aṣṭāpada, identified in Jaina traditions with the Mt. Kailāsa, which is the site of Ṛṣabha's Nirvāṇa. This tradition of Bharata erecting the first Jaina shrine is also found in the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi and in the Mūla-Bhāṣya gāthā based on the above Niryukti gāthā. The same belief is expressed in the Vasudevahiṇḍi in its account of Ṛṣabha's Nirvāṇa and the mount Aṣṭāpada.[77]

Jaina canonical literature shows the existence of the worship of (1) Bones of Tīrthaṅkaras, ashes or relics, (2) Caitya-trees and Caitya-Stūpas, (3) Caityas or images, e.g. the Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimās, (4) Stambhas or Pillars and Symbols like the Śilāpaṭas.

The existence of several Caityas in the different places visited by Mahāvīra is noteworthy. For example, there was Koṣṭhaka Caitya at Śrāvastī, Candrāvatarana Caitya at Kauśāmbī, Pūrṇabhadra Caitya at Campā, Gunaśīla-Caitya at Rājagṛha, Bahuputrikā-Caitya at Viśālā, and so on. Commentators explain these Caityas as Yakṣāyatanas. Besides, we hear of temples of Śulapāṇi Yakṣa, Surapriya Yakṣa and so on. These suggest the existence even in the age of Mahāvīra of image-worship amongst followers of the Yakṣa Cult, and amongst the Indian masses, for, the Jaina Āgamas speak of ladies propitiating such deities for obtaining children. Also, the Āgamas speak of festivals and worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśramaṇa, Nāga, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Vāsudeva and others. A temple of Skanda is said to have existed at Sāvatthi in the time of Mahāvīra according to the Āvaśyaka Niryukti. Thus, according to the Jaina evidence, image worship was already popular amongst the Indian masses in the age of Mahāvīra. The Pūrṇabhabra shrine visited by Mahāvīra was ancient (*porāṇe*) even when Mahāvīra visited it. Of course the Aupapātika sūtra makes no mention of the image of Pūrṇabhadra yakṣa. A sort of hero-worship could be easily introduced even though there is no Creator-God according to Jaina Doctrine. Bhakti predominated amongst the masses who worshipped the Yakṣas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśramaṇa, Vāsudeva and even Trees, Tanks, etc. Representation of the Jina figure was never spoken of as an act of sacrilege and was not disliked as was done by the Buddha regarding worship of the Buddha-image and hence the Jina-image-worship seems to have started early, at least during the Mauryan age. We have referred to the Kalinga-Jina image carried off by the Nanda king and brought back by Kharavela. T.N. Ramachandran has identified a frieze on the Mañcapuri Cave, Udayagiri, Orissa, as a representation of worship of the Jina image, the frieze is assignable to first century B.C. The existence of a Jaina shrine (*pāsāda*), as early as the middle of the second century B.C., at Mathura, is proved by an inscription recording the dedication of a *pāsāda-torana* by a *śravaka* named Uttaradāsaka.[77a] In the inscription on the Āyāgapaṭa donated by Vāsu, the words used for a Jaina shrine are *Devakula* and *Nirgrantha-Arhatāyatana.*

The Jaina account of the cremation of a Tīrthaṅkara and the consequent collection of bone relics by Indra and other gods, including erection of the stūpas on the cremation site by the gods, given in the Jambudvīpaprajñapti[78] is noteworthy since it gives us an insight into contemporary methods of cremation and because it obtains an interesting parallel with cremation in Buddhist accounts.

Detailed descriptions of a Jaina stūpa are not traced in the Jaina accounts but the conception of a Samavasaraṇa bronze or a stone sculpture showing the three ramparts of a Samavasaraṇa vertically is reminiscent of the conceptions of a Jaina stūpa. This will be obvious on a camparison of fig. 182 with figs. 10A and 21 in this book as also figs. 14B and 76 in the *Studies in Jaina Art*. It seems that the popularity of representations of the Samavasaraṇa ultimately replaced the Stūpa symbolism in Jaina worship.

The pedestal of a Jina image said to refer to *Arhat Nandyāvarta* (but referring to *Munisuvrata* according to K.D. Bajpai's corrected reading) obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, was installed in the so called *Vodva stūpa* which is said to be *Devanirmita*[79] according to the inscription on it dated in the year 49 or 79. Due to a slight mistake in separating the words of the inscription inscribed in a line, the stūpa was called Vodva Stūpa by scholars. Lüders in his unpublished revised readings and notes had corrected the

relevant reading as *pratimāvo dve thupe devanirmite* instead of the earlier reading *pratimā vodve thupe* etc. Often when two images were donated or cast or fashioned at the same place one had the inscription on one of the two images only but referring to both the images. We have a similar instance of the two big standing Jina bronzes cast by the artist Śivanāga and installed in Samvat 744, obtained from the Vasantagaḍha hoard, now in worship in a Jina shrine at Pindwada, published in *Lalita Kala, nos. 1-2.* I am thankful to Prof. Alsdorf for informing me about Luders's correction.

The origin of this Stūpa of Kankali Tila, Mathura was forgotten and it was supposed to be Devanirmita, built by gods. Haribhadra sūri in c. early seventh century A.D. also called it Devanirmita.[80] The expression may also mean erected by or gift of a person named Deva or it could have been regarded as work of Deva school of art. Taranatha in his history of Buddhism speaks of Deva and Nāga artists.[81] As we have shown in *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 12, it is better to regard this stūpa as a stūpa of Pārśvanātha rather than of Supārśvanātha.

Digambara texts like the Bṛhat-kathā-kośa of Hariṣeṇa (932 A.D.) give a story of the origin of Five Stūpas at Mathura, all built by gods, during a controversy with the Buddhists.[82] Somadeva, the author of Yaśastilaka-campū,[83] gives a similar account but refers to only one Devanirmita-stūpa at Mathura. Rājamalla in his Jambūsvāmicarita refers to the repair of Mathura Stūpas.[84] A Pañcastūpānvaya or a Pañcastūpanikāya is connected with the locality of Mathura and Jinasena, the author of Jayadhavalā, says that he belonged to this lineage of Jaina monks.[85]

The Paharpur copper-plate, dated in the year 159 (478 A.D.) refers to Pañca-stūpa-nikāya.[86] It is therefore certain that in and around Mathura Five Jaina Stūpas existed.

The Āyagapaṭa dedicated by Vāsu, the daughter of courtesan Lonaśobhikā (Fig. 14B in *Studies in Jaina Art*) may be acknowledged as representing at least one type of Jaina stūpa.[87] The stūpa-drum, standing on a high platform, was reached by a long flight of steps. In front of this platform, all around perhaps, were niches with images. The flight of steps led to the circumambulatory which had, at its entrance near the top of the flight of steps, a *toraṇa*-gateway. Perhaps there were such flights of steps and *toraṇa*-gateways facing all the four directions. All around the circumambulatory path there was a stone or wooden railing and the various apsarasas or yaksis and coping stones found from Kankali Tila came from such a railing. The triple-arch of the gateway is reminiscent of the Sanchi gateway. From the middle of it hangs a *vandana-mālā*, an auspicious garland. The drum seems to be in three tiers. High above the *pradakṣinā* path is another railing, then a band of decorative motif and then perhaps another railing or a band with lotus (?) motif demarcating the third tier from where the rounding off of the *aṇḍa* begins. The stūpa-drum is perhaps straight in height till this point.

Perhaps the big platform was square in plan and had huge pillars on four corners. Two huge pillars of Persepolitan style are shown on two sides of the drum, at two ends, in the Āyāgapaṭa set up by Vāsu. The pillar on the right in this plaque is surmounted by the *dharmacakra*. The capital and top of the pillar on the left are partly worn out and indistinct. On the analogy of the āyāgapaṭa donated by Sihanādika (Smith's *Jaina Stupa*, pl. III, no. J.249 in Lucknow Museum) this other pillar was surmounted by some animal in the Tablet gifted by Vāsu (no Q.2 in the Mathura Museum). Almost of the same type was the representation of the Jaina stūpa on the mutilated Āyāgapaṭa donated by Śivayaśas (Smith, *Jaina Stupa*, pl. XII, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, fig. 1 on plate opp. page 74). Here the *toraṇa*-gateway is surmounted by two *triratna* symbols, one on each end, while the Jaina technical name for the honey-suckle like symbol in the centre is yet unknown. This tablet dates from c. first century B.C. both from the style of the two dancing female figures and from the paleography of the inscription incised on it. It is certainly earlier than the āyāgapaṭa donated by Vāsu.

A stone panel, a frieze or a Toraṇa-beam, from the Kankali Tila, no. J.535 in the Lucknow Museum, illustrated here as *Fig. 10A*, depicts the worship of a Stūpa by two *Suparṇas* and at least five *Kinnaras*. The mutilated and lost right end of the beam possibly showed a sixth Kinnara. Here also it seems that the Stūpa is of a high cylindrical type with three tiers clearly marked by three railings. The platform is not shown but perhaps it is taken for granted. About this scene Smith remarked that the beam "may have belonged to the ancient Stūpa which was believed to have been built by gods . . . and is certainly

an early work probably to be dated about 100 B.C. or 50 B.C." This evidence, along with the frieze depicting the dance of Nilāñjanā and the retirement of Ṛṣabha, illustrated here in *Fig. 18*, and the representation of a Lion-Pillar being circumambulated by a male and a female illustrated here in *Fig. 164* prove that the original Stūpa on the Kankali Tila site was decorated with reliefs etc. in the first century B.C. and it was perhaps enlarged and repaired during the Kuṣāṇa age and embellished richly with decorative sculpture as well as cult-images and plaques etc. meant for worship.

SYMBOL WORSHIP IN JAINISM

Worship of symbols like the *Dharmacakra*, Pillars like the *Mānastambha*, and the *Indradhvaja*, *Caitya-trees*, the *Śilāpaṭas* later known and worshipped as *Āyāgapaṭas*, and the *Stūpas*, is discussed above. Worship of some other symbols may be briefly noted here. We have elaborately discussed *Symbol Worship in Jainism* in our *Studies in Jaina Art*.

The most highly venerated in Jainism are the Pañca-Parameṣṭhīs or the Five Highest Dignitaries, who came to be worshipped in a Diagram (*Maṇḍala or Yantra*) known as the *Siddha-Cakra* (Śvetāmbara) or the *Nava-Pada* (Digambara) diagram. These will be discussed in Chapter Three.

During the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura we find worship of symbols like the *Stūpa*, the *Caitya-tree*, the various *Stambhas*, the *Aṣṭa-Maṅgalas*, the *Dharma-Cakra*, the *Āyāgapaṭa*, the *Tri-Ratna*, etc. Later, during the mediaeval period we find representations of the Fourteen or Sixteen *Dreams* seen by a Jina's Mother, models in stone and metal, as also diagrams in paintings, of the Jaina conception of the *Samavasarana*, the *Nandīśvara-dvīpa*, the *Pañca-Merus* (the Five Meru mountains), the *Aṣṭāpada*, the *Sthāpanācārya*, and the *Caraṇa-pādukās* or the Foot-prints and the *Niṣidis* or the Memorial structures of great monks and nuns.

I. Auspicious Dreams

Belief in auspicious dreams and omens is very old in India. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad, V.2.7.8 speaks of the prosperity that would come if a woman is seen in dream. Belief in dreams and omens dates from pre-Mahāvīra epochs and Nimitta-pāṭhakas or sooth-sayers were called by Siddhārtha to interpret the dreams seen by Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra. Nimittaśāstra was very popular with the Ājīvikas from whom Kālakācārya mastered it in the second-first century B.C. The *Aṅgavijjā* is a very early Jaina text on Nimitta and dates from c. fourth century A.D.

Whenever a Tīrthaṅkara descends from one of the heavens into the womb of his mother, she sees fourteen dreams according to the Śvetāmbara tradition and sixteen according to the Digambara sect. The fourteen dreams seen by Triśalā, the Mother of Mahavīra, as noted in the Kalpa-Sūtra[88] are: (1) a white elephant, (2) a white bull, (3) a sportive lion, (4) the goddess *Śrī*, four-armed and carrying lotuses and lustrated by two celestial elephants, (5) a garland of various flowers, (6) the Full-Moon, (7) the Sun, (8) a wondrous beautiful banner fastened to a golden staff with a lion at the top, (9) a full vase filled with water and lotuses, the abode of fortune, (10) a large lake full of lotuses, (11) the Ocean of Milk, (12) the *Devavimāna* (celestial palace), (13) the jewel-heap (*ratna-rāśi*) and (14) smokeless fire with constantly moving flame.[89]

Kalpa-sūtra miniatures show representations of these dreams, either in a group as in *Fig. 180* (also fig. 19 in Brown's Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-sutra) or singly as in Brown's op cit., figs. 20-33, pp. 19-22. The most common type of miniature (cf. Brown's figs. 6, 18) represents the Mother of a Jina lying on a cot in the lowest panel and in the two or three upper panels are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams.[90] Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs of the lives of different Jinas (*Fig. 82*) or in paintings on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts showing lives of Tīrthaṅkaras as also above the door-lintels of Jaina shrines[91] (see also *Studies in Jaina Art, figs. 83, 87*). In modern times they are generally shown in reliefs on wooden or metal stools and platters used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines of both the sects.

According to the Digambara tradition,[92] the sixteen dreams are: (1) *Airāvata*, the elephant of Indra, (2) the best of bulls, (3) the lion, white in colour and with red manes, (4) the goddess *Padmā* (same as *Śrī* noted above), lustrated by elephants and seated on lotuses, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the Moon, (7) the Sun, rising from the *Udayācala* mountain, (8) pair of full-vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fishes, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (*vimāna*), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (*Nāgendra-bhavana*), (15) heap of jewels, (16) smokeless fire.

Representations of the sixteen dreams are also popular amongst the Digambaras and are often carved on door-lintels of Jaina temples as for example in the Śāntinātha temple and other shrines at Khajuraho.

According to Jaina traditions, mothers of other Śalākāpuruṣas like the Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Cakravartins also see a certain number of dreams at the time of conception.[93] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Mother of a Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu) sees the following seven dreams: (1) Young lion, (2) Padmā (Śrī) seated on a lotus, and being sprinkled with water by two elephants, (3) Sun, (4) a pitcher filled with water and with its mouth adorned with white lotuses, (5) an ocean filled with aquatic animals etc., (6) a heap of jewels, and (7) smokeless fire.[94] According to the Digambaras, they are: (1) the Sun, (2) the Moon, (3) Śrī, (4) Vimāna, (5) Fire, (6) Celestial banner, (7) Disc made of jewels.[95]

The Mother of a Baladeva sees the following four dreams: (1) Elephant with four tusks, (2) bull, (3) Moon, (4) a pond filled with lotuses.[96] According to the Digambara tradition they are: (1) Moon, (2) elephant, (3) ocean, (4) Sun.[97]

The Mother of a Cakravartin sees fourteen dreams like the Mother of a Tīrthaṅkara, according to the Śvetāmbara tradition. According to the other sect, she sees five dreams: (1) Earth, (2) Sumeru mountain, (3) Sun and Moon, (4) lake with swans, and (5) ocean with surging waves.[98]

Dreams may be auspicious or inauspicious. Mahāvīra in his itinerary, before attaining Kevalajñāna, saw ten dreams which are described along with their meaning by the Sthānāṅga Sūtra.[99]

Belief in dreams and their effects is an ancient superstition. It is difficult to say when the section on dreams was introduced in the life of Mahāvīra in the Kalpasūtra account. At least the detailed descriptions of each of the fourteen dreams seem to have been added later as shown by Muni Punyavijaya in his critical edition of the *Pavitra Kalpa-sūtra*. It may be noted that the ornament *dīnāra-mālā* in the description of Śrī in these dreams (*Kalpa-sūtra, sūtra 37*) supports the inference that this section is added later after the *dīnāra* coin became popular in India.[100]

Belief in dreams is common to all sects. The science of Svapna-Śakuna was very popular in the age of the Purāṇas and even medical works like the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa refer to such dreams in detail.[101]

II. Aṣṭamangalas

The Aṣṭamangalas or Eight Auspicious symbols are familiar to both the sects and are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. They are: *Svastika*, *Śrī-vatsa*, *Nandyāvarta*, *Varddhamānaka* (powder-flask), *Bhadrāsana* (a particular type of seat), *Kalaśa* (the full vase), *Darpaṇa* (mirror), and *Matsya-yugma* (pair of fishes), and are often referred to in the Jaina texts, including canonical works,[102] as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts or placed on Caitya-trees, platforms, or painted on walls and so on.[103]

Hemacandra ācārya further notes that eight auspicious symbols were represented on *Bali-paṭṭas* or offering-stands.[104] The offering-stand is a platter with low legs, made of wood or metal, used to hold offering in temple worship. It has eight auspicious signs carved or wrought in high relief. Such stools, often made of wood with silver plate studded all over them, or made of silver or brass, and with reliefs of the eight auspicious symbols or the 14 or 16 auspicious dreams, are even today used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines. Often Jaina ladies prepare such signs with uncooked rice on wooden or metal platters placed in the mandapa in front of the deity. Small sized platters with the *aṣṭamangala* symbols are often worshipped in the sanctums along with metal images of Tīrthaṅkaras.

Hemacandra's reference to Bali-paṭṭas with marks of the eight auspicious symbols is interesting since

such symbols are seen on some of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas of the Kuṣāṇa period, obtained from Mathura. The Tablet of Homage (*Āyāgapaṭa*) set up by Acalā (no. J.252, State Museum, Lucknow), illustrated here in *Fig. 10*, shows a line of four symbols in the uppermost panel and another of eight at base. In the lower panel, the first symbol from right end, partly mutilated, was probably the *Śrīvatsa*. The second symbol is *Svastika*, the third a lotus-bud, half open, fourth a pair of fishes, fifth a water-jar with a handle, sixth is either an offering of sweets or better a crude representation of *Ratna-rāśi* (heap of gems). The seventh is probably the *Sthāpanā* (a cross-stand with a manuscript on it), the eighth is an inverted *Tri-ratna* looking like the so-called hill on ancient coins. The uppermost central rectangular panel, which contains four symbols, shows the *Śrīvatsa*, another type of *Svastika* with bent ends and two more symbols which cannot be properly identified.[105] A better preserved set of eight symbols is obtained on the Āyāgapaṭa set up by Sihanādika (no. J.249, Lucknow Museum, see *Fig. 11*) with inscription in characters which seem to be earlier than those of the age of Kaniṣka.[106] Here in the lower panel are shown the *Tri-ratna*, the full-blown lotus, the *Sthāpanā* (or is it *Bhadrāsana*?) and the *Mangala-kalaśa*. In the panel at the top are *Mīna-yugma*, an unidentified symbol, the *Śrīvatsa* and the *Vardhamānaka* (powder-box).

It is thus reasonable to infer that in the Kuṣāṇa period the Jaina set of the *aṣṭamangalas* was not finally settled.[107] In this older tradition as represented by the Mathura Āyāgapaṭas, the *Nandyāvarta* and the *Darpaṇa* are omitted and the full-blown lotus and an unidentified symbol are used. The Mathura finds represent a stage anterior to the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons like the Rayapasenaiya sutta.[108] Such facts confirm our inference that most of the Jaina canons as available today follow the edition of the Mathura council of c. 300-313 A.D. under Ārya Skandila.

Aṣṭamangalas are represented in miniature paintings[109] of manuscripts, in paintings on canvas of different paṭas, both tantric and non-tantric, and in scroll paintings of the Vijñaptipatras.[110] They are often represented as decorative motifs in different parts of a temple.

The Digambara sect gives the following set of *Aṣṭamangalas*: *Bhṛṅgāra* (a type of vessel), *Kalaśa*, *Darpaṇa*, *Cāmara* (fly-whisk), *Dhvaja* (banner), *Vyajana* (fan), *Chatra* (umbrella) and *Supratiṣṭha* (a seat).[111]

Some of these symbols like the *Svastika* are of very ancient origin, common to different ancient civilizations and races of the world and their exact significance is not always easy to comprehend. The full-vase or the *Pūrṇa-Kalaśa*, the *Pūrṇa-Kumbha* of Vedic lilerature, is the Indian symbol of fullness of life, of plenty, of immortality.[112]

The Śvetāmbara Jaina text Ācāra-Dinakara explains the significance of these symbols which may or may not represent the original conceptions. According to this text, the *Kalaśa* is worshipped as a symbol for the Jina as he is verily like a *Kalaśa* in the family. The *Darpaṇa* (mirror) is for seeing one's true self; the *Bhadrāsana* is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the Blessed Lord; the *Vardhamānaka* is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc., due to the grace of the Lord. The highest knowledge is said to have manifested itself, from the heart of the Jina, in the form of the *Śrīvatsa* mark on his chest. *Svastika*, according to this text, signifies *Svasti*, i.e., *Śānti* or peace. The *Nandyāvarta* diagram with its nine points stands for the Nine Nidhis. The pair of fishes or the *Mina-yugala* is the symbol of Cupid's banners come to worship after the defeat of the God of Love.

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all sects. V.S. Agrawala has referred to *Mangala-mālā* (garland of the auspicious symbols) amongst Sanchi reliefs. The Mahābhārata, Dronaparvan, 82.20-22 mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious before starting for battle. Amongst these auspicious maidens are also mentioned.[114] The Vāmana Purāṇa, 14.35-36 mentions several objects which are auspicious. The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa[115] also gives lists of animate and inanimate objects regarded as auspicious. Belief in *Mangalas* and *Mangala-dravyas* is also known to the Rāmāyaṇa.[116]

III. Sthāpanā or Sthāpanācārya

This is a symbolic representation of one's ācārya or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse. It marks the presence of the elder, used as a corrective witness, a precaution against

misinterpretation, but especially as a mark of reverence for the teacher. Literally it means installation of the figure or symbol (of the ācārya or any other elderly person including deities) when one is not personally present.[117]

It is a crossed wooden stand, made of two or more crossed wooden sticks which can be folded and carried easily. The sticks are tied with a string in the centre and when the stand is placed in position, a nice piece of cloth, often a costly ornamental one, is placed as a cover on its top. Under it were placed *akṣa* and *varāṭaka*. A scripture was usually placed on it as a *sthāpanā*. The sticks are often made of ivory or sandal-wood with beautiful carvings at the ends. The *sthāpanā* is an old practice amongst monks of both the sects and can be seen on stone sculptures, especially depicting figures of monks, in various Jaina sites like Devgadh, Khajuraho, Abu, Kumbharia, etc. (*Studies in Jaina Art*, figs. 43, 77; *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*, figs. 16, 22, 24, 33, and colour figs. C and F; and Figs. 36, 37, 167 in this book). Whether the motif existed or not in art of the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathura is not known, but the symbol preceding the Mangala-Kalaśa, in the lower panel of the Āyāgapaṭa dedicated by Sihanādika (Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, fig. 70; *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 13), illustrated here as *Fig. 11*, comes very near to this conception.

Sthāpanā is a pretty old conception, referred to by Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa as shown above, and by the Anuyogadvāra cūrṇi which mentions the accessories of a sādhu in the practice of Dharma. They are *ṭhavanā* (sthāpanā), *muhapatti* (mukhapaṭṭikā), *daṇḍa-paunchanam* (daṇḍa-praunchanaka), and *javamāliā* (japamalikā). The sthāpanā is for the practice of the virtue of vinaya or showing respect to and being obedient to the elders.

The *Muhapatti* is a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth by a Jaina monk while speaking. Prescribed for preventing insects from entering the mouth and being killed, the *Mukhapaṭṭikā* is also a symbol of samyama or control of speech. The *Mukhapatti* is a very old accessory used by Gautama, a gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra, as suggested by the canonical text Vipāka sūtra, adhyayana 1.

The *Daṇḍapraunchanaka*, also called *Rajoharaṇa*, is a broom with a stick-handle, used to sweep dust particles and small insects. According to the Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra-bhāṣya it was made of any one of the following five fibres—wool, hair of camels, jute (*śāṇaka*), fibres of *valkala*, or strings prepared by twisting the *muñja* grass. In the Digambara tradition brom made of peacock's feathers is known.

The *muhapatti*, *rajoharana* and the *japamālikā* (rosary of beads) carried by a Jaina monk can be seen in a sculpture of Nanna-suri, now in worship in a shrine in Sadadi and installed in v.s 1393. It is illustrated in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 48.

IV. Dharmacakra or the Wheel of Law

Representations of the *Dharmacakra* on Jaina pedestals from Kankali Tila, Mathura, show that the Wheel was placed on a platform or a pillar, often with the rim to front, and worshipped on both sides by the members of the Jaina Samgha (śrāvaka, śrāvikā, sādhu, and sādhvī). A Wheel on a pillar is shown in Ayagapaṭas illustrated in *Figs. 10* and *11*, also circumambulation of such *Dharmacakra*-pillars is suggested in a relief illustrated in *Figs. 164*. It seems that formerly the *Dharmacakra* was separately installed as an object of worship in Jaina shrines. This is inferred from the find of a *Dharmacakra* of brass or bronze obtained with the Chausa hoard of Jaina bronzes, illustrated in *Fig. 16*. This *Dharmacakra* belongs to the Kuṣāna age. A separate brass or bronze *Caitya-tree* of the same age was also obtained in this hoard (*Fig. 17*) An Ayāgapaṭa from Mathura with a big Dharmacakra in centre is illustrated by us in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 14.

V. Aṣṭāpada, Sammeta Śikhara and Pañca-Meru

Ṛsabha obtained Nirvāṇa on the *Aṣṭāpada* mountain Near his cremation ground Bharata erected a temple, of jewelled slabs, and named it Simhani adyā-āyatana (possibly from its architecture ?) with statues of the *Śāśvata Tīrthaṅkaras* and the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of this age. Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain, along with Ṛṣabhanātha, besides

he placed a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee. Bharata raised the Blessed One's Stūpa and those of his 99 brothers outside the shrine. To save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen, and cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (*aṣṭa*) steps (*pada*) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross and each step or terrace (*pada*) was one yojana apart from the next one. From that time the mountain was called *Aṣṭāpada*. Among people it was also known *Harādri*, *Kailāsa*, and *Sphaṭikādri*.

Such is the origin of the name of the mount Aṣṭāpada according to Hemacandra.[118] The Vasudeva-hiṇḍi[119] tells how Aṣṭāpada came to be regarded as a tīrtha, how Bharata erected stūpas and shrines and installed the different images but gives no explanation of the name Aṣṭāpada. Aṣṭāpada is an old Jaina tīrtha since it is referred to by the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti[120] and the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti.[121]

Gautama, the first Ganadhara of Mahāvīra, was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon will obtain emancipation. Gautama, with his super-natural power, climbed it like a flash of light. Some tāpasas (Brahmanical monks ?) were attempting to do so but could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama they got enlightenment and obtained moksa. Gautama reached the top and entering the *Simhanisadyā-Caitya* by the South gate, he first saw images of the four Jinas beginning with Sambhava and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped the eight Tīrthankaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the Northern gate, he worshipped the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern gateway of the shrine he worshipped the first two Jinas—Rṣabha and Ajitanātha.[122]

Obviously, *Simhaniṣadyā* is a Caturmukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jina images are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina temples, sometimes, a cell is dedicated to Aṣṭāpada represented in the way described above A representation of Aṣṭāpada of this type, with Gautama ganadhara shown climbing, and the tāpasas on the way, is seen in a shrine on the mount Śatruñjaya in Saurashtra, Gujarat. *Fig. 181* is supposed to represent Aṣṭāpada. Smaller representations, only of the Jinas, in the above order, on four sides of a pīṭha, are more common and one such may be seen in a Jaina shrine in Surat. All these are later mediaeval representations and earlier ones are not traced hitherto. Citra-patas mapping tīrthas like Śatruñjaya, Girnāra, Sammeta-Śikhara, Aṣṭāpada etc , singly or in groups, are frequently installed in front halls of Jaina shrines and scroll paintings on canvas or paper were in use. A *Pañcatīrthi-paṭa* painted at Champaner in Gujarat in early fifteenth century A.D. was published long ago by N.C. Mehta and was again discussed by Motichandra with better illustrations in colour.[122a] The avacūri on Samavasaraṇa-stava refers to paṭas representing the Samavasarana structure. *Fig. 182* is a small representation of Samavasarana in stone, under worship in Vimala Vasahi, Abu

The Digambara sect also believes that Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa on the Astāpada mountain and that Bharata erected a memorial shrine on the cremation. But representations—in plaques, paintings, sculptures—are not yet traced, though a proper search is likely to disclose some kind of representation of the Aṣṭāpada and other tīrthas amongst the Digambaras as well.

Similarly, representations of the Sammeta-Śikhara (see *Fig. 180* from Kumbhariā) are also worshipped in Śvetāmbara Jaina shrines, a famous example of which is available int he triple-shrine built by Vastupala and Tejpala on the Mt Girnar. Such representation is known as *avatāra* or *uddhāra* of a particular tīrtha A stone-plaque representing *avatāra* of the Śatruñjaya and Girnāra tīrthas, now in worship in a shrine in Varakhāṇā, Rajasthan, is illustrated here in *Fig. 186*.

Representations of *Pañca-Meru* mountains, showing a Siddhāyatana on each tier (on each side as in a four-fold or Caumukha image), one above the other, represented in five tiers surmounted by a finial, are more common amongst the Digambaras. One such *Pañca-Meru* obtained in a Digambara shrine in Surat, installed in V.S. 1514 = A.D. 1456, is illustrated here in *Fig. 184* One such *Pañca-Meru* is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastiśālā of the Lūṇa-Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. The five Merus are: Sudarśana in the midst of Jambūdvīpa, Vijaya in eastern Dhātakīkhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in western Dhātakīkhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa, and Vidyunmālī in the western Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa.

According to the Digambara belief, in all there are eighty Siddhāyatanas on the five Merus.

VI. *Nandīśvara-Dvīpa*

Nandīśvara-dvīpa is known to both the sects.[123] It is the last of the numerous island-continents of Jaina cosmography, the first or the central one being the Jambū-dvīpa. The Nandīśvara is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In its central parts are four Añjana mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions—Devaramana in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha and Ramaṇīya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhats, each shrine having four doors. The shrines are 100 yojanas long, 50 yojanas wide and 70 yojanas in height. Within the shrines are jewelled platforms (*maṇipīṭhaka*) on which are diases (*devacchandaka*) on whom are one hundred and eight eternal statues (*Śāśvata-bimba*) of the four Eternal Arhats (*Śāśvata-Jina*), named *Ṛṣabha*, *Vardhamāna*, *Candrānana* and *Vāriṣeṇa*, made of jewels, in the *paryanka* posture and attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas and two Kumbhadharas (pitcher-carriers), while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the diases are incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the aṣṭamangalas, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes, seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full-pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (*mukha-maṇḍapa*), theatre-pavilions (*prekṣā-maṇḍapa*), arenas (*akṣavāṭaka*), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, statues, fair caitya-trees, Indra-dhvajas and divine lotus-lakes in succession.

In the four directions from each of the Añjana mountains there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandiseṇa, Amogha, Gostupa, etc., and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Cūta. With the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dadhimukha mountains, each having a Śāśvata-Jinālaya with images of Śāśvata-Jinas noted above. Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains making a total of thirty-two Ratikara mountains. These again have thirty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such eternal temples of the Arhats on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. Here and elsewhere on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa Indra and other gods celebrate Eight-days' Festival (*Aṣṭāhnika Mahotsava*) on different holy (*parva*) days.

Works on cosmography like the Laghukṣetrasamāsa of Ratnaśekhara expressly state that there are fifty-two Śāśvata-Caityālayas, thirteen in each of the four directions, on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.[124]. A diagrammatic representation of it generally shows in a circle a group of thirteen miniature shrines in each of the four directions, with a mountain in the centre.

In various temples and palaces of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, gods together with their retinue celebrate the *Aṣṭāhnika Mahotsava* on holy days of the holy Arhats. After celebrating the *Kalyāṇaka* ceremony (or the festival of any of the five chief events in the life of every Jina) gods retire to this dvīpa, worship the Caityas thereon and then return to their respective abodes.[125]

Plaques or Paṭas representing the fifty-two shrines on the Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects. The Digambaras represent fifty-two small figures of the Jinas (suggesting shrines) on a four-tiered platform, or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, as illustrated by T.N. Ramachandran in his Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples, pl. xxxi, figs. 3-4, p. 181. The Śvetāmbaras represent miniature shrines in four groups of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone plaque, and arranged in different artistic ways. A beautiful Śvetāmbara plaque, worshipped in the famous Caumukha shrine at Ranakpur, is illustrated here in *Fig. 179*. Another paṭa of this dvīpa, installed by one Dhāndhala in V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.), is preserved in a cell in the main shrine on Mt. Girnar but the number of shrines on the plaque exceeds the usual figure 52. It is impossible to list here all the available representations of Nandīśvara from the whole of India nor is it necessary in a work of iconography to do so even with regard to images of different deities nor does this author claim to have made an exhaustive study from each and every shrine of the Jaina faith which is still a living religion in India.

The *Nandīśvara-dvīpa* has been held very sacred by both the sects who install stone and metal sculptures or plaques in their shrines. T.N. Ramachandran (*op. cit.*) has published a metal sculpture of *N.*-

dvīpa, pyramidal in shape, rising in four tiers and with a finial top. On each side thirteen Jinas are sitting in padmāsana. He has also published a bigger stone sculpture of the *N.-dvīpa*, shaped like a vimāna, superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal Jinas seated in meditation. The vimāna has on each side niche surmounted by an arch with a figure of a Jina sitting in it. A finial surmounts the whole giving it a dignified appearance. Figure 63 in *Studies in Jaina Art*, illustrated by us, represents a modern *N.-dvīpa* bronze from a Jaina shrine in Kolhapur. Since the *N.-dvīpa* with its 52 Śāśvata-Jinālayas has been a favourite resort of gods for festivals and worship, it has naturally become a favourite symbol of worship of the Eternal Jina images, by the pious Jainas. The figure 52 became so popular that a group of smaller shrines 52 in number were often erected round a Jaina shrine. One of the penances practised by them is known as Nandīśvara-pankti-vrata in the Digambara tradition; a similar N.-tapa practised by the Śvetāmbaras along with pūjā of the Nandīśvara-paṭa is referred to by the Pravacanasāroddhāra.[125a]

VII. Samavasaraṇa

Samavasaraṇa[126] literally means assemblage and refers to the Sermon-hall constructed by gods, where heavenly beings, human beings and the animal world assemble, take their apportioned seats, and attend to the sermon delivered by a Tīrthaṅkara after enlightenment. According to Śvetāmbara sect, Vyantara gods erect it at the bidding of Indra, while the Digambara traditions say that Indra himself was the architect.

It is a special structure usually an elaborate circular theatre with three fortifications around, erected by gods, for beings to sit and listen to the discourse.[127] In representations in Jaina miniature paintings it is generally circular in plan while in some cases it is square in plan.

Detailed descriptions of such assembly halls are obtained in works of both the sects, especially the Jaina Purāṇas in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, Kannada, Tamil, etc.[128]

The Kalpa-sūtra does not refer to the Samavasaraṇa or the festival celebrated by the gods at the time of the Kevalajñāna of Mahāvīra.[129] Even the negative evidence of Kalpa-sūtra is sometimes significant as it is an early text already commented upon by Agastyasimha sūri in c. third century A.D.[130] It may also be noted that not a single representation of the Samavasaraṇa has yet been discovered from Kankali Tila, Mathura. But the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti does describe it.[131] The terms Samavasaraṇa, for such an elaborate conception, seems to have originated from canonical expressions like *samavasṛtaḥ* used in Jaina canons for Mahāvīra staying and holding meetings in different places and from texts like the Aupapātika sūtra 10, where Mahāvīra is said to have arrived at the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya near Campā with a view to hold a congregation (*samosarium kāme*).

According to Hemacandra (*Triṣaṣṭi*, op. cit.), when Ṛṣabha obtained Kevalajñāna, Indra ordained Vyantara gods to erect a Samavasaraṇa. The Vāyukumāras first cleaned the ground for one yojana, the Meghakumāras then sprinkled it with fragrant water, the Vānavyantaras spread flowers on it. The Vyantaras covering the surface with shining mosaics, erected, in four directions arches (toraṇa), of jewels, gold etc., having on their tops tall figures of *śālabhañjikās* with reflecting surfaces. Makara ornaments (of glistening sapphire) shone on the arches.[132] The arches, adorned with flags and white umbrellas above and eight auspicious symbols below, looked like those on offering slabs (*Balipaṭṭas*).

The Vimānavāsī gods made the uppermost rampart of jewels (*ratna*) with battlements (*kapiśīrṣa*). In the middle part, the Jyotiṣka gods made a rampart (*vapra*) of gold with battlements of jewels on it. The third and the outermost fortification wall, constructed by Bhavanavāsī gods, was made of silver and decorated on top with extensive coping stones of golden lotuses.

Each of these ramparts had four ornamental gateways (*gopura*). At each gate, jars of incense were placed. Besides at each gate the gods made a reservoir or step-well (*vāpī*) with golden lotuses and having four gates like those of the rampart.

To the north-east, inside the second wall, they made a dais (*devacchanda*) for the Master to rest on. On both sides of the east gate of the first rampart stood two gold-coloured Vaimānika gods as gate-keepers. At its south gate stood two white Vyantara gods, at the west gate two Jyotiṣka gods of red

colour and at the north gate two Bhavanādhipatis black like clouds. At four gates of the second wall, in the same order, stood the goddesses *Jayā*, *Vijayā*, *Ajitā* and *Aparājitā*, each with one hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the other three hands carrying the noose, the goad and the hammer. On the last rampart, at each gate, stood a Tumburu as door-keeper, carrying a skull-crowned club (*khaṭvāṅga*), wearing a garland of skulls, and adorned with matted hair.[133]

In the midst of the Samavasaraṇa, a Caitya-tree was raised by the Vyantaras, beneath it a platform (*pīṭha*) of jewels, on the latter a dias (*chandaka*) of gems In the centre of it, to the east was placed a jewelled lion-throne with foot-stool. Above the throne shone the white triple-umbrella, on both sides Yakṣas held two white fly-whisks. At the gate of the Samavasaraṇa, they placed, on a golden lotus, the *Dharma-cakra* of remarkable lustre.

Gods use nine lotuses for the master to step on while reaching the congregation. Entering the Samavasaraṇa by the east-gate, the Jina makes pradakṣiṇā (circumambulation) of the Caitya-tree and bowing to the congregation (*tīrtha*) takes his seat on the lion-throne. Vyantara-gods make three life-size images of the Lord and place them in the other three directions so that everyone in the assembly finds himself facing the Lord.[134] Behind the Jina appears a halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*), a drum is sounded in the skies (*devadundubhi*), and a jewelled banner blazes in front of the Lord

In the first rampart is the place for monks and nuns. Gods, men and women, and animals have their own places in different ramparts

In the interesting account given by Jinasena in the Ādipurāṇa,[135] Samavasaraṇa is circular in plan, surrounded by a *dhūli-sāla* (mud-wall) of dust particles of various gems producing effect of rainbow colours. A little inside the *dhūli-sāla*, in the midst of roads were tall *Mānastambhas* on platforms reached by flights of steps, and situated in the midst of a *Jagatī*, surrounded by three walls and four *gopuras*. At their bases were golden images of the Jinendra worshipped with waters of the Kṣīra-sāgara. Music and dancing continued before these Jina images The pillars, erected by Indra, also called *Indra-dhvajas* had triple umbrellas on tops. Near the pillars were step-wells in four directions and by their sides small *kuṇḍas* for washing one's feet.

A little away from these *vāpīs* was a moat filled with water, full of lotuses and encircling the Samavasaraṇa area.

Near each gateway, of the first rampart, were nine-*nidhis* (treasures) On each side of the highways starting from these gateways were two *nāṭya-śālās*. Further inside were incense-burner jars, still further, on the byways by the side of highroads, were four forest groves with square or triangular vāpīs for heavenly damsels to bathe. At some places were lotus ponds, at others krīḍāmaṇḍapas, artificial hillocks, mansions (*harmya*), *prekṣā-gṛhas*, *citra-śālās* (picture-galleries), *eka-śālās*, *dvi-śālās* (single-roomed or double-roomed houses), or big palaces (*mahā-prāsāda*). In the Aśoka-vana was a big Aśoka-tree on a three-tiered platform, and adorned with flags, bells etc At its root were four images of the Jinendra worshipped by gods and human beings Similarly the other three forests had the Caitya-trees called Saptaparaṇa, the Campaka, and the Āmra-tree

At the ends of these forests were *Vana-vedikās* with tall gateways with flagstaffs in front

In the description of the second rampart, and its area, the forests are of the Kalpa-vṛkṣas and in the list of buildings etc we find additional mention of *Candraśālās* and *Kūṭāgāras*. In the centre of each of the highways were nine lofty stupas adorned on all sides with images of the Siddhas and the Arhats.

In the centre of third rampart area, three pīṭhas stood, one above the other. On the third, Kubera erected a square *Gandhakuṭi* on which was placed the lion-throne on which sat the Lord, with triple umbrellas overhead, halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*) behind, nearby and attended upon by Yakṣas waving fly-whisks. In the sky rose the sound of the celestial drums beaten by gods.

Descriptions in traditions of both the sects agree in broad outline, viz., a central pavilion (*Gandhakuṭi*) for the Jina, placed on a big platform, and surrounded by three fortifications, each with four archways in four different directions. Originally the conception of the samavasaraṇa seems to be circular in plan and the square plan seems to be a later one. But it shows that the samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the big stūpa (the *harmikā* of stūpa may be compared with the *gandhakuṭi* or *devacchandaka* for the

Jina) surrounded by a flight of steps. At a lower level or on the ground level, running around this central structure and at some distance from it is the bigger railing (a rampart) with ornamental torana-gateways. There is a third rampart which can be compared with the third railing seen on the frieze of worship from Kankali Tila, illustrated in Fig 10A.

But the elaborate Digambara description, in the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, includes in it the various constituent elements of a big city and may have incorporated in it an ideal description of a contemporary city-site with three fortifications, a surrounding moat, pleasure resorts, stepwells, theatres, lawns, lakes, palaces etc., and having in its centre the royal palace. Viewed in this light, such accounts are of special value as providing us with architectural and other cultural data.

In Kalpa-sūtra miniatures *Samavasaraṇa* is generally represented as circular and occasionally square in plan Brown's pl. 23, fig. 80 shows Mahāvīra sitting in the padmāsana in the centre of the samavasarana, with a yakṣa attendant standing on either side Four highways lead to the Jina in the centre. The ornamental concentric bands around the Jina represent the usual fortifications. The whole is enclosed in rectangular panel, at four corners of which stand pairs of animals who have forgotten their natural animosities under the spiritual influence of the Jina whose main teaching is ahimsā. Brown's figures 113 and 126 are of a similar composition. His figure 99 represents the second type, here a samavasaraṇa of Pārśvanātha.[136]

The fresco paintings of Śittannavasal, of c. 9th-10th century, contain in the ceiling, a scene of a big lotus pond with animals such as elephants and bulls, birds, and fishes frolicking about and men gathering lotus flowers, which has been identified by Ramachandran as khaṭikābhūmi or the tank region, with the faithful (*bhavyas*) gathering lotus flowers

The wall and ceiling paintings at Tirumalai, N. Arcot district, the ceiling at Tiruparuttikunram, at Śravana Belagola etc., also contain representations of Samavasaraṇa in circular form.

Representations of Samavasaraṇa are available in reliefs showing lives of different Jinas, for example, in the life of Śantinātha in a ceiling in the Vimala vasahi, Abu, bhāva no. 19, and in another elaborate ceiling in a shrine at Kumbhāriā. Loose sculptures, mostly circular, showing three ramparts, one above the other, surmounted by a square pavilion showing the Jina sitting on each side are also obtained, a beautiful example of which from the Vimala vasahi cell 20 has been discussed by D.R. Bhandarkar. A big sized beautiful bronze structure of a similar plan, installed in the eleventh century, brought from Sirohi and now in worship in a Jaina shrine in Surat, is illustrated here.[137] Examples of such loose stone and metal sculptures and reliefs are scattered in Jaina shrines all over India. The upper part of Samavasaraṇa, the pavilion or the Gandhakuṭi, with the Jina facing each side, has been a subject of representation by itself as the Caumukha (*Caturmukha pratimā*) called *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā* in Mathura inscriptions. In further later elaboration of this concept we find such four-sided sculptures and bronzes with several Tīrthaṅkaras on each face. But the practice of installing Caturmukha sculptures is an old one common to the Caitya and Yakṣa worship and images were installed and worshipped on four sides of a Caitya, a pillar or a stūpa, as also in the pavilion or gandhakuṭi on top of a stūpa.

The square or circular Samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the square or circular funeral mounds or structures referred to by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and called Daiva and Āsura Prācya respectively. Being associated with śmaśāna, symbolising funeral memorials, the Jainas unlike the Buddhists did not like to install miniature Stūpa representations in their shrines and at the same time could not omit such a very popular symbol from the Jaina worship. The evolution of the Samavasarana concept gave an excellent substitute for the stūpa symbol. So far as the concept is concerned Samavasaraṇa has nothing to do with funeral rites.

The original conception of a *Caturmukha-pratimā* so far as a samavasarana or the gandhakuti on top of a stūpa is concerned, shows that figures of one and the same Jina should be shown on each of the four sides. But the *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikās* from Kankali Tila, Mathura, show figures of four different Tīrthaṅkaras on the four sides, two of them can be identified as Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha and the other two possibly represented Mahāvīra and Neminātha. Thus the *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikās* of Kuṣāṇa age do not always seem to imply the Samavasaraṇa concept and some of them were certainly on the top or at the base of a kind of Jaina pillars, like the Kahaon Pillar, called *Mānastambhas*. This is quite evident in

cases where, amongst the *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* or *Caturmukha* images from Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find tenon or socket on top or bottom.

The conception of the Samavasaraṇa is not later than the Gupta age since neither the Āvaśyaka Niryukti nor the Vasudevahiṇḍi referring to it can be assigned to a date later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The conception of a Caturmukha shrine, evolved from the cult of Caitya-vṛkṣa and the Yakṣa cult as shown before, and the allied concept of Caturmukha Pratimā led further to the creation of interesting sculptures and bronzes, as, for example, the Nandīśvara images at Jina-Kāñchi or Tiruparuttikuṇṛam illustrated by Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, fig. 3 and pl. XXXI, fig. 4. Four-sided bronze and stone images having in all 72, 108, or 1008 miniature Jina images were also evolved. A beautiful Caumukha shrine from Guṇā, Madhya Pradesh, is a gem of its kind.[138]

VIII. Tree-Worship

We have already referred to Caitya trees before. Tree-worship, popular from ancient times, noticed on Indus seals and in Vedic and later Brahmanical literature, formed an important aspect of the religious cult of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahāvīra were mainly concerned. The Caitya tree had to be introduced on relief sculpture of a Tīrthaṅkara by showing its foliage spread over his head, because of the great popular appeal the Tree had in ancient India.[139] Originally perhaps the Jina image was placed under a Caitya-Tree. The bronze figure of a Caitya-tree obtained in the Chausa hoard (*Fig. 17*) was perhaps worshipped in such a way with a separate small Jina figure placed near its trunk. Even today the Caitya-tree of Ṛṣabhanātha (*Rāyaṇa tree* in Gujarati) is held sacred and worshipped on the mountain Śatruñjaya.

The earliest reference to the Caitya-tree of Mahāvīra is in the Ācārāṅga sūtra, book II which is regarded as later than book I. Though incorporating much earlier material, the Samavāyāṅga sūtra (samavāya 159, p. 152) is obviously a later compilation. It gives a list of Past, Present and Future Tīrthaṅkaras and records a list of Caitya-vṛkṣas of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of this age in the Bharata kṣetra.

Spirits connected with trees are assigned by the Jainas to the class of Vyantara gods. The Vyantaras are subdivided into eight groups, namely, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas (Nāgas), and Gandharvas. Each group has on its crest the symbol of a tree in the following order—the *kadamba*, *sulasa*, *vaṭa*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *aśoka*, *nāga and tumburu* according to the Śvetāmbara tradition while the Digambaras substitute the *badari* tree for the *khaṭvāṅga*. In the Śvetāmbara list *khaṭvāṅga* alone does not seem to be the name of a tree.

The Sthānāṅga sūtra (10 3, sū. 766) gives a list of trees worshipped by the ten classes of Bhavanavāsī gods. A different list is supplied by the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, 4.913ff.

Along with the conception of Caitya trees may be noted the conceptions of the Tree of Life and the Wish-fulfilling Trees (*kalpa-druma*) in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. Jaina texts also speak of ten *kalpa-drumas*, described in detail in the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, 20, pp. 99ff, Harivamśa of Jinasena, I, pp. 146-47, Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita (Parva 1, transl. op. cit., pp. 29-30), etc.

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For references from Buddhist texts, see Muni rajaji, *Āgama aur Tripiṭaka—Eka Anuśīlana* (Hindi), vol. I, pp. 402ff. Malalasekera, G.P., *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II (London, 1938), pp. 61-65; Shah, C.J., *Jainism in North India* (London, 1932), pp. 5-7; Jaini, Padmanabha, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi, 1979), p. 2, n 3.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-Samhitā* refers to the *Ārhats*, i.e., followers of Arhats. By his time the term *Arhat* (worthy of veneration) seems to have been used especially for a Jina or a Tirthaṅkara.

As in *Amarakośa*, cf. सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धः'''मारजिल्लोकजिज्जिनः । A Jina is called an Arhat. cf. *Abhayadeva's Comm. on Sthānāṅga sūtra*, p. 191, and *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 1087; *Mūlācāra*, 7.4; Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2 and notes.

5. A remarkable study of the Jaina shrines at Devgadh is made by Klaus Bruhn in his *The Jina-Images of Deogarh* (Leiden, 1961). S. Settar has studied *Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa Monuments*. I understand his work will be published soon. Of course, an abridged book entitled *Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa* by S. Settar was published in 1981 from Dharwar. M.A. Dhaky is engaged in a special study of all the Jaina monuments at Śatruñjaya while Harihara Singh has made a special study of the Jaina shrines at Kumbhāriā.
6. Jaina, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 19, and n. 2.
7. *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, II.3.401, p. 389.
8. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 9.32.
9. *Jaina sūtras*, *SBE*, vol. XIV, pp. xvi-xxi.
10. Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-21.
11. *Cf. Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, 26.29. For rules of conduct of Keśin, a follower of Pārśvanātha, see *Rājapasenaiya sutta*, 147, and for disciples of Mahāvīra, *Aupapātika sūtra*, 16, p. 61.
12. Modern scholars do not believe in the legend of Transfer of Mahāvīra's Embryo. It seems that he was born of a Brāhmaṇa lady. Also see Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9 and notes; Malavania, Dalsukh D., *Mahāvīra's Life*, Journ. of the O. I., Baroda, vol. XXIV, pp. 11ff.
13. Shah, U.P., *Harinegamesin*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. XIX (1952-1953), pp. 19-41 and plates.
14. The Digambara sect does not believe in the Transfer episode nor do they give the name of Mahāvīra's mother as Triśalā. They call her Priyakāriṇī.
15. For the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, see Muni Kalyanavijaya, *Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat Aur Jaina Kālagaṇanā* (Hindi), *Nagarı Pracarini Patrika*, vols. X-XI; and Muni Nagaraj, *op. cit.*
16. For a fuller account and more illustrations, see Shah, U.P., *A Pārśvanātha Sculpture in Cleveland*, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, December 1970, pp. 303-311 and plates.
17. Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.
18. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (Devacand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhara series, no. 33, 1916 A.D.), pp. 502-503, Transl. by Jacobi, SBE, vol. XIV, p. 12.
19. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya* (ed. by Muni Punyavijayaji, Bhavanagar), vol. VI, gāthā 6369, p. 1681:
   अचेलक्को धम्मो पुरिमस्स य पच्छिमस्स य जिनस्स ।
   मज्झिमगान जिणाणं होति अचेलो सचेलो वा ॥
   The Śvetambara writers tried to explain the term *acela* by saying that even with tattered worn out garment a person can be generally called *acela*, see also *ibid.*, p. 1680, gathas 6260ff and p. 1688, gāthās 6402ff.
20. *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, I.8.1, Transl. by Jacobi, SBE, vol. XXII, p. 78; *Kalpa sūtra*, Jacobi's transl., vol. XXII, pp. 259f.
21. Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 10ff; *Dīghanikāya*, 1.57.
22. Jaini, Padmanabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 13ff, 16.
23. Jaini, Padmanabha, *ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
24. *Sthānāṅga*, II.171, p. 137 (Agamodaya Samiti ed.); *Ācārāṅga*, II.5.1.2, SBE, XII, pp. 157-166; *Uttarādhyayana*, II.12, SBE, XLV, p. 11. Also see Muni Uttam Kamal Jain, *Jaina Sects and Schools* (Delhi, 1975), pp. 39-45.
25. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (Ratlam, 1928), pp. 285, 291. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, I, gāthās 1328-57.
   For details about *Jinakalpa*, see *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya*, III, gāthās 3962ff; about the *Sthavirakalpa* monks, see *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, 7.4.208ff; also see Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jinas* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1935), pp. 162ff. Muni Kalyanavijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (Hindi, Jalor, v.s. 1998), pp. 285ff. For the Digambara view, see Jaina, Kamta Prasad in *Jaina Antiquary* (Arrah), vol. ix, no. II.
26. *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, I.7, SBE, XII, pp. 69-73.
27. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya*, III, gāthā 3964.
28. *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi*, II, pp. 155ff.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 406ff.
30. *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi*, pp. 427ff. *Āvaśyaka-Bhāṣya*, gāthā 145 printed in *Āvaśyaka vṛtti* of Haribhadra sūri (Āgamodaya Samiti ed., Bombay, 1918), pp. 323ff. *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahā-Bhāṣya* of Jinabhadra gaṇi (510-600 A.D.), vol. II, pp. 676ff (Ratlam ed.).
31. *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa* (ed. by Upadhye, A.N., Singhi Jaina Series, no. 17), 131, pp. 317ff, and Intro., p. 118. For inscriptions about this legend, vide *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II (revised ed.), pp. 36ff. Also see *Bhāvasamgraha* of Devasena (Bombay, 1978), pp. 35-39, and *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnanandi (Bombay, 1912).
32. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, pp. 152-178; *Uttarādhyayana Niryukti*, gāthās 164-178; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthās 778-783.
33. *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahā-Bhāṣya*, gāthās 3011ff. (Ratlam ed.), pp. 729-34. The Digambara writer Devasena in his *Darśanasāra*, v. 11, says that this schism arose 136 years after Vikrama, i.e., in 79 A.D. For Pandit Nathuram Premi's remarks on above, see *Jaina Hitaiṣī* (Hindi), vol. XIII, pp. 252ff, 265ff.
   For the age of Niryuktis, Muni Punyavijayaji's Introduction to *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya*, vol. VI; Charpentier's Intro. to the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (Upasala, 1922), pp. 49f places Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Niryuktis in c. 4th cent. A.D. According to Leumann the Niryuktis were compiled in c. 80 A.D.; also see Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Ghatge, A.M., *Daśavaikālika Niryukti*, *IHQ*, vol. XI, p. 629. Alsdorf, A.L., in *Mahāvīra and His Teachings* (Ahmedabad, 1976).
34. *Śilappadikaram*, transl. by Dikshitar, Ramachandra, V.R. (Oxford, 1942), pp. 4f, 190f, 214f, and Intro., p. 68; Chakravarti, A., *Jainism in Tamil Land*, *Jaina Antiquary*, vol. IV, 3, pp. 69ff etc.

34a. For detailed information of sites and illustrations, see R. Champakalakṣmi, *South India*, *Jaina Art and Architecture*, chp. 9, pp. 92-103 and plates.

35. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra*, gāthās 3275-3289, vol. III, pp. 917-931. Compare gāthā 3289 which is famous (the same gāthās are also available in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, vol. IV, pp. 128-131, gāthās 5744-5758, given in both the texts as *Bhāṣya gāthās*):

उद्दिण्णजोहाउलसिद्धसेणो, स पत्थिवो णिज्जियसत्तुसेणो ।
समन्ततो साहुसुहप्पयारे, अकासि अंधे दमिले य धोरे ॥३२८६॥

Also see *The Ascendency and Eclipse of Bhagvan Mahāvīra's Cult in Tamil Nadu*, by K A. Nilakantha Sastri and V. Ramasubramaniam, in *Mahāvīra and His Teachings* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 297-344.

It is indeed difficult to say when exactly Jainism entered South India But one can imagine gradual inroads of Jainism in the South, through Kalinga (note Kharavela's inscr.), and through Pratiṣṭhānapura; and on the west coast through Śurpāraka to Karnataka. During the life-time of Mahāvīra the Jainas were mainly in Magadha and Radha in Bengal and perhaps in southern Kośala and also in Ujjain etc Afterwards the Kalpa-sūtra-Sthaviravali giving Gana and Kula names derived from places is our sure guide. Jainism does not appear to have made strong-holds in the South before c. third or second century B C. *A few monks could have ventured going into South India before the time of Mauryan ruler Samprati but with little or no success in settling there.* Also see Subrahmanyam, R , *The Guntupally Brahmi inscription of Kharavela, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Epigraphical Series no. 3* (1968), pp 1-6.

36. Schubring, *op. cit* , p. 6
37. Premi, Nathuram, *Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa* (in Hindi) (Bombay, 1942), pp. 41ff Upadhye, A N , *Yāpanīya Samgha, Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. VI, pp. 224ff

    The Hoskote copper-plate inscription of Pallava Simhaviṣṇu (*Ep Ind., vol. 24*) refers in line 25 to *Arhad-deva-āyatana* worshipped by the *Yāvanika Samgha* (*Yāpanīya Samgha*).

    I am thankful to R. Nagaswamy for drawing my attention to the Hoskote plates.
38. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 34, *Devagiri Plates of Śiva Mṛgeśavarman*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, pp. 36ff Saletore, B A., *Mediaeval Jainism* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 31-32. Date of Mṛgeśavarman is c 470-488 A D.
39. Perhaps the Digambaras are here referred to as Nirgranthas.
40. It is not possible to illustrate here all of them. Also see Chanda, Ramaprasad, *Śvetāmbara and Digambara Images, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, for 1925-26*, pp. 180ff.
41. For known Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period, see Chanda, Ramaprasad, *ibid* , pp. 121ff, pl. LVI, figs. b and c; Shah, U P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp 14-16; Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol III, 66-68; Banerji, R.D , *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 104, 106, 108, 129, and pl xviii; Agrawala, V S , *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, pl. xiii, pp. 52ff, Gai, G S., *Three Inscriptions of Ramagupta, JOI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 247ff and plates; *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed. by A Ghosh), vol. I, chps. 10, 11, 12, 13, pp 107-142 and plates. Shah, U.P., *An Old Jaina Image from Khed-Brahma, JOI*, vol. X, pp 61ff and plate. Joanna Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, figs. 27-30, 60, 68, 69, 88, 146-148, 230-231.
42. Smith, V., *Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities from Mathura*, pl. xvii, fig. 2, discussed by Chanda, R.P., *op. cit.*, p. 179; *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 117; *Jaina Art and Architecture*, I, chp. 6, pl. 3, p. 57. For the Ardhaphālakas, see Jaina, K.P., *Ardhaphālaka Sampradāya* (in Hindi), *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, VIII, no. 2, pp. 63 66.
43. The date in the inscription is generally read as 95, *Ep. Ind* , I, no. 22. *Luders' List no. 75*. Luders says that the reading of the first two signs of the date is uncertain. In *Jaina Art and Architecture*, I, p. 57, Debala Mitra has given year 99 as the date

    It seems that the date 95 or 99 may not be in the era of 78 A D since that would be equal to 173 or 177 A.D. But if the date is in the era of 57 B C. then the date would be equal to 38 or 42 A.D. which is reasonable since Kaṇha or Kṛṣna Śramana is the teacher of Śivabhūti and since Śivabhūti's schism arose in 79 or 83 A.D.

    If we accept Jacobi's date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa around 467 B.C , the date of the schism of Śivakoṭi or Śivabhūti would be 142 A D In that case the era used for the date in this Tablet of Kaṇha Samaṇa can be the era of 78 A.D
44. Also see Shah, U.P , *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper no 6, pp 49-74, and figs 16-21.
45. The inscriptions on the pedestals of these images from Mathura refer to *ganas, śākhās, kulas, etc* , found in the Śvetāmbara Sthavirāvali of the Kalpa-sūtra whereas the monks represented on pedestals are naked and often hold a piece of cloth on the elbow in such a way that the linga is covered from view. Whom they called *arddhaphālakas* in their times? They seem to be *Jina-kalpi* monks who might be holding such a piece of cloth when they come out of seclusion into the society Or, are they Yāpanīyas? It is difficult to draw any definite conclusion. It is very likely that these sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura are of an age when the Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism had either not surfaced or at least had not reached Mathura. Otherwise we would have found figures of Jaina monks dressed as Śvetāmbara monks, with at least one lower garment. The problem needs further investigation since names of some monks and most of the *ganas, śākhās, kulas etc.* figure in Śve. accepted Sthavirāvali of the Kalpa-sūtra.
46. Shah, U P., *Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and the Earliest Known Śvetāmbara Bronzes, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1*, pp. 31ff. *Akota Bronzes*, p. 26, pls. 8a and 8b.
47. आजानुलम्बबाहुः श्रीवत्साङ्कः प्रशान्तमूर्तिश्च ।
    दिग्वासास्तरुणो रूपवांश्च कार्योऽर्हतां देवः ॥

    —*Bṛhat-Samhitā* of Varāhamihira, 58.45.

    The Pañcasiddhāntika of Varāhamihira is dated in 327 Saka year according to S.K. Dikshit in *Indian Culture*, vol. VI, no. 2, pp. 191ff. Dikshit takes *veda=3 in saptāśviveda-samkhye* etc. Others take *veda=4*. Dikshit says that in those days only three Vedas were recognised.
48. *Prabhāvaka-Carita of Prabhācandra* (1334 V.S.), published in Singhi Jaina Series, no. 13, pp. 80ff; *Upadeśatarangiṇī* of Ratnamandira gaṇi, p. 248; *Pravacanaparīkṣā* of Dharmasāgara, in *Report of the Search of*

Mss. 1883-84, by Bhandarkar, p. 146.

49. Also compare Rama Prasad Chanda's remarks in *A.S I., Ann. Rep. 1925-26*, op. cit.
50. Smith, Vincent, *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura*, Debala Mitra, *Chapter no. 6, Mathura, Jaina Art and Antiquities*, vol. I, pp. 49-68 and plates. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, Jaina Antiquities, JUPHS*, vol. XXIII (1950), pp. 35-147.
51. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthās 949-51, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 567, *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, p. 437.
52. Siddheśvara Shastri Citrāva, *Prācīna Caritra Kośa (Marathi, Poona, 1932)*, p 635.
53. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 12. 62-64.
54. For *Stūpa worship at Mathura*, see Debala Mitra, *chp. 6 on Mathura in Jaina Art and Antiquities* (ed. A. Ghosh), vol. I, pp. 52-61, plates 1-8. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 43-64. For *Aṣṭamaṅgalas*, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 109-112, and fig. 60; Shah, U.P., *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*. For *Caitya-Trees*, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 65-76; for *Āyāgapaṭas*, *ibid.*, pp. 77-84 and figs. For *Sthāpanā*, *ibid*, 113ff, fig 43.
55. Caumukha images are also found on tops of Samavasarana icons, for *Samavasaraṇa*, see *ibid*, pp. 85-95, fig. 76. For *Caumukha sculptures*, *ibid*, fig. 28 (from Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir), fig. 74 (from Terahi, M.P.), fig. 84 (from Surat), *Jaina Art and Architecture*, I, pl. 18 (from Mathura); *ibid.*, II, pl. 159 A and B (from Deolia and Purulia respy.), pl. 257B (from Mudabidri), etc.

    For discussion of four-fold sculptures on top or bottom of pillars—*Mānastambhas*—and allied matters, see Shah, U.P., *Jaina Anusrutis . . . etc* . . . Motichandra Memorial Lecture, *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. XXXIV (1978), pp. 1-34, esp. pp 18-22.
56. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 77-84, fig. 14B. *Jaina Art and Architecture*, I, pl. I.
57. Shah, U.P., *Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture, Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. XXXIV (1978), p. 15 and figs 1 and 2. Worship of pillars was known to Buddhists also, compare Fig. 11, in *The Art of India through the Ages*, by Stella Kramrisch (London, 1954), showing worship of the *Dharmacakra Pillar* by a male and a female, carved on a pillar near the north entry at the Sanchi Stūpa (c. second century B C.).
58. See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 66-68.
59. The practice has remained popular with the Digambaras. At Devgaḍh are several pillars which show variations in and elaboration of Mānastambhas, see *Devagaḍh ki Jaina Kalā (in Hindi)* (Delhi, 1974), by Bhagachandra Jaina, figs. 28, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.

    In Southern India there are so-called Brahmadeva pillars and other pillars in front of Jaina shrines. S. Settar has explained that these pillars do not show figures of Brahma Yakṣa or Brahmadeva but the pillars have figures of Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa. He has shown their origin in the Mānastambhas. Cf. S. Settar, *The Brahmadeva Pillars, Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 17ff.
60. Also see Bannerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (first ed.), p. 114 and note.
61. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, figs. 4-10, and pp. 10f.
62. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, VI.16.13; I.59.1-2; IV.13.5; V.29.4; X.5.6. According to Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 66, "The axis of the Universe is coincident also with the fiery Śiva-lingam set up, according to the Devadāruvana legend, in the foundations of the Earth and extending upwards to Heaven. The Jyotirlingas were originally perhaps such fiery lingas. One such linga with flames exists in the Bharata Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.
63. *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, 22.92-102, pp. 515-16. The name *Mānastambha* is explained as follows:

    मानस्तम्भान्महामानयोगात् त्रैलोक्यमाननात् ।
    अन्वर्थसंज्ञया तज्ज्ञैर्मानस्तम्भाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१०२॥

    Tiloyapaṇṇatti, 4.782, gives another explanation:

    माणुल्लासयमिच्छा वि दूरदो दंसणेण थंभाणं ।
    जं होंति गलिदमाणा माणत्थंभं ति तं भणिदं ॥७८२॥
64. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.779ff, vol. I, pp. 243-44. S. Settar, *The Brahmadeva Pillars, Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIII, pp 17ff, figs. 1-3.
65. *Indramaha* was the most prominent of all other *mahas* (festivals) in ancient days. Bharata is said to have celebrated eight days' festival in honour of Indra (*Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 213). *Indramaha* is also mentioned by Bhāsa (Pusalkar, *Bhāsa, A Study*, chp. 19, p. 440f), also in the *MBH*, I.64.33, and *Kathāsaritsāgara, etc.* According to *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV.16 36, it was celebrated on the full-moon of the Āśvin in Gauḍa-deśa. *Indalaṭṭhi (Indra-yaṣṭi*, the same as the *Indradhvaja*) is mentioned in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, I, *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 9.6; also in the *Mahābhārata*, VII.49 12. Also see *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra*, vol. IV, gāthā 5153.

    Jaina texts mention festivities in honour of (1) *Inda*, Indra, (2) *Khanda*, Skanda, (3) *Rudda*, Rudra, (4) *Mukunda*, (5) *Śiva*, (6) *Vesamaṇa*, Vaiśramaṇa, Kubera, (7) *Nāga*, (8) *Jakkha*, Yakṣa, (9) *Bhūya*, Bhūta, (10) *Ajjā*, Āryā, the same as Durgā, (11) *Koṭṭakiriyā*, Mahiṣamarddinī . . . *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 3 1. *Ācārāṅga sūtra, 2.1.1 2*, sūtra 12; *Nāyādhammakahāo* (Vaidya's ed.), pp. 49f.
66. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 20.9, su. 684. 794. For the Nandiśvaradvipa, festival thereon and representations of Nandiśvaradvipa, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 119-121, figs. 63, 89.
67. For a detailed discussion on the origin and conception of *Caitya*, see Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 39-75 where conceptions of *Caityas, Caitya-stūpas, Caitya-stambhas, Caitya-vṛkṣas, etc.* are discussed with Jaina and other sources.
68. Jaina commentators explain *Ceiyam—Caityam* in *kallāṇam mangalam devayam celyam etc.* as *Jinādipratimā* or *Iṣṭadevapratimā*. See *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 50.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 53, note 4.
70. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art (HIIA)*, p. 47. Also see Odette Viennot, *Le Culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Anncienne*, pl. VIII, fig. D from Amarāvatī Stūpa.

71. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 47.
72. This stone structure probably had an earlier wooden prototype. For Stone Umbrellas and the Jaina description, see Shah, U.P., *Stone-Umbrellas from Mathura, Journal of the U.P. Historical Research Society*, vol. XIV (1951).
73. Cf. Odette Viennot, *op cit*, pl. XII, figs A, E, F, pl. XIII, figs A, B, C, D, pl XIV, fig. A.
74. *Ādipurāṇa*, 22 184-204, vol. I, pp. 524-527. Cf:
मूर्ध्नि छत्रत्रयं बिभ्रन्मुक्तालम्बनभूषितम् ।
बिभोस्त्रिभुवनैश्वर्यं विना वाचेव दर्शयन् ॥१७४॥
भेजिरे बुध्नभागेऽस्य प्रतिमा दिक्चतुष्टये ।
जिनेश्वराणामिन्द्राद्यैः समवासाभिषेचना ॥१७५॥
चैत्याधिष्ठितबुध्नत्वादूढतन्नामरूढय. ।
शाखिनोऽमी विभान्ति स्म सुरेन्द्रै प्राप्तपूजना. ॥२०१॥
Also cf.:
अट्ठोभूमुहरुंदा चउजोयणउच्छिदाणि पीढाणि ।
पीढोवरिबहुमज्झे रम्मा चेट्ठन्ति चेत्तदुमा ॥३३॥
छत्तादिछत्तजुत्ता घंटाजालादिरमणिज्जा ॥३६॥
आदिणिहणेण हीणा पुढविमया सव्वभवणचेत्तदुमा ।
जीवुप्पत्तिलयाणं होंति निमित्ताणि ते णियमा ॥३७॥
चेत्ततरूण मूले पत्तेक्कं चउदिसासु पंचेव ।
चेट्ठंति जिणप्पडिमा पलियंकठिया सुरेहिं महणिज्जा ॥३८॥
चउतोरणाभिरामा अट्ठमहामंगलेहिं सोहिल्ला
वररयणणिम्मिदेहिं माणत्थम्भेहिं अइरम्मा ॥३९॥
—*Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 3.33-39, vol. I, p. 115.
75. Digambara writers share the same belief, compare.
तीर्थादौ भरतेश्वरेण भगवत्सदेशनालब्धितो
गार्हस्थ्ये रसखड्गमडलघनैरष्टापदे निर्मितः ।
चैत्यानां निवहस्तु यत्र जिनराड्बिम्बानि संस्थापिता
न्येव भूतभविष्यदैहिककला पूज्येश्वराणां पृथक् ॥
—*Vasubindu-Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha*, v. 17, p. 6.
76. *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti*, p. 169. The *Mūla-Bhāṣya-gāthā* on the Niryukti verse is·
थूभसय भाउगाण चउवीसं चेव जिणहरे कासी ।
सव्वजिणाणं पडिमा वण्णपमाणेहिं निअएहिं ॥४५॥
—*Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti*, p. 169.
Also see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 223ff.
77. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 169 and pp. 300-303. Cf.:
तस्सपुत्तो आसी भरहो नाम पढमचक्कवट्टी चउदसरयणाहिवइं नवनिहिवई, तेण इम आययण कारिय पडिमा थूभिया य। *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 301.
77a. *Epigraphia Indica*, II (1893-94), p 198; H. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (1912), no. 93. Debala Mitra on Mathura in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 49ff. Also see Lucknow Museum, no. J.540 *and Luders List*, no. 99.
78. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 2nd vakṣaskāra, sūtra 33 (Devachand Lalbhai Pustakoddhara Fund, ed. 1920), pp. 157-158. Quoted by us in *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 59, note 4. Also see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 221-223.
79. Lüders, *List no. 47*. For K.D. Bajpai's corrected reading, see *Mahāvīra Commemoration Volume* (Agra), *I, pp. 189-190*.
80. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti with Haribhadra's Vṛtti*, I, p. 453. Also see *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 5 27-28; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, V.5824, VI.6275.
81. For some explanation, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 63-64.
82. *Bṛhat-kathā-kośa*, ed. by A.N. Upadhye (Singhi Series, Bombay, 1943), pp. 22-27. Also see Jyotiprasad Jaina, *Pramukha Aitihāsika Jaina Puruṣa Aur Mahilāe* (Hindi), p. 59.
83. Handiqui, K.K., *Yaśastilaka Campū and Indian Culture*, pp. 415ff.
84. *Bṛhat-kathā-kośa*, notes, p. 379.
85. Introduction to *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasena, by Pandit Nathuram Premi in *Harivaṃśa*, vol. I (Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamala), pp. 20ff.
86. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 410.
87. See plate I in *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed. by A. Ghosh), vol. II and pp. 55ff, Paper no. 6 on Mathura by Debala Mitra.
88. *Kalpa-sūtra*, sū. 31-46, Jacobi's translation in SBE, pp. 229-238; also see *Kalpa-sūtra*, sū. 3, and Jacobi's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
89. For discussion and interpretation of some of these prognostic dreams see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Paintings, JISOA*, vol. III, no. 2 (Dec. 1935), pp. 122-144
90. For other illustrations, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, vol. I, fig. 73. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, vol IV, figs. 34, 13. Brown's *KSP, op. cit.*, fig. 152, p. 64. *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, ed. Muni Punyavijaya, figs. 17, 22.
Representations of Śrī amongst such miniatures are of special iconographic interest.
91. In the Kharatavasahi Caumukha shrine at Delvāḍa, Mt. Abu, they are represented on an architrave in the hall in front of the main shrine, a photograph of which is published in Muni Jayanatavijaya's *Tīrtharāja Ābu* (*Gujarati*), 5th edition
The dreams are painted on a wooden-book cover depicting the life of Pārśvanātha, now preserved in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, see *JISOA*, vol. V, pp. 2-12, and plates. Also see *Jesalmer Citrāvali* (*Gujarati*), edited by Muni Punyavijaya. For paintings of dreams on walls, see *Nirayāvaliāo*, 2.1, p. 51.
92. *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, sarga 12, vv. 101-119; *Harivaṃśa*, sarga 8, verses 58-74.
93. The belief is common to both the sects but the differences in the lists and the numbers would suggest a relatively later growth.
94. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, parva 4, chp. 1, vv. 216-233.
95. *Harivaṃśa*, 35, vv. 11-12, vol. II, pp. 451-452. *Padmacarita*, 25 3, p. 506 notes a different tradition according to which she the Lion and the Moon only.
96. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, *op. cit.*, vv. 167-179.
97. *Harivaṃśa*, 32.1-2; *Padmacarita*, 25.12-15 gives a different tradition.
98. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, 1 4, vv. 883ff. *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, ed. Muni Punyavijaya, sū. 71.
99. *Harivaṃśa*, 32.1-2; *Padmacarita*, 25.12-15 gives a different tradition. *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, parva 15, vv. 100-101.
99a. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 10.3, sū. 750, vol. II, pp. 499ff.

100. Muni Śrī Puṇyavijaya, in his Introduction to his ed. of *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams in the KS is not referred to in Agastya Siṃha's Cūrṇi on the same and that therefore it is difficult to say whether the portion in question is genuine or not. According to him, the Niryukti as well as the Cūrṇi on the Daśāśrutaskandha (of which the Kalpa-sūtra is the eighth adhyayana) seem to date from c. 350 A.D. or earlier.
101. See *Śabdakalpadruma-Kośa* under Svapna.
102. *Aupapātika sūtra*, sū. 31: *Sovatthiya* (or *Sotthiya*), *Sirivacca*, *Nandiyāvatta*, *Bhaddāsana*, *Kalasa*, *Maccha*, *Dappaṇa* and *Vaddhamānaga*.
103. *Triṣaṣṭi*., I (translation in *GOS*, *vol. LI*), pp. 112, 190. Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, parva 22, vv. 143, 185, 210 etc. Compare:
    तेसिणं तोरणाणं उप्पि अट्ठट्ठ मगलगा पण्णत्ता, तं जहासोत्थिय, सिरिवच्छ, नन्दियावत्त, वद्धमाणग, भद्दासण, कलस, मच्छ, दप्पण जाव पडिरूवा।
    —*Rāyapaseṇaiyam*, ed Pt. Bechardas Doshi, pp. 80ff; *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, vol. I, p 43.
104. *Triṣaṣṭi*., I (transl. in *GOS*, *vol. LI*), p. 190 and note 238.
105. Smith, V.A., *Jaina Stūpa . . .*, pl. XI. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 10. Some of these symbols occur on other Āyāgapaṭas also, cf., for example, Smith, *Jaina Stūpa . . .*, pl. IX; *Studies in Jaina Art*, figure 11.
106. Smith, *JS . . .*, pl. VII; *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 13.
107. Especially see Agrawala, V.S., *Harṣacarita, Eka Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana* (Hindi), p. 120, where he has referred to *Aṣṭamangalamālās* from Sanchi reliefs. The Mangalakas are more than eight at Sanchi. Gradually the number was fixed as eight.
108. On a red sand-stone umbrella (c. 2nd cent. A.D.) from Mathura, the following eight auspicious symbols are carved *Nandipada* (same as the *Tri-ratna*), *Matsya-yugma*, *Svastika*, *Puṣpa-dāma*, *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, *Ratna-pātra*, *Śrī-vatsa*, *Śaṅkha-Nidhi* . . . Agrawala, V.S., A New Stone Umbrella from Mathura, *JUPHS*, vol. XX (1947), pp. 65-67. For the Jaina evidence and description of such Umbrellas, from *Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra*, see Shah, U.P., *A Further Note on Stone Umbrellas from Mathura*, *JUPHS*, vol. XXIV.
109. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, figs. 59, 82. Shah, U.P., *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*, fig. 116. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 60.
110. For illustration see Helen Johnson's translation of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I, in the GOS, vol. LI, pl. IV.
111. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.738, vol. I, p. 236.
112. Coomaraswamy has discussed the *Pūrṇa-Kumbha* (full-jar) in his *Yakṣas*, part II, pp. 61-64; full-jar is discussed by Agrawala, V.S. in *JUPHS*, vol. XVII, pp. 16ff; Wilhelm Huttemann, *Miniature Zum Jina caritra*, *Bassler-Archin*, vol. 4 (1914), pp. 47-77. Brown, W. Norman, *KSP*, op. cit., p. 12. Agrawala, V.S., *Pūrṇa-Kumbha* (Varanasi).
    The *Vardhamānaka* and the *Śrī-vatsa* symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr* (1927-28), pp. 181ff, and by Johnson, E.H., *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 558ff; *ibid*., 1932, pp. 393ff. Agravala, P.K., *Śrī-vatsa, the . . . of Śrī* (New Delhi). For *Svastika*, see Brown, W. Norman, *The Svastika*.
113. *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 197-198.
114. Also see Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 511. He quotes the following verse from a manuscript of *Śaunaka-kārikā*:
    दर्पणः पूर्णकलशः कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः।
    दीपमाला ध्वजा लाजा सम्प्रोक्तं चाष्टमङ्गलम्॥
115. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, *Gaṇapati Khaṇḍa*, adhyāya 16 and *Kṛṣṇa-janma Khaṇḍa*, adhyāya 70, both quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, III, p. 564. Also see *Agni Purāṇa*, adhyāya 58, v. 31 (Anandaśrama ed.), p. 72. *Śabdakalpadruma*, I, p. 148 quotes the following:
    मृगराजो वृषो नागः कलशो व्यजनं तथा।
    वैजयन्ती तथा भेरी दीप इत्यष्टमङ्गलम्॥
    इति बृहन्नन्दिकेश्वरपुराणे दुर्गोत्सवपद्धती.
116. Cf. मङ्गलैरभिषिञ्चस्व तत्र त्वं व्यापृतो भव।
    —*Rāmāyaṇa*, II.23.29.
117. Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (c. 500-610 A.D.) explains it as:
    गुरुविरहम्मि य ठवणा गुरुवएसोवदंसणत्थं च।
    जिणविरहम्मि य जिणबिंबसेवणामन्तणं सहलं॥
    —*Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya*.
    Devendra sūri in his *Saṃghācāra-ṭīkā*, section called Guruvandana-bhāṣya, says:
    गुरुगुणजुत्तं तु गुरुं ठाविज्जा अहव तत्थ अक्खाई।
    अहवा नाणाइतिअं ठविज्ज सक्ख-गुरु-अभावे॥२८॥
    The following from *Piṇḍaniryukti* explains the *Sthāpanā*:
    तं बिंति नामपिंडं ठवणापिंडं अओ वोच्छं॥६॥ p. 3.
    अक्खे वराडए वा कट्ठे पुत्थे व चित्तकम्मे वा।
    सब्भावमसब्भावं ठवणापिंडं वियाणाहि॥७॥
    Commentary of Malayagiri— ········स्थाप्यमानस्येन्द्रादेरनुरूपाङ्गोपाङ्गचिह्न-वाहनप्रहरणादिपरिकररूपो य आकारविशेषो यद्दर्शनात्साक्षाद्विद्यमान इवेन्द्रादिर्लक्ष्यते स सद्भावः, तदभावोऽसद्भावः, तत्र सद्भावमसद्भावं चाश्रित्य 'अक्षे' चन्दनके 'कपर्दे' वराटके वाशब्दोऽङ्गुलीयकादिसमुच्चयार्थः, उभयत्रापि च जातावेकवचनं, तथा 'काष्ठे' दारुणि 'पुस्ते' हिडल्लिकादौ, वाशब्दो लेप्यपाषाणसमुच्चये, चित्रकर्मणि वा या पिण्डस्य स्थापना साऽक्षादि काष्ठादिष्वाकारविशेषो वा पिण्डत्वेन स्थाप्यमान. स्थापनापिण्डः······।
    —*Piṇḍaniryukti* (DLPF no. 44, Bombay, A.D. 1918), pp. 3-7.
118. *Triṣaṣṭi*., *I* (GOS, vol. LI), pp. 358-370. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 4.94.
119. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 301.
120. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, sūtra 33.
121. Cf.: अट्ठावयमुज्जिंते गयग्गपद धम्मचक्के य।
    पासरहावत्तनगं चमरुप्पायं च वंदामि॥
    —*Ācārāṅga Niryukti*.
122. *Aṣṭāpadagiri-kalpa* in the *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha suri, published in the Singhi Series, pp. 91-93. Also see *ibid*., p. 31 for an *Aṣṭāpadamahātīrtha-kalpa* by Dharmaghoṣa suri. *Abhidhāna-Rājendra-Kośa* on Astapada.

122a. *Miniature Paintings from Western India*, figs. 177-185.

123. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I (translation in GOS, vol. LI), pp. 395-397. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva II-III (transl. in GOS, vol. LXXVII), pp 120ff *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, 5, vv. 647-685, pp. 124ff. *Trilokasāra* of Nemicandra, vv. 960ff. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 253ff. Ramachandran, T.N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pp. 181ff. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 4.2, sū. 307, vol. I, pp. 220ff. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 397f.

124. Also see *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, 3.2, sū. 183, pp. 356f, for an account of the Nandiśvara-dvipa

125. Cf. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 151; *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 1.2, sū. 33, p 158. *Triṣaṣṭi* , op. cit., p. 130f Cf :

फाल्गुनाष्टाह्निकाद्येषु प्रतिवर्षं तु पर्वसु ।
शक्राद्याः कुर्वते पूजां गीर्वाणास्तेषु वेश्मसु ॥

—*Harivaṁśa*, p. 124, v. 680.

Also see *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 87, 153, 171, 236 According to Digambara traditions, the gods celebrate the festivals in the last week of the months of Kārttika, Fālguna, and Āṣāḍha every year. See *Bṛhat Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, II, p. 512.

125a. *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, gāthā 1552 and commentary.

126 First discussed by D.R Bhandarkar, *Jaina Iconography*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol XL (1911), pp 125-130, 153-161; also T.N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pp. 105ff on the basis of Tamil *Śripurāṇa*.

127. समवसरण सुरकृतं तीर्थंकृता धर्मदेशनास्थानम् ।

—Dhanapāla's commentary on Śobhana's *Stuticaturviṁśatikā*, v 94

128. For typical elaborate descriptions see, for example, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, I 3, vv 422ff, transl. in G O. Series, Vol. LI, pp 190ff; *Ādipurāṇa*, 22.76-312.

129. *Kalpa-sūtra*, sū. 120-121, Jacobi's transl. (SBE). Brown thinks that it is implied in the *K.S.*, 120-121, see p. 38 of his *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra*.

130. Discovered from Jesalmer by Muni Punyavijayaji, edited by him in *Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra* (Ahmedabad).

131. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, gāthās 539-569; *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp. 229-235. This Niryukti in its extant form is certainly not the work of Bhadrabāhu I, as traditions would have us believe, since there are references in it to schisms much later than the age of Bhadrabāhu.

132. Also compare *Āvaśyaka Niryukti in Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 230-231.

133. The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* do not refer to gate-keepers.

134. See *Āv. Niryukti, op. cit.*, pp. 231-232.

135. *Ādipurāṇa*, parva 22. We have noted here only main points of description, including some additional details supplied by Jinasena.

136. Also see Brown, Norman, *A Ms. of the Sthānāṅga sūtra illustrated in the Early Western Indian Style*, *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, no 2, pp. 127ff, fig. 2.

137. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 76. Figure 83 in the same book represents the Samavasaraṇa of Pārśvanātha in the Life Story of Pārśvanātha carved in relief in this ceiling.

138 M N.P. Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimā Vijñāna* (Hindi), fig. 69. For further remarks on Samavasaraṇa, Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā, etc , see Shah, U.P , *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 85-95, 123-130; and chapter 35 in *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed A. Ghosh), pp 479ff.

139. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, figs. 72, 73, 75.

CHAPTER TWO

Origin of the Jina-Image and the Jīvantasvāmī-pratimā

Prehistoric sites in India have not as yet yielded any definite clue to the existence of Jainism. A few seals from Mohen-Jo-Daro showing human figures standing in a posture closely analogous to the free-standing meditative pose (*kāyotsarga mudrā*) of the Tīrthaṅkara,[1] or the seals with a figure generally identified as 'Śiva-Paśupati as Yogi' (in a meditative sitting posture)[2] cannot, in the present state of uncertainty of the meaning of the writing on the Indus-Valley Seals, be definitely used to attest to the antiquity of Jaina image or ritual. The standing figures seem to have some extra appendage on the head while the sitting figures have no resemblance with the known Tīrthaṅkara images in the *padmāsana* or the *ardha-padmāsana* posture.

Jaina traditions ascribe the first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras of this (*avasarpiṇī*) age[3] to a period covering millions of years before Chirst, but modern scholarship accepts only the last two, namely, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, as real historical personages. The possibility of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa of Brahmanical purāṇas, being a historical personage, depends on the historicity of Kṛṣṇa.

The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappa (*Fig. 1*), though surprisingly analogous to the Mauryan polished stone torso of a Jina (*Fig. 2*) obtained from Lohanipur near Patna, Bihar, has, in addition, two circular depressions on shoulder fronts which are not seen on any other Tīrthaṅkara image known hitherto, hence the Harappan torso should better be regarded as representing an ancient Yakṣa.[4] Being a surface find, it is difficult to assign it with confidence to the age of the Harappan culture.

The origin of Image-Worship in Jainism may, on the basis of available archaeological evidence, be assigned to at least the Mauryan age, *circa* 3rd century B.C., the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. Samprati is reputed in Jaina traditions to have been converted to Jainism and is said to have given much royal support to the monks of this faith. He seems to have installed many Jina images and even today pious Jainas ascribe all old images to Samprati's patronage. The evidence of the Lohanipur statue does lend support to Jaina traditions.

Line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, as read by different scholars, refers to the recovery and reinstallation of the statue of *Kalinga-Jina*, formerly carried away to Magadha by the Nanda-king.[5]

So far as literary evidence is concerned, we have to weigh it with great caution since available texts of the Jaina canonical works are said to have been finally edited at the second council at Valabhi (*Valabhī vācanā*) which met in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. There are a few references to worship of images, relics, and shrines of Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras) by gods and men, and these references may be at least as old as the Mathura council (which met in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.) and may be even somewhat older. Most of the art evidence obtained in Jaina canonical texts as available today speaks of motifs etc. found in the art of the Śunga and Kuṣāṇa periods.

But there are reasons to believe that attempts were made to worship an image (verily a portrait-statue) of Mahāvīra, even during his life-time. This portrait statue of sandal-wood (*gośīrṣa-candana*) was supposed to have been prepared when Mahāvīra was standing in meditation in his own palace, about a year or two prior to his final renunciation and *dīkṣā*. So this statue showed a crown, some ornaments and a lower

garment on the person of Mahāvīra. Being a life-time portrait statue it was known as *Jīvanta-svāmī-pratimā*, that is, the "Image fashioned during the life-time of the Lord". All later images of this iconographic type then came to be known as *Jīvantasvāmī pratimās*.

The original portrait statue was worshipped by the queen of Uddāyana, the king of Vītabhaya-Pattana (Roruka ?) in the Sindhu-Sauvīra region.

The earliest available reference to an image of Jīvantasvāmī is from the Vasudevahiṇḍi of Vācaka Samghadāsa gaṇi who took the Bṛhat-kathā of Guṇāḍhya as the model or prototype for his Jaina version of such stories. A critical study of the subject matter and the language of the work has led scholars to conclude that it is a work of c. early fifth century A.D. or a little earlier.[6] In this work, a certain lady, Vāsavadattā by name, seeks company of a caravan going to the city of Ujjain. In this caravan was also travelling a certain Jaina nun, followed by a retinue of female pupils, with the object of paying respects to *Jīvantasāmi* (Jīvantasvāmi) (image at Ujjain).[7]

Kṣamāśramaṇa Samghadāsa, a somewhat later writer, of c. 6th cent. A.D., composed his Bhāṣya on the Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra and its Niryukti wherein he refers to the visit to Ujjain by Ārya Suhasti and the conversion by him to Jaina Faith of emperor Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. The Niryukti and Bhāṣya verses often use only catch-words to refer to legends etc. which are elaborately explained by later commentators. Kṣemakīrti, commenting on the Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya and Niryukti, says that Ārya Suhasti visited Ujjain for adoring the image of *Jīvantasvāmī*.[8] Kṣemakīrti (V.S. 1332 = A.D. 1256), commenting on the Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra-Bhāṣya, verse 2753, explained a reference to *pūrva caityas* as under:

चैत्यानि 'पूर्वाणि वा' चिरन्तनानि जीवन्तस्वामिप्रतिमादीनि········· ॥

(by *pūrva caityas* are meant ancient idols like the image of *Jīvantasvāmī* etc.).[9]

The Āvaśyaka-curṇi[10] of Jinadāsa (676 A.D.), giving an account of the origin of the city of Daśapura (modern Mandasor) narrates also the origin of the first image of Mahāvīra, when the Lord was alive (*Jivanta Svāmī*). According to this account, in a festival of Nandīśvara, Vidyunmālī, a demi-god, was advised by his friend Acyuta, another god, to worship an image of Varddhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Jina. Vidyunmālī fashioned an image of Mahāvīra out of a kind of sandal-wood (*gośirṣa candana*) from the Mahā-Himavanta mountain.[11] This image was later on given by Vidyunmālī to a certain individual from whom it was taken by King Uddāyana, a contemporary of Mahāvīra, ruling over Vītabhaya-pattana in the Sindhu-Sauvīra land. Both Uddāyana and his queen Prabhāvatī worshipped the image with great devotion. After the death of his queen, the king entrusted his slave-girl Devadattā with the worship of the image. But Devadattā, in love with Pradyota, the king of Ujjain (Avanti), managed to elope with her lover, carrying with her the original image of Mahāvīra but only after depositing in its place a copy of it prepared by Pradyota for the purpose. The theft was soon discovered and Uddāyana rushed after them with an army, overtook Pradyota before he reached Ujjain and defeated him with the help of ten confederate kings. Uddāyana tried to remove the original image but the image would not move and a supernatural warning was heard that the Vītabhaya-pattana was destined to perish in a terrific sandstorm. Uddāyana later on forgave Pradyota and released him on the *Pajjusaṇā* day. This happened when both were encamped at Daśapura. Uddāyana had to maintain a camp here and erect a temporary mud-fortress as the rainy season had set in before he could return to his capital. Haribhadra sūri, in his Āvaśyaka-vṛtti,[12] gives the same account.

The above account is repeated with many additional details by Hemacandrācārya in his Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita where it is said Pradyota dedicated the city of Daśapura for the worship of the Vītabhaya-image[13] before he returned to Avantipuri. Once upon a time Pradyota went to Vidiśā and gave a grant of 12,000 villages for the worship of the image fashioned by Vidyunmālī. Uddāyana himself turned a Jaina monk after dedicating villages, mines and cities for the worship of the (new) Jivantasvāmī image left with him.[14] The image remaining at Vītabhaya-pattana was the copy deposited by Pradyota, which, on the evidence of Hemacandra, was fashioned out of śrī-khaṇḍa wood and was originally consecrated by a Śvetāmbara sage named Kapila.[15]

Hemacandra informs us that the image at the buried (in sandstorm) city of Vītabhaya was recovered by the Chalukya king Kumārapāla after excavation by his specially appointed officers. Along with the image was recovered the inscribed grant given by Uddāyana. Kumārapāla erected a temple at Patan (his capital, north Gujarat) and installed the image therein.[16]

Hemacandra further informs us that Vidyunmālī had prepared the image after seeing the person of Mahāvīra standing in the *pratimā-dhyāna* in the latter's palace (at Kṣatriya-Kuṇḍa-grāma).[17] Thus the *Jīvita-svāmī* or *Jīvanta-svāmī* image represents an image of Mahāvīra,[18] fashioned as a portrait in his life-time before the great Jaina teacher took to monk-hood. The image, therefore, should show the ornaments of a Prince. Strictly speaking, the title Jīvantasvāmī can only be applied to a portrait carved in the life-time of a Jina. At a later stage, images modelled after the original life-time portrait sculpture of sandal-wood, showing the same iconography, came to be known as Jīvantasvāmī images. The Akota bronzes (*Figs. 29, 30*) are Jīvantasvāmī images in this sense.

Hemacandra further notes that Pradyota and Devadattā, engrossed in sensual pleasures, gave the original sandalwood image of *Jīvitasvāmī* to a merchant Bhrājila residing in the city called Vidiśā, for worship and care.[19] The snake-god Dharaṇendra gave a boon to this Bhrājilasvāmī that Pradyota would found a city commemorating Bhrajila's name. Dharaṇendra further predicted that this Jina image would in course of time be concealed under a new cover by followers of false faith who would proclaim it as an image of the Sun-god known as Bhrājilasvāmī.[20] We are further told by Hemacandra that after release from the captivity of Uddāyana, once Pradyota went to Vidiśā and founded a divine city there. Hemacandra's account thus states that the original image of Jīvitasvāmī was preserved at Vidiśā. But the Vasudevahiṇḍi and Kṣemakīrti's commentary on the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya speak of a Jīvantasvāmī image at Ujjain. The Bṛhat-Kalpa-Cūrṇi,[21] which is ealier than the comm. of Kṣemakīrti, also states that Ārya Suhasti went to Ujjain for adoration of the *Jiyasāmi* in the city. There while he was walking in the *ratha-yātrā* (procession of the Jina-image placed in a chariot) he was seen by king Samprati watching the yātrā from his Palace-window. The puzzle is solved by a reference from the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi[22] where it is said that both Ārya Mahāgiri and Ārya Suhasti went to Vidiśā to worship the *Jītapaḍimā*. From this place Mahāgiri went to a place called Eḍakakṣa (formerly called Daśārṇapura) where he died on a mountain called Gajāgra-pada. Ārya Suhasti then went to Ujjain for adoration of the *Jīvitasvāmī* image in that city.

Evidently another image of *Jīvantasvāmī* was installed at Ujjain sometime after the Pradyota incident narrated above.

That the original image was installed at Vidiśā (modern Besnagara near Bhilsa, M.P.) is further supported by the Niśītha-Cūrṇi[23] which says that Ārya Suhasti went to Vidiśā, to worship the Jīvanta-svāmī, where the *ratha-yātrā* festival took place. According to this text the first meeting of Suhasti and Samprati also took place here on this occasion.[24]

It seems that with the passage of time many more copies of the original portrait sculpture, that is, the *Jīvantasvāmī* image, were made and installed at different Jaina tīrthas. The ṭīkā on a gāthā of the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya (vol. V, p. 1536) speaks of a Jīvantasvāmī image at Kośalā.[25]

In the Akota hoard of Jaina bronzes was found an inscribed image of Jīvantasvāmī (*Fig. 29*). The inscription on the pedestal of the bronze, incised in characters of middle sixth century A.D., reads:[26]

L. 1. Om Devadharmoyam Jivantasāmī
L. 2. pratimā Candrakulikasya
L. 3. Nagīśvarī śrāvikasyāḥ.

The bronze represents Mahāvīra in a standing attitude (*kāyotsarga mudrā*) and wearing a *dhoti* held with a girdle. The right arm is mutilated and lost but the left arm shows a bracelet and an armlet. The Jina wears a crown, ear-rings and a necklace. A more beautiful bronze (*Fig. 30*), partly mutilated and with the pedestal lost, also found in the Akota hoard, dates from c. late fifth century A.D.[27] A bigger bronze of Jīvantasvāmī, from a Jaina temple in Jodhpur (*Fig. 31*), dates from c. 8th cent. A.D.[28]. Two stone sculptures of Jīvantasvāmī from a temple in Sirohi, published earlier by us,[29] date from c. 10th

cent. A.D. R.C. Agrawala[30] published a beautiful sculpture of Jīvantasvāmī, originally from Khimvasar in Rajasthan, now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum. Dhaky brought to light Jīvantasvāmī images from Nadol, Sevadi and Ahad.[31] Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari discovered two stone sculptures of eleventh century lying in a room in the Jaina temple complex at Osia,[32] Rajasthan. On the pillars of the toraṇa, in front of the Jaina shrine at Osia, dated in v.s. 1035 (A.D. 978),[33] were carved in all eight figures of Jīvantasvāmī in the kāyotsarga pose. Two more dated sculptures of Jīvantasvāmī, brought from Osia, dated in the tenth century, are now preserved in the museum at Jodhpur. They are described by M.N.P. Tiwari. Recently Devendra Handa[34] has discussed all the Jīvantasvāmī images from Osia. It seems that the Jīvantasvāmī images remained more popular in Western India.

Like the crowned Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra (in the Jīvantasvāmī image) we have images of the crowned Buddha in both the sitting and the standing attitudes. Such a practice of showing the crowned Buddha[35] might have been influenced by the Jīvantasvāmī images.

In an earlier paper entitled *Side-lights on the life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra*, published in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. I, no. 4 (June 1952), pp. 358-368, this writer had referred to certain Buddhist parallels to the Jaina belief in a sandalwood portrait of Mahāvīra carved in his life-time. The Buddhist accounts also speak of such an image of Buddha carved in Buddha's life-time.

A. Ghosh writes: "Leaving the standing figures on a Mohen-Jo-Daro seal out of consideration, the *Lohanipur Tīrthaṅkara* images of Mauryan age show that in all probability Jainism had the lead in carving of images for veneration over Buddhism and Brahmanism; no image of Buddha or any Brahmanical deity of that antiquity have been found, though there are contemporary or near-contemporary Yakṣa-statues, after the stylistic model of which the Lohanipur images are carved. That the practice was prevalent at the time of Mahāvīra himself is not established: the legend of the queen of Uddāyana of Vītabhayapattana (unknown from any other source), a contemporary of Mahāvīra himself, having worshipped a sandalwood statue of the Tīrthaṅkara has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha's contemporary Udayana of Kauśambi having installed an image of Buddha out of the same material. (Even the similarity of the names of the two rulers may not be an accidental coincidence.[36])

The tradition of Jīvantasvāmī images in Jainism is fairly old and known from such early texts like the Vasudevahiṇḍi assigned to c. fourth/fifth century A.D. The evidence of Cūrṇis and the Bṛhat-Kalpa-bhāṣya is based upon traditions and the Niryukti gāthās. The Niryuktis usually give a catch-word for a whole story or incident which is elaborately described by the Cūrṇis. The Niryuktis cited above are not later than the fourth century A.D. and contain much earlier matter.

A. Ghosh has accepted the view that the Lohanipur torso is of Mauryan age and that it is of a Tīrthaṅkara image standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture. Thus he believes that the Jainas probably are earlier than the Buddhists in starting image worship. He is right because we all know that Buddha had advised not to worship his images. Mahāvīra did not issue such a prohibitive order.

The tradition of Jīvantasvāmī images in Jainism is fairly old and available literary evidence is at least as old as the fourth century A.D. It is not impossible that one or more portrait sculptures or paintings of both Mahāvīra and Buddha were done during their life-time. That does not mean that regular worship of their images or paintings was started in shrines as cult-objects, during their life-time. Regular worship of images and shrines of Tīrthaṅkaras seems to have started sometime after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, though not later than the age of Mauryan ruler Samprati who in Jaina traditions is known to have installed Jaina images and provided facilities for Jaina monks to visit the Deccan and Andhra and Dravida countries.[37] Udāyi (the same as Udayabhadra), another ancient ruler of Magadha and successor of Ajātaśatru, is reported to have set up a Jaina shrine in his newly founded capital of Pataliputra, according to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī.[38]

Nowhere in the Jaina canons it is stated that Mahāvīra visited a Jaina shrine or worshipped images of earlier Tīrthankaras like Pārśvanātha or Ṛṣabhanātha. Mahāvīra's parents were followers of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra himself in the beginning followed the faith of Pārśvanātha. He never visited any Jaina shrine or stayed in Jaina shrines. He stayed in *Caityas* like the Guṇaśīla caitya, etc., which the commentators explain as *Yakṣa-āyatanās*, Yakṣa shrines. Nor are any of his chief disciples—the Gaṇa-

dharas—or other disciples said to have visited any shrine of any earlier Tīrthaṅkara or of Mahāvīra.

The Jina image, as suggested elsewhere by us,[39] has for its model or prototype the ancient Yakṣa statues. Most of these ancient Yakṣa statues were of wood and we find in Jaina canonical legends that these were painted annually. There might have been terracotta images also of the ancient Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, and perhaps rarely in bronze but hardly in stone. One has to await future archaeological evidence for definite conclusions. It was also suggested by us that the mode of worship of the ancient Yakṣa-Nāga cult has largely influenced the mode of worship in Jainism. Since Mahāvīra stayed in Yakṣa shrines and preached the masses visiting and worshipping in such shrines, it is but natural that the Jaina converts from these masses adopted as models the images and the rituals of the Yakṣa cult.

Jayaswal's discovery of Mauryan torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohanipur supports, on the one hand, the authenticity of Jaina traditions about Samprati and image worship, and, on the other hand, the existence in Magadha of an earlier model for the Jina and Buddha images of early Christian centuries. The Jina-image is a cult object.

Lohanipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumrahar and Bulandibag near Patna. Along with this highly polished torso were revealed the foundations of a square (temple) structure (8 ft 10 in × 8 ft 10 in), one more nude stone torso, the lower portion of a head and a large quantity of bricks of the size used in the Mauryan age. From the plinth of this brick structure was obtained a worn-out silver punch-marked coin. The foundations should be noted for the earliest known plan of a Jaina temple, assignable to the Mauryan age.[40]

It is necessary to consider the reliability of the tradition of Mahāvīra's sandalwood image carved in his life-time. If ācārya Hemacandra gives report of the discovery of a Jīvantasvāmī image from the ruins of Vītabhayapattana buried in a sandstorm, especially from special excavation carried out by specially appointed officers under orders of Kumārapāla with the blessings of Hemacandra, then it is a contemporary account since Hemacandra and Kumarapala were contemporaries. Hemacandra further reported that the copper plate charter of donations for the worship of this image (the copy left at Vītabhayapattana by Pradyota) was also recovered along with this image. It is further reported by Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-carita that the image was brought to Patan and installed in a temple. Sauvīra country is identified as close to lower Sindh. Sindhu and Sauvīra are spoken together and Sauvīra, possibly the area around Thar-Parkar and Gujarat and Marvad's modern border with Pakistan, was under Kumārapāla's control. *What is more important to note is that Hemacandra also reports that the copper plate grant given by Uddayana to the image was also recovered.* If Hemacandra has not bluffed before his contemporaries then we have to accept the Jīvantasvāmī account as fairly reliable. Would a person of Hemacandra's status make false statements about recovery of the image before his own contemporaries?

Hiuen-Tsang remarks about Kauśambi, the capital city of the famous lyrist king Udayana: "In the city, within an old palace, there is a large *vihāra*, about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha, carved out of sandalwood, above which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udayana) . . . The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it, and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the origin of all such figures . . ."[41] Hiuen-Tsang further writes: "When Tathāgata first arrived at complete enlightenment, he ascended upto heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother . . . This king (i.e. Udayana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore he asked Mudgalyāyanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandalwood statue. When Tathāgata returned from the heavenly place, the carved figure of sandalwood rose and saluted the lord of the world . . ."[42]

In his account of a city called Pima (Pi-mo), in the district of Khotan, the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang writes: "Here there is a figure of Buddha in a standing position made of sandalwood. The figure is about twenty feet high . . . the natives say: This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Uddayana (U-to-yen-na), king of Kauśambi (Kiao-shang-mi). When Buddha left the world, it mounted of its own accord into the air and came to the north of this kingdom, to the town of Ho-lo-lo-kia.

The men of this city were . . . attached to heretical learning . . . no one paid it respect. Afterwards there was an Arhat who bowed and saluted the image . . . the king issued a decree that the stranger should be covered with sand and earth . . . A man who had himself honoured the image with worship, secretly gave food to the Arhat . . . buried upto the neck. The Arhat . . . said: Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive . . . This man escaped and went to the east . . . (and) the statue appeared behind him . . ."[43]

But Fa-Hien, who visited India in c. 400 A.D., giving an account about a sandalwood image of the Tathāgata being carved and installed when the Buddha went to heaven to preach his mother, lays the scene in *Śrāvastī* rather than in Kauśāmbī in the account given by Hiuen-Tsang. This image was installed by King Prasenajit of Kośala. It was carved out of a sandalwood called gośīrṣacandana. Says Fa-Hien, "When Buddha returned and entered the *vihāra*, the image, immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it: Return, I pray you, to Your seat. After my Nirvāṇa you will be the model from which my followers . . . shall carve their images . . . *This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model . . .*"[44]

We are thus faced with two similar accounts, one Jaina and the other Buddhist. Both speak of sandalwood images of their leaders carved in their life-time. At least one of the two traditions must be reliable even if one sect borrowed the account from the other. Since the Mahāyāna Buddhists had to account for image worship it would seem that they are the borrowers. Again, because Samprati was converted to Jainism by Ārya Suhasti at Vidiśā (according to another tradition at Ujjain) during the *ratha-yātrā* of the *Jīvanta-svāmī image*, it is well nigh certain that the tradition of the sandalwood image in Jainism is as old as and even somewhat earlier than the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. So far as the Śrāvastī image of Buddha is concerned, the tradition is certainly older than the visit of Fa-Hien who reports about it. Actually there is a relief sculpture from Gandhara depicting the incident of the Śrāvastī image and the Buddha returning from the heaven. This means that for the Gandhara artists the first Buddha image was carved and installed at Śrāvastī. *There is nothing unreasonable in believing that during the life-time of both Buddha and Mahāvīra attempts were made to carve out their portraits and to worship them. Even portrait painting might also have been attempted.*[45] *The fact that Buddha asked his followers not to install his image as a cult object shows that such attempts were indeed made during Buddha's life-time.*

As already suggested before, at least one of the two legends—namely, the Jaina and the Buddhist—must have behind it some historical background or core around which other legendary and supernatural elements are woven. These remarks apply also to the story of Udrāyana or Rudrāyaṇa of Roruka (in Sauvīra) obtained in the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna chapter of the Divyāvadāna and in the Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra. P.S. Jaini has further brought to our notice a Pali version entitled *Vaṭṭāngulirāja Jātaka* from a collection known as the *Pannāsa Jātaka* "which probably originated in the 13th or 14th century in northern Chieng-Mai."[46]

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Marshall, Sir John, *Mohen-Jo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, vol. I, pl. xii, figs. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22; Jaina, Kamta Prasad in *Modern Review*, August, 1932, pp. 152ff, regards some of these as representing Jina figures.

Marshall, *ibid*, xii.17, pp. 52ff.

The Jainas believe that 24 Tīrthaṅkaras lived in this *avasarpiṇī* era (*ārā*), and an equal number lived in the preceding *utsarpiṇī* (evolutionary) era, and the same number will be born in the forthcoming *utsarpiṇī ārā*.

For the Jaina conception of these evolutionary and involutionary eras, see Jaina, J.C., *Outlines of Jainism*, p. xxvi; also, Nahar and Ghosh, *Epitome of Jainism*.

4. Marshall, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. x.a-d.
For the Lohanipur torso see Jayaswal, K.P., in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xxiii, part I, pls. i-iv. Also see Banerji-Shastri, *Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur-Patna, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xxvi, part 2, pp. 120ff.
5. B.M. Barua's revised readings in *Indian Historical*

Quarterly, vol. xiv (1938), pp. 459-485, make no mention of the Kalinga Jina. Also see Mohapatra, Ramesh Prasad, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves* (Delhi, 1981), *pp. 20ff.*

6. Shah, U.P., *A Unique Jaina Image of Jīvantasvāmī*, *JOI*, vol. I, no. 1, p. 71 and note.
7. *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (ed. by Muni Caturavijaya and Punyavijaya Muni), p. 61.
8. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra, with Niryukti and Bhāṣya* (ed. by Muni Caturavijaya and Muni Punyavijaya), gāthā 3277 and comm., vol. III, pp. 917ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 776.
10. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (Ratlam edition), vol. I, pp. 397-401 on Niryukti gāthā 774.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
12. *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra Sūri, vol. I, part 2, pp. 296-300.
13. प्रद्योतोऽपि वीतभयप्रतिमायै विशुद्धधीः ।
    शासनेन दशपुरं दत्त्वावन्तिपुरीमगात् ॥
    अन्येद्युर्विदिशां गत्वा भायलस्वामिनामकम् ।
    देवकीय पुरं चक्रे नान्यथा घरणोदितम् ॥
    विद्युन्मालिकृतायै तु प्रतिमायै महीपतिः ।
    प्रददौ द्वादशग्रामसहस्त्रान् शासनेन सः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.11.604-606.
14. *Ibid.*, X.11.623, p. 157.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 152, v. 463 and p. 157, vv. 608-609.
16. ततो गुरुमनुज्ञाप्य नियोज्याप्तपुरुषान् ।
    प्रारप्स्यते खनयितुं स्थलं वीतभयस्य तत् ॥
    राज्ञः कुमारपालस्य तस्य पुण्येन भूयसा ।
    खन्यमानस्थले मङ्क्षु प्रतिमाविर्भविष्यति ॥
    तदा तस्यै प्रतिमायै यदुदायनभूभुजा ।
    ग्रामाणां शासनं दत्तं तदप्याविर्भविष्यति ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.12.36-92, pp. 159ff.
17. विद्युन्माल्यपि तस्याज्ञामुररीकृत्य सत्वरः ।
    क्षत्रियकुण्डग्रामेऽस्मानपश्यन्प्रतिमास्थितान् ॥
    गत्वा महाहिमवति छित्वा गोशीर्षचन्दनम् ।
    अस्मन्मूर्ति तथा दृष्टां सालङ्कारां चकार सः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.11, p. 149.

    The *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, vol. III, pp. 139-147 repeats the account of Daśapura etc. narrated above from Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi and specifies further that it was an image showing ornaments on the person of Mahāvīra.
18. The conception of the Jīvantasvāmī image of Mahāvīra remained popular in the mediaeval period and was later applied to images of other Tīrthaṅkaras as can be seen from a reference to Jīvantasvāmī-Pārśvanātha image on a golden chariot, in the story of Vankacūla given by Rājaśekhara (v.s. 1405)—*Prabandha-kośa*, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, p. 76. Also see *Jaina-Pratimā-Lekha-samgraha*, vol. I, pp. 5 and 7, nos. 33 and 39.
19. वणिजो विदिशापुर्यां भायलस्वामिनोऽन्यदा ।
    गोशीर्षकाष्ठप्रतिमा विद्युन्मालिप्रकाशिता ॥६४०॥
    राज्ञा कुब्जिकया चापि पूजनाय समर्पिता । etc.

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.11.640, p. 154.
20. ....कालेन गच्छता ।
    गुप्तैव मिथ्यादृग्भिः सा प्रतिमा पूजयिष्यते ॥५५३॥
    तस्याः प्रतिकृतिश्चैव बहिः संस्थापयिष्यते ।
    आदित्यो भायलस्वामि नामार्चमिति वादिभिः ॥

    —*Ibid.*, p. 155, vv. 553-554.
21. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, vol. II, gāthā 3277 and comm., and vol. III, pp. 917 ff.
22. *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, vol. II, pp. 155-56, on Niryukti gāthā 1283. *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* of Haribhadra, II, part I, pp. 668-70.
23. अजया आयरिया वतीदिसं जियसामिपडिमं वंदिया गता । तत्थ रहाणुज्जाणे रण्णो घरं रहोवरि अंचति । संपतिरण्णा ओलोयणगएण अज्जसुहत्थी दिट्ठो । जातीसरणं जातं ।

    Quoted by Muni Kalyanavijaya in *Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat aura Jaina Kālagaṇanā*, p. 90, note.
24. D.R. Bhandarkar identified (*Progress Report, Western Circle, 31-9-1913, part 2*, p. 59) Vidiśā with Bhilsa-Bhāillasvāmin on the basis of a copper-plate grant dated v.s. 1190. The account of Bhrajila given by Hemacandra, compared with this Bhaillasvamin, becomes interesting.
25. कोशलायां जीवन्तस्वामिप्रतिमा ।
26. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes* (Bombay, 1959), pp 27-28, pls. 12a, 74b, 74c, 74d.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, pls. 9a, 9b.
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29. *Ibid* , figs. 2, 3.
30. Agrawala, R.C., *An image of Jivantasvami from Rajasthan, Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. XXII, pts. 1-2, pp. 32-34 and plate.
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32. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Osiāñ se prāpta Jīvantasvāmī kī Aprakāśitā Mūrtiyāñ, Vishwa Bhāratī*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1973), pp. 215-18; also *Jīvantasvāmī images, Bhāratī*, New Series no. 2 (1984), pp. 78-83.
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35. For example, see Gairola, C.K., Two Buddhist Sculptures in the *Volkerkunde Museum of Munich, JOI*, vol. XIV, p. 397 and plates.
36. Ghosh, A., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 3-4.
37. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra*, gāthās 3275-3289 and comm., vol. III, pp. 917-921. *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*, uddeśa 16, gāthās 5744-5758, pp. 128-131.

38. *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, vol. II, p. 179.
39. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 5; *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (*JOI*), vol. III, no. 1, pp. 55-71, esp. p. 66.
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41. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 235-236.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236.
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44. Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xliv-xlv. *Travels of Fa-Hien*, chp. XX. Also see Shah, U.P., *Origin of the Buddha Image*, *JOI*, vol. XIV, nos. 3-4, pp. 365-367.
45. In the Divyāvadana account of Rudrāyaṇa, king of Roruka, we hear that Bimbisara had sent a painting of the Lord Buddha to Rudrāyaṇa—*Divyāvadana* (ed. by Cowell and Neil), chp. 27, pp. 544-586.
46. Padmanabha S. Jaini, *On the Buddha Image*, *Studies in Pali and Buddhism* (ed. A.K. Narain, A Homage volume to the memory of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, Delhi, 1979), pp. 183-188.

P.S. M.N.P. Tiwari has criticised me for not having noticed the loose inscribed Jīvantasvāmī images at Osia. He has himself said that he could not photograph them. When I visited Osia in 1938 I was not even shown the images which were reported later to be lying in some room. The walls of the temple and the Devakulikās were thickly coated with white lime. The coating was made almost every year. It was difficult to identify symbols of most of the images on walls. M.N.P. Tiwari has made similar criticism about me for not noting certain images. Mine was a pioneer attempt at a standard work on "Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India)" which was the title of my thesis. It was not necessary then to make exhaustive studies of every Jaina site.

CHAPTER THREE

Pañca-Paramesthīs

The Pañca-Parameṣṭhīs or the Five Supreme Ones are: 1. *Arhat*, 2. *Siddha*, 3. *Ācārya*, 4. *Upādhyāya* and 5. *Sādhu*. These are superior to all other objects of worship in Jainism. From very early times throughout the history of the Jaina Church they have been invoked in the famous mantra—*Namo Arahantāṇam. Namo Siddhāṇam. Namo Āyariāṇam. Namo Uvajjhāyāṇam. Namo Loe Savvasāhūṇam.* Eso Pañca-Namukkāro, Savva-pāva-ppaṇāsaṇo Mangalāṇam Ca Savvesim Paḍhamam Havaī Mangalam.

The Mahāniśītha calls it Pañcamangala-Mahāśrutaskandha. It is variously known as Pañca-Namaskāra. Pañca-Parameṣṭhī Namaskāra or simply Namokkāra (Navakāra-mantra) and so on.[1]

It is to be muttered on all occasions and is regarded as potent in protecting a person from all calamities.[2]

The Mantra came to be employed for Tantrik rites and Hemacandra has prescribed it for dhyāna in his Yogaprakāśa.[3] Muttering of this mantra at the time of death leads one to better life hereafter and a number of stories in the literature of both the sects demonstrate this power of the mantra.

The mantra is obtained in the beginning verses of the Bhagavatī-sūtra and the Kalpa-sūtra, and in the Mahāniśītha, 3rd Adhyayana.[4] Bhadrabāhu has discussed the five *padas* of the mantra in his Āvaśyaka Niryukti (Namaskāra-Niryukti), it is also discussed by Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa in the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya.

This special sanctity attached to the mantra from olden times is due to the fact that the *Five Supreme Ones* are the Devādhidevas, the highest of objects of veneration for a pious Jaina.

But this worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of qualities of these souls that is remembered and venerated rather than the individuals. The Siddhas or Arhats are souls who are freed from the bondages of matter or karma and as such do not confer any boons on the worshipper. They are indifferent to praise or abuse. By saluting any of the Parameṣṭhins a worshipper suggests to his own mind the qualities of the Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya Upādhyāya or Sādhu, which the mind would gradually begin to follow and ultimately achieve the stage reached by the Siddhas. Hence the belief in the practice of using the mantra against Śākinīs etc. is all due to Tantrik influence. But fundamentally, this is the mantra to lead a person to self-realisation, the *Kevala-jñāna*, Omniscience. When the matter binding a soul is entirely subjugated or removed the soul is said to have been liberated or attained perfection, a condition in which the soul "enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinites—infinite perception or faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss." And such a soul is called Siddha.

Siddhas[5] The Siddhas are divided into fifteen classes by the Prajñāpanā sūtra[6] according as a person obtains Right knowledge himself or after initiation by a Guru, or according as the person is a male (*puruṣalinga-siddha*) or a female (*strī-linga-siddha*) and so on. But the two main divisions noteworthy for us are: Tīrthaṅkara siddhas and Sāmānya-siddhas.[7] All the Siddha souls after nirvāna live in a disembodied state at the summit of the Universe on the Siddha-Śilā in the Īṣatprāgbhāra Pṛthvī. The Sāmānya Siddhas, like the Tīrthaṅkara Siddhas, enjoy the same state of unending bliss but the latter are so called because during their life-time, they had

established the Tirtha, the four-fold Jaina order, whereas the former did not do so. There were 24 Tīrthaṅkara Siddhas of this *avasarpiṇī* in the Bharata-kṣetra.

Tīrthaṅkaras or Arhats and the Siddhas are separately invoked only because while the former as Arhat are worshipped as embodied souls, the Siddhas are worshipped in their disembodied stage when even the last bondage of the material body does not remain. A Siddha is endowed with the following 8 chief qualities: Anantajñāna, Anantadarśana (infinite-faith), Anantacāritra, Avyābādha Ananta-sukha, Akaṣāya-sthiti, Arūpitva, A-guru-laghutva, and Anantavīrya.[8]

Late representations of the siddhas are sometimes obtained in Jaina temples. Being disembodied, his body is not shown and the metal plaque is made like a stencil, the whole standing figure of the Siddha being cut away[9] (*Fig. 185*). Such images are found in Digambara shrines.

Arhats Qualities of the Arhats are described in detail in Jaina texts and their total comes to 46.[10] These can be reduced to 12 qualities: 1-8. *Prātihāryas*, mentioned before. 9. *Apāyāpagamātiśaya*, complete freedom from injury. 10. *Jñānātiśaya*, perfect knowledge. 11. *Pujātiśaya*, worship by everyone. 12. *Vacanātiśaya*, supernatural characteristics of speech which are 35. Nos. 9-12 are known as mulatisayas.

They are called Arhats because they deserve the worship by celestials with mahāprātihāryas etc., or because they kill (*hantā*) the enemy (*ari*) in the form of *rajas* (binding matter), or because they have nothing to conceal. They are Jinas because they conquer attachment, dislike, infatuation etc.[11]

Ācāryas Ācāryas are those who practise (āyaramāṇa) the five-fold *ācāra*,[12] and instruct others in the rules of conduct (*ācāra*), constituted of *darśana*, *jñāna*, *tapa*, and *vīrya*. They are endowed with 36 qualities. The *ācāryas* are heads of groups of Jaina monks (*gacchas*), and include the *gaṇadharas* and so on. The detailed list of qualities need not be enumerated here.

Upādhyāyas Upādhyāyas are those who teach the scriptures, consisting of the eleven *aṅgas* and the fourteen *pūrvvas* (now lost). They are endowed with 25 chief qualities.[13]

Sādhus All ascetics are sādhus. A Jaina sādhu has 28 chief qualities besides other subsidiary ones, according to Digambaras and 27 according to the Śvetāmbara lists.[14]

Separate representations of the Parameṣṭhins are obtained. In sculpture, there is no marked difference in the representations of Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus. The Śvetāmbara saints are shown with an upper and a lower garment and carrying a *rajoharaṇa* (*Fig. 177*), and a *mukha-paṭṭikā*. Sometimes a rosary is placed in the hand held in *Vyākhyāna mudrā*. The earliest known representation of an ācārya (Ganadhara) is on two sides of the figure of Pārśvanātha in the Āyāgapaṭa, set up by an inhabitant from Mathura, No. 248, Lucknow Museum. Two ganadharas of Pārśvanātha stand on two sides of the Jina and are without any garment.[14a]

Jaina monks are represented also on pedestals of images obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura. Here on the pedestals are generally shown all the four constituents of the Jaina Samgha: Sādhu, Sādhvī, Śrāvaka and Śrāvikā. A study of pedestals Nos. J.32, J.3, J.11, in the Lucknow Museum, the pedestal of the image of Vardhamāna, No. J.10, in the same Museum, and No. J.16 of Vardhamāna dedicated in Samvat 35, etc., has shown the following noteworthy points:

(1) Sādhus are naked but they carry on the left forearm a piece of cloth held in such a way as to cover the nudity. The right arm holds a *rajoharana*.

(2) Sādhvīs wear an undergarment, carry a *rajoharaṇa*. But they also wear a long coat or gown and in one case at least, on J.108, Lucknow Museum, a *caddara* seems to have been used as an upper cover.

(3) Sādhvīs can be easily differentiated from śrāvikās on pedestals since the latter wear anklets, neck ornaments and carry thick money-bags.

(4) Sādhus have shaven heads; hair are suspected on some figures of sādhvīs, but probably they covered their heads with a scarf (oḍhaṇī).
(5) Water-vessel is not carried by either sādhus or sādhvis.
(6) The coat of sādhvīs is a gown-like thing whose border's lines are clearly marked.
(7) Especially noteworthy, and our unfailing guide is No. J.8 of a standing Jina with head lost, and having on two sides as attendants, not the usual Yakṣas, but a sādhu on the right and a sādhvī on the left. Such a representation of the Tīrthaṅkara image is singular. The sādhvī's two garments—a lower one and a gown or coat—are clearly visible. Here she has a shaven head.
(8) The tablet representing ascetic Kaṇha, *Fig. 21*, No. J.623, Lucknow Museum (Smith's *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. xvii, p. 24), shows the same accessories for the Jaina monk—a piece of cloth held on left forearm, and a *rajoharaṇa*, but no garment. The Tablet is dated in Samvat 95, i.e. 173 A.D. but the same types of figures of monks are available on pedestals dated in first two decades of the era noted on these sculptures, i.e. in the last two decades of the first century A.D. Modern scholars recognise this practice of holding the cloth-piece as the *Ardha-fālaka-sampradāya*.[15]

Figure 212 illustrates a much later sculpture of Ādinātha (belonging to the Digambara sect) from a Temple at Khajuraho. In the central panel, below the Jina, sit the Ācārya and his disciple facing each other with the *Sthāpanā* between them. The pupil carries a scripture. A small thin broom of peacock's tail sometimes accompanies figures of Dig. Jaina monks as in Devgaḍh Temple 4. Wooden vessels used by these monks are also shown.

In a Jaina temple in Sevāḍī, Rajasthan, is worshipped a figure of a Śvetāmbara ācārya sitting on a raised seat with the right foot hanging, the left tucked up and a *yogapaṭṭa* running across the right leg. He carries a book in the left hand while the right one carrying a rosary is held in the *vyākhyāna mudrā*. The broom is shown behind him, and a *mukha-vastrikā* piece rests on his right shoulder. The figure was installed in Samvat 1242 (or 1243) and is at present preserved in a shrine at Sevāḍī, old Jodhpur State. The monk wears a lower garment, while the mark of the *Caddara* above is worn out, but it can be inferred from a miniature painting of Sudharmā and Jambūsvāmi from a palm-leaf MS[16] in Cambay Bhaṇḍāra.

Figure 214 represents a rare sculpture of a Śvetāmbara Sādhvī now preserved in a shrine in Patan. She sits like the ācārya in Sevāḍī image discussed above and wears an under and an upper garment. The right arm is mutilated, the left one holds a book. *Figure 213 represents a Dig. Jaina nun figure worshipped in a shrine at Surat.*

Figures of Gaṇadharas in miniature paintings of the Kalpa sūtra are well known, cf. Brown, K.P., pl. 39, figs. 130-34. Also see *Figs. 170* and *167* illustrated here.

The Five Supreme Ones are worshipped collectively also, by representing them on one plaque, along with symbols of four other essentials of the Jaina religion. Such plaques are known as the *Siddha-Cakra* (Śve.) or the Navadevatā (Dig.).

Figure 38 is a representation in stone, from Nadol, Rajasthan, of the *Five Parameṣṭhins*. Instead of the last four *Padas* of the *Navapada* diagram (called the *Siddha-Cakra* amongst the Śvetāmbaras), only four double-lotuses are carved. A Śvetāmbara *Siddha-Cakra-Yantra* is illustrated in *Fig. 39*, where the additional four *padas* are shown in four corners as *Om Hrim Namo Tavassa*, *Om Hrim Namo Damsaṇassa*, *Om Hrim Namo Nāṇassa*, and *Om Hrim Namo Cārittassa*. It will be seen that here invocations are offered to the abstract qualities and not to anthropomorphic deities. The whole diagram of the *Siddha-Cakra* is in the form of an eight-petalled lotus with different worthies arranged as follows: The *Arhat* is in the centre, the *Siddha* just above, the *Ācārya* to the left and the *Sādhu* to the right of the central figure. The *Upādhyāya* is just below the figure of the *Arhat*. The *Arhat* and the *Siddha* sit in the *padmāsana* showing the *dhyāna mudrā* while the remaining three *Parameṣṭhins* sitting in the *padmāsana* carry some object in one hand while the other hand rests on the lap. As figures are not quite distinct in this bronze it is not possible to identify the symbols held by them. However, paintings of the *Siddha-Cakra* are also popular in Jaina worship. In paintings, each of these three dignitaries (excluding the *Arhat* and the *Siddha*) lets his left hand rest on the lap while the right hand, held in the *vyākhyāna mudrā*, carries the *muha-patti*, or the mouth-piece.

In paintings of this diagram (illustrated by us in the paper on *Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. IX (1941, fig. 1 on pl. facing page 44), each of the Five Parameṣṭhins has a particular complexion, necessary for his dhyāna in the Tantrik sādhana of the *Siddha-Cakra-Yantra.* Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are of white, red, yellow, greenish and blue-black complexion respectively. The colour of the four remaining members of the Nava-Pada is to be visualised, in meditation, as white according to the Nava-Pada-Ārādhana-Vidhi (also see *Siri-Sirivāla-Kahā*, verses 1185-1191)

The Digambara diagram of the *Nava-Pada*, also called *Nava-Devatā*, is illustrated here in *Fig. 36* (stone) and in *Fig. 37* (bronze). The first Five Dignitaries are the same in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, namely, the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu. But in the Digambara tradition the remaining four dignitaries or *Padas* are: the *Caitya* or the Jina-image, the *Caityālaya* or the temple of the Jina, the *Dharma-Cakra* or the Wheel of the Sacred Law, and the *Śruta* or the Speech of the Tīrthaṅkara represented by Jaina Scriptures. *Figure 36* is a rare early specimen of the Digambara *Nava-Devatā*, hailing from Tamil Nadu, now preserved in the Madras Museum and dating from c. fifteenth century A.D. The *Nava-Devatā* bronze illustrated in *Fig. 37* is in worship in a Jaina shrine in Śravana Beḷagoḷa. T.N. Ramachandran had illustrated one such bronze from Jina-Kāñchī, Tamil Nadu in his *Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples*, pl XXXVI, fig. 2.

The Digambara *Nava-Devatā* diagram forms the central eight-petalled lotus of the elaborate Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-maṇḍala described by Nemicandra (c. 15th cent. A.D.) in his *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*; Pandit Āśādhara in his *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* seems to suggest the same thing. The Nava-Devatās are also invoked in the Nitya-Sandhyā-kriyā-vidhi of the *Jina-Samhitā* (in ms. still unpublished) ascribed to Indranandi, the well-known Digambara Tantrik writer of c. tenth century A.D. The Yantra-Mantra-vidhi section of the *Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-ṭippanam* (in ms.) of Vādī Kumudacandra (c. 1275 V.S.) which mentions different Digambara Yantras, also describes an elaborate Pañca-Maṇḍala called Nava-Devatā, the central eight-petalled lotus of which is reserved for the worship of the Five Parameṣṭhins, the Jina-temple, the Jina-image, the Jaina scripture and the Dharma-cakra. Obviously the Arhat amongst these is worshipped in the centre of the eight-petalled lotus.

The *Jina-Samhitā* of Ekasamdhi (c. 1250 A.D.) prescribes in the Devārcana-vidhi section a big maṇḍala with an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, wherein are invoked the Five Parameṣṭhins and (the symbols (?) of) *samyak-jñāna, samyak-darśana, samyak-cāritra*; *tapa*, however, is omitted, possibly through the scribe's oversight. The *maṇḍala* contains moreover invocations to the goddesses of the Jayā and the Jambhā groups, the sixteen Vidyādevīs, the yakṣiṇīs, and others. According to the author of this work, the *maṇḍala followed the tradition of Indranandi*. Thus the central part of this elaborate diagram completely corresponds to the still existing type of the Śve. Siddha-Cakra illustrated here in *Fig. 39.* Again in the Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi section, the same writer, following Indranandi, gives a bigger *maṇḍala* including all the above-mentioned deities and many more, and invokes the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins and the four Padas, namely, Jñāna, Darśana, Cāritra and Tapa in the central eight-petalled lotus. But what the Digambaras worshipped as the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra was quite different from the Śvetāmbara one of the same name as also from the Digambara Nava-Devatā and this fact is quite evident from the descriptions of the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bṛhad-Siddha-Cakra Yantras given by Āśādhara (*Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, chp. 6), Ekasandhi (*Jinasamhitā, Ms.*, chp. 9), and Vādī Kumuda-Candra (*Pratiṣṭhā-Kalpa-Ṭippaṇam, Ms.*, Yantra-Mantra-vidhi section).

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the Nine Worthies were also the first group of deities invoked in the elaborate Nandyāvarta-maṇḍala prescribed for consecratory rites by the Ācāra-Dinakara (1468 V.S. = 1411 A.D.). The Nirvāṇakalikā (c. eleventh century A.D.) refers to the same *maṇḍala* but in the invocation mantras *Tapas* or the Right Penance *is replaced by Śuci-vidyā.* Hemacandra, in his Yogaśāstra, chp. 8, describes a yantra with Five Parameṣṭhins but, instead of adding the four Padas noted above (Jnana, Darśana etc.), the four Padas of the Namaskāra-mantra giving the *fala-śruti* (namely, *eso Pañca-Namukkāro, savvapāpappanāśano, mangalānam ca savvesim, paḍhamam havai maṅgalam*) are prescribed in the intervening quarters (*vidik-patras* of the eight-petalled lotus). Thus the Yantra of Hemacandra, partly different from the Siddha-Cakra worshipped today, proves that the older Nava-Pada-Yantra was composed mainly of the

various parts of the *Navakāra-Mantra*. And perhaps still earlier the Siddha-Cakra cult included only the Five-Parameṣṭhins. And it is interesting to note that Hemacandra in his description noted above did not specify it as the Siddha-Chakra. The same writer however refers to the Siddha-Cakra as a diagram brought to light by Vajrasvāmī (c. 57 B.C.-57 A.D.) from the lost Vidyānupravāda-pūrva text, in the early centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately, the yantra is not described in this context (Yogaśāstra, chp. 8, verses 74-75) and the disciple is invited to learn it from his preceptor. Very probably, the Siddha-Cakra was originally based on the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-Namaskāra-mantra without its *phala-śruti*.

It seems that in the earlier stage, the *Siddha-Cakra-Yantra included the worship of the Five Parameṣṭhins only and that the four Padas of Jñāna, Darśana, Cāritra and Tapa were added later.* Siddhasena, commenting on the Pravacanasāroddhāra, verses 78-79 dealing with the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra, refers to older texts like the *Namaskāra-valaya*, where a vyākhyā (explanation) of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-Namaskāra is given. As is quite obvious, the *Siddha-Cakra is none else than the Namaskāra-valaya elaborated at some later stage.* But it is also certain that the diagram of Siddha-Cakra, probably in its earlier form, was already well-known in the age of Hemacandra, even though no earlier references to Siddha-Cakra-Yantra could be traced in the extant Śvetāmbara literature, for, Hemacandra refers to it as *samaya-prasiddha-cakra-viśeṣa* in his Bṛhannyāsa on his own Śabdānuśāsana.

The Siddha-Cakra-Yantra attained great popularity and was highly regarded as its worship brought great rewards. The story of king Śrīpāla, who had been famous for his devotion to the Siddha-Cakra and who is supposed to have been highly rewarded for his meritorious worship of this diagram, forms the subject matter of Siri-Sirivāla-kahā of Ratnamandira gani (1362 A.D.). A Gujarati ballad known as Śrīpāla-rāsu, composed in 1738 A.D., is very popular amongst the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat and profusely illustrated manuscripts of this work are available in some Jaina bhaṇḍāras.

Ratnamandira gaṇi describes the Siddha-Cakra-yantra in every detail However, according to his version, the yantra is larger than the one commonly worshipped and includes worship of several other deities. According to this author, the presiding deity or guardian of this mystic diagram is *Śrī Vimalasvāmī*, but the Nine Padas of course form a nucleus around which other deities find a place in the yantra.

As noted above, Tantrik texts like the *Namaskāra-valaya* were known to Siddhasena (1191 A.D.), the commentator of Pravacanasāroddhāra. His remarks are noteworthy in as much as he says that in works of this class is given a vyākhyā of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-Namaskāra. This Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra is also said to be the origin of all mantras (spells, charms etc.), the essence of all Pūrva-texts and the Wishing-tree (kalpa-druma) for attainment of all desired objects. Its power is great in as much as it can be used against poisons, snakes, supernatural beings like Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Yākinī and the like grahas and has powers of Vaśya, Ākṛṣṭi, etc. over the whole world.

Thus the Siddha-cakra-yantra, made up of the worship of mainly the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins, came to be employed in various Tantrik rites—the *ṣaṭ-karmas*, such as Śāntika, Pauṣṭika, Vaśya, Ākarṣaṇa, Mohana, Uccāṭana and Māraṇa, at least in the eleventh century A.D., a century or two preceding the age of the commentary of Siddhasena. Originally the Siddhacakra or the Namaskāra-valaya must have been employed in pure rites like the Śāntika and Pauṣṭika, but the growing Tantrik influence in India, from c. seventh century A.D. if not earlier, which resulted in the composition of various Buddhist Sādhanas and expansion of the pantheon, and in a similar activity in the Brahmanical Tantra, also led the Jainas not only to elaborate their pantheon, but also to include a number of Tantrik rites and practices originally prohibited to Jaina monks and which were against the very principles of Jainism.

Later Digambara manuscripts of the Pañca-Namaskāra-kalpa, and Śvetāmbara manuscripts of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-kalpa etc. are still available in the Jaina bhaṇḍāras. This class of small Tantrik texts await special critical study.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. *Mūlācāra*, 7.13, p 396
2. संग्रामसागरकरीन्द्रभुजङ्गसिंहदुर्व्याधिवह्निरिपुबन्धनसम्भवानि ।
   चौरग्रहभ्रमनिशाचरशाकिनीनां नश्यन्ति पञ्चपरमेष्ठिपदैर्भयानि ॥

   —*Upadeśatarangiṇī*

   भोयणसमए सयणे विबोहणे पवेसणे भए वसणे ।
   पञ्चनमुक्कारं खलु समरिज्जा सव्वकाल पि ॥

   —*Upadeśatarangiṇī*

   जेणेस नमुक्कारो सरणं समारम्भमरणपडियाण ।
   कारणमसंखदुक्खक्खयणस्स हेउ सिवपहस्स ॥

   —*Vṛddha-Namaskāraphala-stotra*

   (Quoted in *Pratikramaṇa-sūtra-Prabodha-Ṭīkā*, I, pp. 25ff)
3. तथा पुण्यतमं मन्त्रं जगत्त्रितयपावनम् ।
   योगी पञ्चपरमेष्ठिनमस्कारं विचिन्तयेत् ॥
   त्रिशुद्धया चिन्तयंस्तस्य शतमष्टोत्तरं मुनिः ।
   भुञ्जानोऽपि लभेतैव चतुर्थतपसः फलम् ॥
   एनमेव महामन्त्रं समाराध्येह योगिनः ।
   त्रिलोक्यापि महीयन्तेऽधिगताः परमां श्रियम् ॥
   कृत्वा पापसहस्राणि हत्वा जन्तुशतानि च ।
   अमुं मन्त्रं समाराध्य तिर्यञ्चोऽपि दिवं गताः ॥
   ध्यायन्तोऽनादिसिद्धान्तान्वर्णानेतान्यथाविधि ।
   नष्टादिविषये ज्ञानं ध्यातुरुत्पद्यते क्षणात् ॥

   —*Yogaprakāśa, 8th prakāśa*
4. The unpublished Mahāniśitha sūtra deals at length with the importance of this mantra. Long ago Schubring discussed the contents in German and later published some parts.
5. For an explanation of the title cf..
   दीहकालरयं जं तु कम्मं मे सियमट्ठहा ।
   सियं धंतंति सिद्धस्स सिद्धत्तमुवजायइ ॥

   – *Viśesāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*, v 3029

   Also see *Tattvārtha sūtra*, 10 7, *Pañcāstikāya* of Kundakunda, v. 35; *Niyamasāra*, v 72, *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, vv 953-961.
6. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, sū. 8; *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*, vv. 2950ff. Also see *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti of Haribhadra*, pp. 438ff.
7. Ramachandran, T N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 189.
8. See also Jaini, J.L., *Outline of Jainism*, pp. 130-131; *Triṣaṣṭi, I* (GOS), Appendix V, p. 450
9. Sometimes a figure without Prātihāryas is regarded as a representation of Siddha.
10. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, I.57-71, *Triṣaṣṭi, I* (GOS), p. 450. Also Jaini, *op. cit.*, pp 128-29.
11. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, pp. 8-9; *Yogaśāstra*, 3, pp. 216ff *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, verses 921-926 and *Āv. Vṛtti of Haribhadra, pp. 406ff*. *Sthānānga sūtra*, 3.4, Sū. 220 and comm , vol. I, p. 174.
    जियकोहमाणमाया जियलोहा ते जिणा हुंति ।
    अरिणो हंता रयं हंता अरिहंता तेण वुच्चंति ॥

    —*Āvaśyaka Nir.*, v 1076

    With above, cf. *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera, 7 64, vol. I, p. 432, which is almost identical with the Āv. Nir. Gāthā quoted above. Also see *Mūlācāra*, 7 4-5, p. 394.
12. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 994; *Viśeṣāvaśyaka*, vv. 3189ff. *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, vv. 541-49; Jaini, *op cit*, pp 131ff, *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS) p 452; *Niyamasāra*, v. 73. *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti of Haribhadra*, pp 448ff.
13. *Viśeṣāvaśyaka*, vv. 3196-3200 Upādhyāya is explained by *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 997 Also see *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), p. 452. Jaini, *op. cit*, p 133; *Pravacana-Sāroddhāra*, vv 492ff *Niyamasāra*, v. 74.
14. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v 1002, *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), pp. 454-55; Jaini, *op cit.*, pp 133f. *Niyamasāra*, v. 75. *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, *op. cit* , pp. 449ff

14a. Shah, U.P , *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 12

15. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* (*Jaina Antiquary*), vol VIII, pp 62-66 paper on *Ardha-phālaka-sampradāya* (Hindi) by K.P Jaina.
16. Shah, U P., *Treasures of Jaina Bhandāras* (Ahmedabad, 1978), fig. 18

CHAPTER FOUR

Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras

The parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras have been paid due respect by followers of both the main Jaina sects, who have taken special care to record their names in the accounts of the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras of this Avasarpiṇī age. Table I, appended at the end of this chapter, gives their names according to both the traditions.

Worship of the parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras appears to be of ancient origin. They are invoked in various rites, especially in the *pratiṣṭhāvidhi,*[1] and it is interesting to note that even here the mothers are more frequently invoked than the fathers. In painting as well as sculpture, the mother is more often represented. Āryavatī in the Amohini Votive Tablet from Mathura, dated in the 42nd year of Ṣoḍāsa, is one of the earliest such specimens (*Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 14A*). It belongs to the early Kuṣāṇa period, and depicts a standing lady (Āryavatī) adored and worshipped by attendant figures one of whom holds a parasol over her. The lady represents the mother of a Tīrthaṅkara, probably Mahāvīra. Several stone paṭas or plaques representing in relief all the twenty-four mothers—each in a separate compartment and carrying the son on her lap—are known to have been installed in Jaina temples during the mediaeval period. The earliest of these known hitherto is preserved in a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple at Osia in the former Jodhpur State, Rajasthan, and is dated V.S. 1075/A.D. 1018. I know of similar paṭas from Pāṭaṇ, Ābu and Mt. Girnār, and many more exist in different Jaina temples.

The mothers of the Jaina saviours were widely worshipped both in groups of twenty-four and singly. When single, the mother is shown reclining on a cot with the child lying beside her, both attended by maids and/or the Dik-kumārīs of Jaina mythology. Such representations form part of the numerous scenes depicting the whole life of a Jina as we find in some ceilings of Vimala Vasahī, Abu and in shrines of Śāntinātha and others at Kumbharia, but such scenes are generally without the Dik-kumārīs as in the miniatures of the Kalpa-sūtra. Of the latter type may be seen the miniatures illustrated by Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra*, pl. 17, figs. 58, 59 where Triśalā is lying on a cot with Mahāvīra by her side and attended upon by a maid-servant, or figs. 90, 91 from the life of Pārśvanātha, fig. 103 from the life of Ariṣṭanemi and figs. 118, 119 depicting the birth of Ṛṣabha.[2] It will be seen that all such representations are of the same type. Another type represents the Mother of a Jina lying on a cot in a lower section of the miniature, while the two upper sections show the various dreams (14 according to the Śvetāmbaras) seen by the Mother when the Tīrthaṅkara is conceived in her womb, compare Brown's fig. 18 representing Triśalā, the Mother of Mahāvīra.[3]

In the case of the Mother of Mahāvīra, however, some more types of miniatures are available, one shows the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams, when Mahāvīra first enters her womb (Brown, fig. 6), a second shows Devānandā sleeping on a cot and Hariṇegameśin carrying away the foetus of Mahāvīra (Brown, fig. 14), while a third type shows Triśalā lying on a cot and Hariṇegameśin standing beside her with the foetus of Mahāvīra (Brown, fig. 16).[4]

On a pillar of the famous Dharaṇa-vihāra shrine, Ranakpur, old Jodhpur State, Marwar (now Rajasthan), is found a figure of a Mother lying on a cot which represents the Nativity of a Jina. An older big sculpture of the Mother resting on a cot and shampooed by a maid is preserved in temple No. 4 at Devgaḍh

fort, Jhansi District, Madhya Bharata. The sculpture (dated V.S. 107 (?), c. 1020 A.D.) includes representations of the twenty-four Jinas on all the three sides of the Mother (*Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 39*), which shows that the image represents "*The Mother* of the Jina".

The Nativity figures are not unknown to other sects in ancient Indian sculpture. The Nativity of Buddha, found at the site of his birth, near the Lumbini Garden as also at Nalanda are well-known.[5] The Nativity of Kṛṣṇa is represented on the outer wall of the first Pañcāyatana temple at Osia,[6] assignable to the post-Gupta age. Similar representations are known from Eastern India, including representations showing the birth of Sadāśiva.[7]

The famous sculpture from Pathari, old Gwalior State, of a Mother lying on a cot with a child beside her, and attended upon by four maidens standing behind and holding the fan, the chowrie—a money bag (?) etc. in their hands,[8] is especially noteworthy since the Jaina traditions speak of Dik-kumārīs serving the Mother at the time of the birth of a Jina. This sculpture can be identified as representing the Mother of a Jina and the identification is likely, especially when an old Jaina temple still exists at Pathari. It may be remembered that in Buddhist mythology, the Buddha is attended upon, not by females, but by Brahmā and other four male deities,[9] while a similar group is not known in Hinduism. It will be seen that in *Fig. 82* from a ceiling slab in the Neminātha shrine at Kumbhāriā (North Gujarat), which relates to the life of Pārśvanātha, King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā (parents of Pārśva) are represented as seated side by side in the first row. The second and the third rows contain in separate sections parents of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. As, however, the photograph shows only a part of the big slab, only a few of them, each completely labelled by the artist, can be seen in the plate. In each section are seated, side by side, on small seats, the Mother and Father of a Jina, with the child on the Mother's lap. The sculpture is assignable to c. 12th century A.D.

With this type may be considered a group of miniature paintings of the Kalpa sūtra. Figure 35 of Brown shows King Siddhārtha and Queen Triśalā (Parents of Mahāvīra) seated beside each other, the king on a somewhat bigger seat, and with a *chatra* above each. Here Triśalā narrated her dreams to Siddhārtha who tells her that the dreams are a very auspicious omen. Of a similar type is fig. 117 of Brown, representing parents of Ṛṣabha, the patriarch Nābhī and his Queen Marudevi. Figure 48 of Brown's *KSP* shows Siddhārtha and Triśalā, listening to the interpreters of dreams (*svapnapāṭhaka*) shown in a lower panel (also cf. figs. 40, 50 of Brown).

But this type of representation of the Parents of a Jina (seated side by side), on stone at Kumbhāriā or in the miniatures noted above, leads us to the examination of yet another group of sculptures which were lying unidentified. This type of sculpture generally shows a male and a female in princely attire, sitting under a tree, with a child on the female's lap. In almost all such cases, there is a seated Jina figure on the top of the tree (*Figs. 80, 81, 85A*).[10] Sometimes both the male and the female hold a child each.[11] In some cases the male holds a lotus or a citron[12] in one of his hands.[13] Below the princely pair, in a lower panel, are found several seated or standing figures (*Figs. 80, 81*) and in some cases figures riding on horses are also seen.[14] Again, in some sculptures,[15] a group of children are shown near the feet of the male and the female. Sometimes, a small dwarfish figure is seen climbing the stem of the tree just above and in a sculpture in the Devgaḍh fort, a figure like this is represented on the branch of a tree.

In this connection, two sculptures from Khajurāho deserve special notice. In one (*Fig. 85A*) a small figure of a bull is placed between the pair, near their legs. In another (*Fig. 81*) are seen, at two ends below, representations of a Yakṣa and Yakṣī. Again, the chowrie-bearers to the right and the left of the male and the female may be noted.

Such representations are known to have been found in old Digambara shrines and old Jaina sites in the Gwalior State, Madhya Bharata, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A few are also known from Bengal. They seem to have been gradually less popular in the Moghul period while older sites like Khajuraho, Devgaḍh, Budhi Canderi etc., abound in them.

Now, the presence of a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, as subordinate figures in *Fig. 81*, as also of fly-whisk bearers and the bull-cognizance (in *Fig. 85A*) shows that such a pair does not represent the Yakṣa and Yakṣī of a Tīrthaṅkara. Besides there are different kinds of trees in different sculptures which fact suggests that

the pairs are concerned with different Tīrthaṅkaras. The presence of a child on the lap of the Mother is of utmost importance, for it shows that, in view of all peculiarities noted above, the pair must be taken to represent the Mother and the Father of the Tīrthaṅkara.[16] Moreover, both the male and the female are dressed like King and Queen in all sculptures. Above all, we have the evidence of a similar tradition amongst the Śvetāmbaras (in c. 11th-12th century) of the ceiling slab from Kumbhāriā, discussed above (*Fig. 82*), which actually represents them seated side by side with the son on the Mother's lap. The labels inscribed below the panels at Kumbhāriā leave no doubt about their identifications.

Another alternative is to take the pair as representing the Kulakara and his queen, or the happy twins (*Yugalika*) who lived in those days.[17] But in the case of at least the two sculptures from Khajuraho, discussed above in *Figs. 81 and 85A*, the presence of the bull cognizance and the Yakṣa and Yakṣī would remain unexplained. But it would be easier to identify the pair in *Fig. 85A* as representing the Parents of Ṛṣabhanātha, whose cognizance is the bull. The Yakṣa and Yakṣī in *Fig. 81* represented at two ends of the lower panel are already noted. Besides, there are five more figures (both male and female) in the centre of the pedestal, who seem to be worshippers. A figure of a standing cāmara-dhara to the right of the male is noteworthy. The male seems to have held in his left mutilated hand a lotus with a long stalk (also in *Fig. 85A* with the bull symbol). It is therefore impossible to regard this pair as the Yugalikas, and if we take them as Parents the presence of a child is better explained than in the case of a Kulakara. Besides, the almost invariable presence of a Jina figure on the top of the tree in such sculptures would not be necessary if different Kulakaras are represented.

Another alternative would be to regard them as representing a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī probably as a Jaina version of the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti. If *Fig. 81* above with another Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī at the two ends of the pedestal be regarded as our guide to the understanding of these types of sculptures, then we need not take the Male and Female as a Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī. The presence of horse riders on pedestals of some sculptures is not explicable under any of the above-mentioned alternatives. The Mathura Museum sculpture No. 278, illustrated here in *Fig. 178*, shows a male and a female seated side by side in lalitāsana under a tree, on the trunk of the tree is an ascending lizard. On the pedestal is carved another figure seated with the left leg drawn up and flanked by two butting rams and a group of frolicksome children. No. 1111 is another relief of this group in the Mathura Museum. Here both the principal figures, two-armed, hold a brimming cup in right hand. No. 1578 in this museum, again, shows, on the pedestal, a group of seven miniature figurines in *añjali mudrā*.[18] A sculpture from Devgaḍh, showing the male and the female in a standing attitude, and carrying the citron in their right hands and the child in their left hands, was identified by Shri Brindabana Bhattacharya as the Yakṣa Gomedha and Ambikā Yakṣiṇī of Nemināth.[19] A sculpture from Chanderi in the Gwalior State shows on the pedestal a group of horse riders with galloping horses.[20] Now the presence of galloping horses cannot be explained under any of the other identifications suggested by B.C. Bhattacharya, V.S. Agrawala and others while the frolicking children can very well be expected in a sculpture based on the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti group. A better specimen of this type is preserved at Devgaḍh, temple no. 12, which shows three more standing infants, not on the pedestal, but beside the legs of the male and female sitting in lalitāsana under a tree. The brimming cup held by the principal figures in some sculptures, or the citron shown in others, or again the lotus held by the male in some figures would suggest that the pair represents some Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī. But in the last case (from Khajuraho Museum) the bull symbol would prevent us from doing so and in fig. 117 from Khajuraho where again the male carries a lotus, a yakṣa and yakṣiṇī figure on the pedestal. Under all these circumstances, it is difficult to find out a final satisfactory solution of this group of sculptures, almost all of whom belong to the mediaeval age, with a few assignable to the early mediaeval age but none earlier than c. 7th century A.D. All the sculptures of this group post-date the introduction of a Yakṣa pair as attendants in Tīrthaṅkara images. It is therefore likely that this group of Jaina sculptures was modelled after the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti,[21] to attract the laity, and worshipped as Parents of the Jinas, but the correspondence being so great and the canonical injunctions being still not fixed up, the artist could take liberties in representations on pedestals and other minor figures. It may be that a few figures were possibly intended to represent a yakṣa pair in cases where the pair carries the brimming

cup or the citron, but even in the case of the sculpture discussed by Brindabana Bhattacharya, the lion vehicle of Ambikā is absent (the partly mutilated figure to the left of Ambikā represented some worshipper and not an animal) and the five figures on the pedestal seem to represent five planets or some minor deities. The sculpture was carved in an age (c. 13th century A.D.) when the iconography of Ambikā was so well known that she would carry mango-bunch, rather than a citron, and would be shown as standing under a mango-tree only. And no other yakṣī carries a child with her in Jaina iconography.

Unfortunately almost all available sculptures of this type bear no inscriptions and in a few cases of short inscriptions on pedestals (as in a bronze in the Nāgpur Museum or in No. A(C)2,329 in the Rajshahi Museum, from Deopara, district Rajshahi) the inscriptions do not help us in identifying this pair. But the short inscription on No. 278 in the Mathura Museum is read as *Priyati Siddhaḥ*. If this has any connection with Priyakāriṇī and Siddhārtha, the Mother and Father of Mahāvīra, according to Dig. tradition, then the riddle of identification of this group is solved. We are not quite sure about it and in the absence of any other labelled sculptures of this group, the identification of this group, as representing the Parents of the various Tīrthaṅkaras suggested here, is to be regarded as tentative only, and in this the panel at Kumbharia, and *Figs. 81* and *85A* from Khajuraho are our only guides.

TABLE I

Parents of Jinas

No.	*Tīrthaṅkara*	*Father*	*Mother*
1.	Ṛṣabhanātha	Nābhi	Marudevī
2.	Ajitanātha	Jitaśatru	Vijayā
3.	Sambhavanātha	Jitāri	Senā (Śve.); Suṣeṇā (Dig.)
4.	Abhinandana	Samvara	Siddhārtha
5.	Sumatinātha	Megha (Śve.) Meghaprabha (Dig.)	Mangalā
6.	Padmaprabha	Dhara or Dharaṇa (Dig.)	Susīmā
7.	Supārśvanātha	Pratiṣṭha or Supratiṣṭha (Dig.)	Pṛthvī
8.	Candraprabha	Mahāsena	Lakṣmaṇā or Lakṣmī (Dig.)
9.	Puṣpadanta	Sugrīva	Rāmā
10.	Śītalanātha	Dṛḍharatha	Nandā
11.	Śreyāṃsanātha	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu or Veṇudevī (Dig.)
12.	Vāsupūjya	Vasupūjya	Jayā or Vijayā (Dig.)
13.	Vimalanātha	Kṛtavarmā	Śyāmā or Jayaśyāmā (Dig.)
14.	Anantanātha	Siṃhasena	Suyaśā or Sarvayaśā (Dig.)
15.	Dharmanātha	Bhānu	Suvratā
16.	Śāntinātha	Viśvasena	Acirā or Airā (Dig.)
17.	Kunthūnātha	Sūra or Sūryasena (Dig.)	Śrī
18.	Aranātha	Sudarśana	Devī or Mitrā (Dig.)
19.	Mallinātha	Kumbha	Prabhāvatī
20.	Munisuvrata	Sumitra	Padmā
21.	Naminātha	Vijaya	Vaprā or Viprītā (Dig.)
22.	Neminātha	Samudravijaya	Śivādevī
23.	Pārśvanātha	Aśvasena	Vāmā or Varmilā
24.	Mahāvīra	Siddhārtha	Triśalā or Priyakāriṇī (Dig.)

A sculpture of a male and a female seated in lalitāsana on a common seat, with haloes behind (obviously showing that they are objects of worship, gods or great souls) seated in a sort of a heavenly vimāna, or a shrine with a śikhara, and a Jina seated to front on top, but without the tree (met with in all the sculptures discussed above), is preserved in the British Museum, London.[22] Again, neither the male nor the female carries a child and the pair possibly held lotus in their right hands. The female carries the citron in her left hand. The pedestal shows three dwarfs lifting the vimāna, and four standing males who seem to be musicians. On the pedestal is carved *Anantavīryyo* in early Nāgarī characters, of c. 10th or 11th century A.D. No Yakṣa is known as Anantavīrya in Jaina literature. But Anantavīrya is the name of the twenty-fourth future Jina according to the Digambaras[23] and of the twenty-third according to the Śvetāmbaras.[24] Even then it is difficult to identify this pair, it is just possible that Anantavīryyo merely signifies the name of the donor. One must await future discoveries to obtain a final solution of all such sculptures.

In order to identify the different pairs as parents of the different Tīrthaṅkaras, a table of *caitya*-trees of these Jinas is appended below. It will be seen that the tree under which the pair sits is different in different sculptures, and often there is a tree with the Jina figure on top.

TABLE II

Caitya-Trees of Tīrthaṅkaras

No.	*Tīrthaṅkara*	*Śvetāmbara*	*Digambara*
1.	Ṛṣabhanātha	Nyagrodha	Same as Śve.
2.	Ajitanātha	Saptaparna	Saptaparṇa
3.	Sambhavanātha	Śāla (*Shorea Robusta*)	Sarala
4.	Abhinandana	Piyaka or Priyaka	Prayāla
5.	Sumatinātha	Priyaṅgu (*Panicum italicum*)	Priyaṅgu
6.	Padmaprabha	Caturābha (*Anethum Sava*)	Chatrā
7.	Supārśvanātha	Śirīṣa (*Acacia Sirisha*)	Śirīṣa
8.	Candraprabha	Nāga	Nāga
9.	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhinātha)	Mali	Akṣa
10.	Śītalanātha	Pilaṅkhu (Plakṣa)	Dhūli
11.	Śreyāṃsanātha	Tinduga	Palāśa
12.	Vāsupūjya	Pāṭala (*Bignonia Suaveolens*)	Tenduva
13.	Vimalanātha	Jambū (*Eugenia Jambulana*)	Pāṭala-Jambū
14.	Anantanātha	Aśvattha	Aśvattha
15.	Dharmanātha	Dadhiparna	Dadhiparna
16.	Śāntinātha	Nandi (*Cedrela-Toona*)	Nandi
17.	Kunthūnātha	Tilaka	Tilaka
18.	Aranātha	Āmra	Āmra
19.	Mallinātha	Aśoka	Aśoka
20.	Munisuvrata	Campaka (*Michelia Champaka*)	Campaka
21.	Naminātha	Bakula (*Mimusops Elengi*)	Bakula
22.	Neminātha	Vetasa	Meṣaśṛṅga
23.	Pārśvanātha	Dhātaki (*Grislea Tomentosa*)	Dhava
24.	Mahāvīra	Śāla	Śāla

REFERENCES

1. *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 16ff, 154ff, *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, pp. 87ff, *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*, pp. 420ff
2. *Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra*, fig 23 coloured plate representing Triśalā and Mahāvira on a cot; fig. 30 is a palm-leaf miniature showing Triśalā with an attendant maid and two Dik-Kumārīs in an upper corner, also cf. fig. 85 where the Dik-Kumārīs are in a lower register. Fig. 100 depicts the birth of Ṛṣabha, only a maid-servant or probably only one Dik-Kumārī is shown. Also see Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra (KSP)*, figs 58, 59, 90, 91.
3. Cf fig. 98 colour plate representing Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams, in *Pavitra Kalpa Sūtra*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya.
4. *Pavitra-kalpa sūtra*, figs. 77 and 82 representing '*garbhā-pahāra*' and '*garbha-samkramaṇa*' respectively
5. Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 98, also figs. 21-23 for dream of Māyā Devi.
6. Annual Report, Arch Surv. of India, for 1908-09, pp. 100ff where Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar describes the temples at Osia. The present writer has seen the sculpture on the temple
7. *History of Bengal*, vol. I, figure of Sadāśiva. Bhattasali, N.K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, plates LIII, LIV, pp. 134ff.
8. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig 178.
9. The four male deities are the four Maharajas, the quarter-guardians, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Viḍuḍhaka, and others. The Pathari sculpture, because of the four standing attendant females (not known to Buddhist or Hindu mythologies), must be identified as representing the birth of a Jina, probably the Nativity of Mahāvira.
10. From Khajuraho Museum.
11. From Devgaḍh. Also see fig. A(c)2,329, from Deopara in the Museum of the V R.S., Rajshahi.
12. See Gomedha and Ambikā from Devgaḍh, illustrated by B C Bhattacharya, in *Jaina Iconography* (first edition).
13. Negative no 1263, Dept of Archaeology, Gwalior State showing 3 sculptures of such pairs.
14. On pedestals of all the three images noted above in note 13. See note 20.
15. From Devgaḍh Fort.
16. The *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka* of Nemicandra admits as valid representations of the Mother and Father seated side by side, in the following verse:

    भर्त्रा सहैकासनसन्निविष्टां

    संस्नाप्य यां तीर्थजलैः सुरेन्द्राः ।

    दिव्यैर्विभूषाम्बरमाल्यमुख्यै

    रानर्चुरेतां वयमर्चयामः ॥

    —*Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*, p. 422.
17. For Kulakaras, see a separate discussion under Kulakaras in this book. Also see *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), pp. 93ff. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.320ff, vol. I, pp. 185ff, for Yugalikas. The text specially says:

    ये जुगलधरमणुसा परिवारा णत्थि तक्काले ॥३४०॥

    which excludes the possibility of this group being identified as Yugalika-images. For Kulakaras, ibid., 4-423-510, pp. 195-206.
18. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, *JUPHS*, vol. XXIII, parts 1-2, pp. 67-68 for Nos. 278, 1111 and 1578 discussed here.
19. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, plate XVI, p 183 (first edition).
20. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India for 1924-25*, pl. 42, fig. (2). A sculpture from Chanderi shows horsemen at the bottom portion of the image.
21. Cf Kubera and Hariti from Sahri-Bahlol, in Smith and Codrington, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pl 31, fig. B. For Hariti, also see Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 63-84.
22. Rai Bahadur Chanda, Ramaprasada, *Mediaeval Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, pl. IX, pp. 41-42.
23. Ramachandran, T N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 213.
24. *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 1.53-56, pp. 18-19.

CHAPTER FIVE

Notes on the Jaina Pantheon

(1) BACKGROUND OF JAINA COSMOGRAPHY[1]

According to Jainism, the shape of the Cosmos is fixed and unchangeable. Fourteen *rajjus*[2] in height, it is not uniform in breadth— broadest at the bottom, narrowest at the centre, broader still above and at the top narrower once again. The shape of the cosmos (*loka*) is best compared with a man standing in the *vaisākha* position,[3] with arms akimbo, at the bottom resembling a *vetrāsana* (cane-stand), in the middle a *jhallarī* (circular flat symbol or gong) and at the top a *muraja* (*mṛdaṅga*). It is filled with three worlds— lower, middle and upper, the terms being used with reference to Rucaka. The centre of the cosmos comprises the madhya-loka—middle world—with the abodes of human and lower beings, and extending nine hundred yojanas above and below Rucaka.[4]

The lower world or *adho-loka* is made up of seven earths, one below the other, in which are terrifying abodes of hell inhabitants: Ratnaprabhā, Śarkarāprabhā, Vālukaprabhā, Pankaprabhā, Dhūmaprabhā, Tamaḥprabhā and Mahātamaḥprabhā.[5] The Ratnaprabhā is divided into three parts; the uppermost, called the khara-bhāga, has in its central regions abodes of all the classes of the Bhavanavāsī-devas except the Asurakumāras, and of the various classes of the Vyantara gods except the Rākṣasas. The middle part of the Ratnaprabhā is called the paṅka-bhāga wherein stay the Asurakumāras and the Rākṣasas. Remaining parts of the lower world contain hells[6] wherein live the nārakas or hellish beings, ugly and grotesque in appearance and tortured mercilessly by the Asurakumāras and fifteen other classes of celestial beings known as amba, ambaras, sama, śabala, rudra, mahārudra, kāla, mahākāla, asipatra, dhanu, kumbha, vālu, vetaraṇī, kharasvara and mahāghoṣa.

The middle world, a rather circular body, consists of numerous concentric dvīpas or island continents with intervening oceans separating any two of them. In its centre is the Mount Meru, golden and surrounded by the Jambū-dvīpa, the latter being encircled by the lavaṇoda ocean. Then comes the Dhātakī-khaṇḍa-dvīpa followed by kāloda-samudra, then the Puṣkaravara-dvīpa and the puṣkaroda-samudra, the Vāruṇīvara-dvīpa and the vāruṇīvara-samudra, the Kṣīravara and the kṣīroda, the Ghṛtavara and the ghṛtoda, the Ikṣuvara and the ikṣuvaroda, the Nandīśvara and the nandīśvaroda. Human beings are found only in the first two dvīpas and the first half of the third one. At the end of countless continents and oceans is the great ocean known as the Svayambhuramaṇa.

The Jambū-dvīpa, placed in the centre of the middle world, is the most important of all the continents. Six ranges of mountains divide this Jambū-dvīpa into seven regions (*kṣetras*): *Bharata*, *Haimavata*, *Hari*, *Videha*, *Ramyaka*, *Hairaṇyavata* and *Airāvata*. The six mountain ranges known as varṣadharaparvatas are: Himavat, Mahāhimavat, Niṣadha, Nīla, Rukmin and Śikharin.[7] On their tops are six lakes, namely, Padma, Mahāpadma, Tigiñcha, Kesarī, Mahāpuṇḍarīka and Puṇḍarīka respectively, each having a big lotus-island (*padma-hrada*, full-blown lotus, rooted ten yojanas in water) in its centre. In these islands live the six goddesses *Śrī*, *Hrī*, *Dhṛti*, *Kīrti*, *Buddhi* and *Lakṣmī* respectively,[8] attended by sāmānikas, gods of councils, bodyguards, and armies.

In each of the seven kṣetras is a pair of chief rivers—Gangā and Sindhu, Rohit and Rohitāsyā (or

Rohitāmśā), Harit and Harikāntā, Sītā and Sitodā, Nārī and Narakāntā, Suvarṇakūlā and Rūpyakūlā, Raktā and Raktodā.[9]

To the north of the Niṣadha Mts. and to the south of Meru are the Vidyutprabha and Saumanasa Mts. in the west and in the east. Between them are the bhogabhūmis or enjoyment-lands known as *Devakurus*. In the Devakurus, on the east and west banks of the river Sitodā are the mountains Citrakūṭa and Vicitrakūṭa, on which are temples of the Jinas. To the north of the Meru and to the south of the Nīla Mts. are Gandhamādana and Mālyavat Mts. between which is another bhogabhūmi known as the *Uttarakurus*, where, on the banks of the river Sītā, are two Mts. known as Yamaka.

To the east of the Deva and Uttarakurus are the regions known as the East Videhas, while to the west are the West Videhas, each of the Videhas being divided into sixteen provinces.[10]

In the centre of the Bharata, parallel to the Himavān, is the Mt. Vaitāḍhya or Vijayārdha, dividing the Bharata kṣetra into northern and southern regions. The northern one is peopled by the Mlecchas.[11] The southern region is divided into western, middle and eastern parts, the Mlecchas again live in the extreme east and west sections, the middle section, peopled by the Āryas (noble, worthy, respectable ones), is known as the Ārya-khaṇḍa.[12]

On the northern and the southern slopes of the Mt. Vaitāḍhya are cities of the Vidyādharas, fifty in the south and sixty in the north.[13] At ten yojanas above the abodes of the Vidyādharas are two rows adorned with abodes of the Vyantaras. Above these again are nine peaks. There are two caves on the Vaitāḍhya, known as the Tamisra-guhā and the Khandaprapāta-guhā. Kṛtamālaka a Vyantara god is the superintending deity of the first while Narttamālaka, another Vyantara god, rules over the second. There are similar Vidyādhara cities in the Airavata and Videha kṣetras.

In the Bharata and the Airavata kṣetras, in the extreme south and north of the Jambū continent, there is an increase and decrease of age, height, bliss, etc., of their inhabitants, in the two chief Eras of Time—*utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī*—while in the other five kṣetras there is no increase and decrease of any sort.

In the centre of the Jambū-dvīpa is the Mt. Meru, golden and having the shape of a truncated cone. At the base of Meru is a grove *Bhadraśāla* resembling a surrounding wall. At five hundred yojanas from Bhadraśāla, on a terrace, is the grove called *Nandana*. On a second terrace, at a certain distance above Nandana is the grove *Saumanasa*, while the *Sundara-vana* (grove) is on a third terrace. On the peak of Meru is the garden Puṇḍarīka. In the last grove is performed the Janmābhiṣeka kalyāṇaka (birth-bath ceremony) of the Tīrthaṅkaras.[14] Each of the above-mentioned groves has four Śāśvata-Jina-Bhavanas.

The continent of Jambū-dvīpa has a fortification wall (*jagatī*) of diamond, with a lattice work above it which latter is surmounted by a beautiful terrace (*vedikā*) named Padmavara, the pleasure ground of gods. In the fortification wall are four gates in the four cardinal points. They are: *Vijaya*, *Vaijayanta*, *Jayanta*[15] and *Aparājita* with gods of the same name superintending over them. Over each gate is a dvāraprāsāda, with various pavements, excellent vāranakas, shining with jewel lamps, having pillars adorned with various śālabhañjikās, jewelled minarets and flags. It appears beautiful with various sculptures and painting and excellent curtains. On these gates are the images of Jinas sitting on lion-seats and adorned with haloes, umbrellas, fly-whisks etc.[16]

The cities of Mahoraga gods situated in the vedi have costly palaces of square and rectangular plans, and of white, ruby, golden or various colours. These mansions contain various apartments, such as the olagaśālā (?), mantra-śālā, bhūṣaṇa-śālā, abhiṣeka-śāla etc. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti further says that Vyantara cities of the Jambūdvīpa have various types of gṛhas, namely, *sāmānya-gṛha*, *citra* or *caitya-gṛha*, *kadalī-gṛha*, *garbha-gṛha*, *latā-gṛha*, *nāda-gṛha*, and *āsana-gṛha*. In the beautiful palaces of the city are various types of seats, of the shape of elephants, lions, parrots, peacocks, crocodiles, eagles, swans, etc.[17]

The Lord of the Jambūdvīpa is a Vyantara god called *Anādṛta* or *Anādāra*.[18] Similarly there are lords of kṣetras, samudras and mountains.

Besides the seven mountain ranges (*varṣadhara-parvatas*) noted above, there are other similar but smaller mountains in different kṣetras. All the mountains have various peaks (*kūṭas*). The Vaitāḍhya, for example, has nine peaks known as siddhāyatana-kūṭa, dakṣiṇārdhabharata-kūṭa, khaṇḍaprapāta-k., maṇibhadra-k., vaitāḍhya-k., pūrṇabhadra-k., tamisraguhā-k., uttarabharatārdha-k., and vaiśramaṇa-k., the

last eight derive names from gods of the same name superintending over them, while the first one is so called from the Siddhāyatanas or Temples of the Siddhas situated on it. Such shrines are also known as Śāśvata-Jina-Bhavanas with images of Śāśvata-Jinas installed in them.[19]

Next to Jambū-dvīpa is the Lavaṇoda ocean, then the Dhātaki khaṇḍa, then the Kāloda ocean and following it is Puṣkaravara-dvīpa. Half of the Puṣkaravara is inhabited by human beings. The human world, therefore, is made up of two-and-a half continents, two oceans, thirty-five zones in all and a number of mountains, rivers etc.

Beyond it is the Mānuṣottara, a mountain range, round like a city-wall, surrounding the human world. Situated half-way in the Puṣkaravaradvīpa and golden, Mānuṣottara is so called because 'man is not born except on this side of it', which is the ultimate limit of regions inhabited by human beings.

Surrounding the Puṣkaradvīpa is the Puṣkara ocean, followed by continents and oceans called the Vāruṇīvara, the Kṣīravara etc., the eighth from Jambū being the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, which resembles a heaven.

The Nandīśvara-dvīpa[20] is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by the visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In its central part are four Añjana mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions; Devaramaṇa in the east, Nityodyata in the south, Svayamprabha in the west, and Ramaṇīya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhats (Tīrthankaras), one hundred yojanas long, half as wide and seventy yojanas high, each shrine having four doors. Within the temples are jewelled platforms, sixteen yojanas long and wide, and eight yojanas high. On the platforms (*maṇipīṭhikā*) are diases (*devacchandaka*) of jewels whose length and width exceed the platforms, and on them are one hundred and eight eternal statues (*śāśvata-bimba*) of each of the Arhats named *Ṛṣabha*, *Vardhamāna*, *Candrānana* and *Vāriṣeṇa* in the paryaṅka posture, made of jewels, attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas, and two pitcher-carriers while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the diases are incense-jars, wreaths, bells, the eight auspicious marks, banners, umbrellas, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of the size of the temples, theatre-pavilions (*prekṣā-maṇḍapa*), arenas (*akṣa-vāṭaka*), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, and statues, fair *caitya*-trees, *indradhvajas*, and divine lotus lakes in succession

In the four directions from each of the Mt. Añjanas there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandīṣena, Amogha, Gostūpa etc., and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Cūta. Within the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dadhimukha mountains, each having a Śāśvata-Jinālaya with images of Śāśvata-Jinas described above.[21] Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains thus making a total of thirty-two Ratikara Mts. These mountains have again thirty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such Eternal Temples of Arhats on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa (4 on Añjana Mts. + 16 on Dadhimukha Mts. + 32 on Ratikara Mts.).[22]

In the eight directions on the two southern Ratikara Mts. are the palaces of the eight queens of Śakra and on the two northern mountains are those of the queens of Īśānendra, all these being adorned with the temples of the Jinas. Here and elsewhere on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, Indra and other gods celebrate eight days festival (*aṣṭāhnika-mahotsava*) every year on different holy (*parva*) days.

Next follows the Nandīśvara ocean, then the Aruṇavaradvīpa, the Aruṇoda ocean, and the ocean and dvīpa called the Aruṇābhāsa, then the Kuṇḍala dvīpa with four Jina temples, the Kuṇḍaloda ocean followed by the Rucaka-dvīpa. In the centre of the *Rucaka-dvīpa* is the *Rucaka-giri* (mountain) with four Eternal Temples. On all sides of these temples, on different mountain tops, stay the thirty-six *Dik-kumārīs* of the upper Rucaka-giri while four more Dik-kumārīs stay on tops in the centre of the mountain. The last in the series of oceans and continents is the Svayambhuramaṇa ocean.

In this continent of Jambū-dvīpa there always flourish four each of Tīrthakṛts, Cakrins, Viṣṇus (Vāsudevas) and Baladevas at the minimum. At the maximum, there are thirty-four Jinas and thirty kings, and twice as many in Dhātakī and the inhabited half of Puṣkaradvīpa.[23]

Mount Himavata bounds the Bharatakṣetra, while there is another Mt. called Vaitāḍhya, parallel to

the Himavān which divides the Bharata-kṣetra into a Northern and Southern region. The Northern one is peopled by the Mlecchas or barbarians. Human beings living in the Jambū, Dhātaki and half Puṣkara dvīpa (together forming what in modern usage is known as Aḍhāi or Ḍhāi dvīpas—patas or paintings of which are still popular) regions are of two kinds, Ārya and Mleccha. The divisions of these people and the lists of Mlecchas given by Jaina texts form an interesting subject for students of ancient Indian culture.[24]

To the north of the Niṣadha Mt. and south of Meru are the Vidyutprabha and Saumanasa mountains in the east and west respectively. Between them is the bhogabhūmi or enjoyment land known as Deva-kurus. To the north of the Meru and to the south of the Nīla are Gandhamādana and Mālyavat mountains Between them is another bhogabhūmi called the *Uttarakurus*. East of the Deva and Uttara-kurus, the region is called *Pūrva-Videha* and to the west the *Uttara-Videha*. In each there are 16 provinces called Kaccha, Sukaccha etc.[25]

In the Bharata-kṣetra, on the southern and northern slopes of the Vijayārddha mountain are cities of *Vidyādharas*, 50 in the south and 60 in the north. There is also a similar number of Vidyādhara cities in the Airavata-kṣetra and 55 for each slope in the Videha-kṣetra. The Mount Vijayārddha or Vaitāḍhya is in the centre of Bharata dividing it into north and south.

At 790 yojanas above the surface of the earth (middle world) is the lower level of the *Jyotiṣkas*, divided into Ādityas (suns), Candras (moons), Grahas (planets) and Nakṣatras (asterisms).

The Upper World or Ūrdhva-loka is above Mount Meru. Starting from below, this world can be divided into the following heavens: (i) Kalpas, (ii) Graiveyakas, (iii) Anuddiśas, (iv) Anuttaras and (v) Siddha-ksetra. The Śvetāmbaras do not acknowledge the (iv) class. The Kalpas are 16, according to the Digambaras, and situated in eight superimposed pairs which are compared to the ribs of a man. They are: Saudharma, Aiśāna, Sanatkumāra, Māhendra, Brahma, Brahmottara, Lāntaka, Kāpiṣṭha, Śukra, Mahāśukra, Śatāra, Sahasrāra, Ānata, Prāṇata, Āraṇa and Acyuta.

The heavens of (ii), (iii) and (iv) groups are also known as Kalpātīta heavens. According to the Śvetāmbaras the Kalpa heavens are 12 in number, omitting Brahmottara, Kāpiṣṭha, Mahāśukra, and Śatāra of the Digambara list.

The nine *Graiveyakas*, according to both the sects, are arranged in three rows one above the other—(i) Sudarśana, Suprabuddha and Manorama; (ii) Sarvabhadra, Suviśāla and Sumanas; (iii) Saumanasa, Prītikara and Āditya.

The Anuddiśas (Digambara only) are nine: Arciḥ, Arcimāli, Vaira, Vairocana, Soma, Somarūpa, Aṅka, Sphaṭika, and Āditya.

The five *Anuttaras* are: Vijaya in the east, Vaijayanta in the south, Jayanta in the west, Aparājita in the north and Sarvarthasiddhi in the centre, according to both the sects.

Twelve yojanas above Sarvarthasiddhi, at the summit of the universe, is the *Siddha-kṣetra*, the land of liberated souls, in the world called *Īṣatprāgbhāra*. In its middle, radiant like silver is the *Siddha-kṣetra*, shaped like a parasol or canopy, tapering up towards the top. Here the Siddhas live "in the Blissful possession of their infinite quarternary".[26]

Saudharma and Aiśāna are round like the moon, in the southern direction is Śakra, the Indra of Saudharma kalpa, and in the northern direction, Īśāna; similarly are situated Sanatkumāra and Māhendra.

Beyond them is the place corresponding the elbow of the man representing the universe, in the centre of the universe is the *Brahmaloka* with Brahma Indra as its lord. At the end are the *Lokāntika-devas*: Sārasvatas, Ādityas, Agnis, Aruṇas, Gardatoyas, Tuṣitas, Avyābādhas, Maruts and Riṣṭas. Above Brahma-loka are the Lāntaka and other heavens.

The ten divisions of gods are: *Indras* or lords of all the gods of the following other nine divisions, *Sāmānikas* are the same as Indras but lack Indraship, *Trāyastrimśas* or the ministers and priests of Indras, *Pāriṣadyas* or companions of Indras, *Rākṣasas* who are bodyguards, *Lokapālas* or Quarter-guardians who work as spies of Indras, *Anīkas* forming the armies, *Prakīrṇas* constituting the villagers and townsmen, *Ābhiyogikas* who work like slaves and *Kilbiṣakas* who are regarded as the lowest castes. The Jyotiṣkas and Vyantaras have no Lokapālas.

(2) CLASSIFICATION OF JAINA DEITIES

The Sthānāṅga[27] and other Jaina canons classify gods into four main groups, namely, the *Bhavanavāsīs*, the *Vyantaras* or *Vāṇamantaras*, the *Jyotiṣkas* and the *Vimānavāsīs*. These are again sub-divided into several groups with Indra, Lokapālas, Queens of these and so on.

The classification is acknowledged by both the sects and is a very old tradition, but they are after all deities of a secondary nature in the Jaina Pantheon.

I. The Bhavanavāsī Gods

The abodes of Bhavanapatis, situated in the Ratnaprabhā earth, are like two rows, in the north and south, of shops on a highway. The ten classes of Bhavanapatis are the same according to both the sects. Each group has its own recognising mark, usually shown in front of their crowns. The following tables give the iconography of ten classes of Bhavanavāsīs, according to both sects (TP = Tiloyapaṇṇatti, Digambara and Śve. = Jaina canons of Śvetāmbara tradition).[28]

Bhavanavāsīs – Digambara

Class	*Caitya-Vṛkṣas*	*Mark on Crown*	*Complexion*
1. Asura-kumāras	Aśvattha	Cūḍāmaṇi	Black
2. Nāga-kumāras	Saptaparna	Snake	Black
3. Suparṇa-kumāras	Śālmali	Eagle	Blackish
4. Dvīpa-kumāras	Jambū	Elephant	Blackish
5. Udadhi-kumāras	Vetasa	Crocodile	Black
6. Stanita-kumāras	Kadamba	Svastika	Black
7. Vidyut-kumāras	Priyangu	Vajra	Lightning-like
8. Dik-kumāras	Śirīṣa	Lion	Light-black
9. Agni-kumāras	Palāśa	Kalaśa	Flame-like
10. Vāyu-kumāras	Rāja-druma	Horse	Blue-lotus

Bhavanavāsīs—Śvetāmbara[29]

Class	*Mark on Crown*	*Complexion*	*Garments*
1. Asura-kumāras	Cūḍāmaṇi	Black	Red
2. Nāga-kumāras	Snake	White	Bluish
3. Suparṇa-kumāras	Eagle	Golden	White
4. Dvīpa-kumāras	Lion	Golden	Blue
5. Udadhi-kumāras	Horse	White	Blue
6. Stanita-kumāras	Vardhamānaka	Golden	White
7. Vidyut-kumāras	Vajra	Golden	Blue
8. Dik-kumāras	Elephant	Golden	Blue
9. Agni-kumāras	Water-pot	Golden	Blue
10. Vāyu-kumāras	Makara	Blackish	Reddish yellow

Caitya Trees of Ten Bhavanavāsīs (Śve.)—Aśvattha, Saptaparṇa, Umbara, Vappotatta (?), Palāśa, Vanjula, Śālmali, Karṇikāra, Śirīṣa, Dadhiparṇa.[30]

According to the Prajñāpanā, all the Asurakumāras are black, have red lips, white teeth, black hair, earrings on left ears (*vāmeyakuṇḍaladhara*), their bodies are besmeared with sandal paste, they put on red garments, they are in the prime of age (*paḍhamam vayam ca samaikkānta*) or youth, their breasts are adorned with maṇi-ratna-hāras, their arms are adorned with *talabhangaka* and *truṭita* ornaments, having rings on all the ten fingers (of hands), and *cūḍāmani* on (in front of) their crown. Beautiful in appearance, they are said to have long straight prominent noses.[31]

The canons name the parṣadas (council halls or assembly halls or durbar halls) of the Indras[32] of different classes, and such other details which need not detain us.

II. The Vānamantaras or Vyantaras

The Vyantaras[33] living in the Ratnaprabhā earth are divided into eight chief classes by both the sects. They are: (1) Piśācas, (2) Bhūtas, (3) Yakṣas, (4) Rākṣasas, (5) Kinnaras, (6) Kimpuruṣas, (7) Mahoragas, (8) Gandharvas.

(1) *Piśācas*: The are sub-divided into 14 classes by the Dig. Tiloyapaṇṇatti: Kūṣmāṇḍa, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Sammoha, Tāraka, Aśucināmaka, Kāla, Mahākāla, Śuci, Satālaka, Deha, Mahādeha, Tuṣṇika, Pravacana.

All the Piśāca gods are black and the two Indras of Piśācas are Kāla and Mahākāla. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the Piśācas are blackish, but beautiful in appearance and adorned with ornaments of various jewels. Kadamba tree is the symbol on the Dhvajas of the Piśācas, according to the Śvetāmbaras,[34] who divide the Piśācas into sixteen classes: Kūṣmāṇḍa, Pālaka, Sujoṣa, Āhnika, Kāla, Mahākāla, Cokṣa, Acokṣa, Tālapiśāca, Mukharapiśāca, Adhastāraka, Deha, Videha, Mahādeha, Tuṣnika and Vanapiśāca.

(2) *Bhūtas*: They are divided into seven classes: Svarūpa, Pratirūpa, Bhūtottama, Mahābhūta, Praticchanna, Ākāśabhūta (Dig.). The Tulasī-plant is their Caitya-tree. All Bhūtas are black according to both the sects. According to Śvetāmbara traditions there are nine classes of Bhūtas: Surūpa, Pratirūpa, Atirūpa, Bhūtottama, Skanda, Mahāskanda, Mahāvega, Praticchanna, Ākāśaga. They are said to be beautiful though black and are peaceful in appearance (*saumya*), adorned with paste marks of various motifs (*bhakti-citra*). Their flags bear the mark of a Sulasa tree.

(3) *Yakṣas*: According to the Tiloyapannatti, they are divided into 12 kinds: Maṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Śailabhadra, Manobhadra, Bhadraka, Subhadra, Sarvabhadra, Mānuṣa, Dhanapāla, Sarūpa, Yakṣottama, and Manoharaṇa. Their Caitya-tree is the Banyan tree. According to the Śvetāmbaras, they are divided into 13 groups: Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, Śvetabhadra, Haritabhadra, Sumanobhadra, Vyatīpātikabhadra, Subhadra, Sarvatobhadra, Mānuṣyapakṣa, Vanāhāras, Rūpayakṣa, Yakṣottama, Vanādhipatis (Dhanādhipatis in Saṃgrahaṇī). They are beautiful to look at and possess well-proportioned limbs, serene in appearance, wearing shining Kirīṭamukuṭas, and other ornaments. Black in complexion, they have the Banyan-tree on their dhvajas.[35]

Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra are their Indras according to both the sects. According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, each Indra has four chief queens called Tārā, Bahuputrā, Kundā and Uttamā. According to Śvetāmbara traditions they are called Pūrṇā, Bahuputrikā, Uttamā and Tārakā.[36]

(4) *Rākṣasas*: They are of seven classes according to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti: Bhīma, Mahābhīma, Vināyaka, Udaka, Rākṣasa, Rākṣasa-rākṣasa, and Brahmarākṣasa. All Rākṣasas are black. Their Indras are Bhīma and Mahābhīma, having four chief queens each called Padmā, Vasumitrā, Ratnāḍhyā and Kāñcanaprabhā. Kaṇṭaka is the Caitya-tree of Rākṣasas. The Śvetāmbaras also acknowledge seven classes, namely, Bhīma, Mahābhīma, Vighna, Vināyaka, Jala-rākṣasa, Rākṣasa-rākṣasa, Brahmarākṣasa. Their Indras are Bhīma and Mahābhīma. The Rākṣasas are white, adorned with golden ornaments and having fierce appearances with long red lower lips. Their flags have the mark of Khaṭvānga.[37]

(5) *Kinnaras*: According to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti they are divided into nine classes: Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Hṛdayangama, Rūpapāli, Kinnarkinnara, Anindita, Manorama, Kinnarottama and Ratipriya. They

are all black. Aśoka is the Caitya-tree of these gods. According to Śvetāmbaras, they are of ten kinds: Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Kimpuruṣottama, Kinnarottama, Hṛdayangama, Rūpaśāli, Anindita, Manorama, Ratipriya, Ratiśreṣṭha.[38] Black in complexion, they have especially charming faces, they wear crowns and have a peaceful appearance. Aśoka tree is their flag mark.[39]

(6) *Kimpuruṣas*: They are of ten kinds, according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti: Puruṣa, Puruṣottama, Satpuruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Puruṣaprabha, Atipuruṣa, Maru, Marudeva, Maruprabha and Yaśasvān. Their two Indras are Satpuruṣa and Mahāpuruṣa. All the Kimpuruṣas are golden in appearance. According to Śvetāmbara tradition the Kimpuruṣas are of ten classes: Puruṣa, Satpuruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Puruṣavṛṣabha, Puruṣottama, Atipuruṣa, Mahādeva, Marut, Maruprabha and Yaśasvān. White in complexion, these gods have very bright faces, especially beautiful hands and legs, and are adorned with various ornaments and marks of sandal paste.[40]

(7) *Mahoragas*: The Tiloyapaṇṇatti divides them into 10 classes: Bhujaga, Bhujangaśāli, Mahātanu, Atikāya, Skandhaśāli, Manohara, Aśanijava, Maheśvara, Gambhīra, Priyadarśana. The Mahoragas have dark complexion. The Nāga-tree is their Caitya-tree. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the 10 Mahoragas are: Bhujaga, Bhogaśāli, Mahākaya, Atikāya, Skandhaśāli, Manorama, Mahāvega, Mahāyakṣa, Merukānta, Bhāsvanta. Blackish in appearance, they have broad and muscular shoulders and necks and are adorned with various ornaments and sandal paste marks. The Nāga is the mark on their heralds.

(8) *Gandharvas*: According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, the ten Gandharvas are Hāhā, Huhū, Nārada, Tumbara, Vāsava, Kadamba, Mahāsvara, Gītarati, Gītarasa, Vajravān. Golden in appearance, they have the Tumbaru tree as their Caitya-tree.

According to Śvetāmbara Samgrahaṇī sūtra, they are: Hāhā, Huhū, Tumburu, Nārada, Ṛṣivādika, Bhūtavādika, Kadamba, Mahākadamba, Raivata, Viśvāvasu, Gītarati and Gītayaśas. The Gandharvas are blackish and beautiful in appearance, have excellent physiognomy, sweet voices and are adorned with crowns and necklaces. The Tumbaru tree is their herald mark.

Of the Vyantaras, there are eight more classes given by Prajñāpanā and other Śve. texts. They are: Anapanni, Paṇapanni, Īsivāī, Bhūyavāī, Kandi, Mahākandi, Kohaṇḍa and Piyanga. Nothing more is known about these except their Indras.

The Prajñāpanā describes the general appearance of all the Vānamantaras or Vyantaras. They are of an unsteady nature attached to dance and music, adorned with *Vanamālās* of various flowers, wearing garments of different colours, and used to taking different shapes and forms, smiling or laughing. They like love-quarrels and adorn their bodies with various ornaments such as the angada, kuṇḍala, karṇapīṭha etc., and with marks of sandal pastes. They carry sword, *mudgara* (club), *śakti* (dart) and *kunta* (spear) in their hands.[41]

III. The Jyotiṣkas

According to both the sects the Jyotiṣkas[42] are divided into five classes: suns, moons, planets, asterisms and miscellaneous stars. It is said that every moon has 88 planets. The nakṣatras are 28 in number. The planets are noteworthy in Jaina iconography. They are found in the parikara of a Jaina-image.

IV. The Vaimānika Gods

The Vaimānika gods and goddesses live in the various Kalpa and Kalpātīta heavens, noted in the outline of Jaina cosmography. The Prajñāpanā[43] gives symbols on the crowns of the different classes of gods:

Vaimānika Gods[44]

Kalpa-Gods	Symbol on Crowns (Śve.)	Symbol on Crowns (Dig.)
1. Saudharma	Deer	Boar
2 Īśāna	Buffalo	Deer
3. Sanatkumāra	Boar	Buffalo
4. Māhendra	Lion	Fish
5. Brahmaloka	Goat	Frog
6. Lāntaka	Frog	Snake
7. Mahāśukra	Horse	Goat
8. Sahasrāra	Elephant	Bull
9. Ānata	Snake	Wishing Tree
10. Prāṇata	Gaṇḍa-animal	Wishing Tree
11. Āraṇa	Bull	Wishing Tree
12. Acyuta	A deer known as Viḍima	Wishing Tree

The Jaina texts give various other details regarding the Indras of various classes, their places, shrines, lokapālas, queens etc. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti gives an elaborate description of the Airāvata elephant. The Jīvājīvābhigama describes the pūjā performed by Vijayadeva in the Siddhāyatana, the 32 types of dances are noteworthy in the Rāyapasenaiya. Similar *pūjā* is described in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti but the 32 varieties of dance are not detailed.

Besides the above-mentioned gods, there are some gods and goddesses specifically named and described. Of this type are *Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta*, and *Aparājita*, belonging to the Vyantara class (?), superintendents of the four dvāras (gates) of the Jagatī (rampart) of the Jambū-dvīpa.[45] *Anādṛta*, a Vyantara, is the Lord of the Jambū-dvīpa. Now a goddess *Aṇāhiye* has been identified by this writer[46] with the *Anāhitā-Anaitis*, an Iranian goddess. This *Anāḍhiya*[47] or *Aṇāhiya* or *Anādṛta* seems to be a male counterpart of Anāhitā-Anaitis, evolved at a later date.

The different *Dik-Kumārīs*, living on different kūṭas of Meru and Rucakadvīpa, 56 in number are a group of goddesses which have a special function like the Indras, in the Birth ceremonies of a Jina and therefore get a place in Jaina art. They are the attendants (*mahattarikās*) of the Mother of a Jina. The list deserves critical study, since the Jainas seem to have given a place in this list to ancient popular or Vedic goddesses. Thus for example we find Vijayā, Nandā, Ilā, Aparājitā, Bhadrā, Pṛthvī, Ekanāsā (Ekānamśā).

Of such antiquity are the six goddesses known as *Hṛada-devīs* residing on the islands-continents on the six varṣadhara mountains (Himavān and others); they are *Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛti, Kīrti, Buddhi* and *Lakṣmī*.[48]

Various gods and goddesses could be classified under one or the other of the sub-divisions of the above-mentioned four main classes. But with their store of merit exhausted, these gods and goddesses had to be reborn on this earth. They are not the highest objects of worship. They are mere celestial beings or Devas, but the Devādhidevas, Lords of even the celestial beings, objects of worship for all, are the Emancipated souls, the Siddhas and such Siddhas who during their life-time have founded a Tīrtha, i.e. propagated Jaina Faith having established orders of śrāvakas, śrāvikās, sādhus and sādhvīs. These are the highest objects of Jaina worship.

Next to the Tīrthaṅkaras or Arhats and Siddhas are the other ascetic souls, the Jaina monks of three main grades of Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu, these five constituting what are known as *Pañcaparameṣṭhins*, the Five Chief Divinities. These and the Śalākāpuruṣas or great souls have been discussed in separate chapters.

This in essence is Hero-worship and as such Great souls both ascetic and non-ascetic came to be

especially revered. The Jaina classification of souls will be easily explained by a chart published by T.N. Ramachandran, which is copied and appended herewith. Lives of Great souls became the favourite theme of Jaina Purāṇas. Such great souls were the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras + 12 Cakravartins + 9 Baladevas + 9 Vāsudevas = 54 Mahāpuruṣas also called Śalākāpuruṣas by the Jainas. Every Vāsudeva had a very powerful enemy who also came to be included as a Great soul and the total of Mahāpuruṣas was raised to sixty-three. It may be noted that Śīlāṅka sūri wrote his Caupanna-mahāpurisacariyam in c. 925 V.S. (868 A.D.)[49] which shows that upto the middle of the ninth century only 54 people were counted as Mahāpuruṣas. Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.) who wrote a Purāṇa on these souls called it Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, and included the 9 Prativāsudevas as Great souls.

But there were other Great souls. The Jainas also evolved a conception of Manus like the Manus of Hindu mythology and it is noteworthy that whereas the Digambaras believe in 14 Manus or Kulakaras, the Śvetāmbaras have only seven. These are fundamentally the Great souls of Jaina Mythology and it is a mistake to count the 9 Nāradas or the 11 Rudras as great souls or Śalākāpuruṣas.

The Jainas who had to face Hindu opposition included at a very late date the conception of eleven Rudras, sometime in the middle ages, but the descriptions of the Rudras or the Nāradas in the Jaina Purāṇas clearly demonstrate that their inclusion was effected only for the sake of popular appeal and with a desire to underrate them.

Kāmadeva or the Cupid was an object of worship and temples of Kāmadevas existed in ancient India. The Jainas, too, evolved a list of Kāmadevas, but their role was different. Behind the Jaina concept of a Kāmadeva, it is his extremely beautiful person that was emphasised and he had not the powers of shooting arrows on young men and women. Bāhubali, the great sage, was the first Kāmadeva.

It must be remembered, however, that in spite of this belief in non-ascetic great souls like the Cakravartins, the Baladevas, the Vāsudevas and others, the Five Supreme Ones (Pañcaparameṣṭhins) alone remained the real objects of worship for the Jainas.

For a sect or a religion to thrive amongst the people, local deities, popular deities, and deities acknowledged from ancient traditions by the masses have to be incorporated in every pantheon, in a manner suitable to the new environment and doctrines. Such for example was the worship of the deities whose shrines existed in the days of Mahāvīra, and whose images and festivals are referred to in the Āgama literature. They include *Indra*, *Rudra*, *Skanda*, *Mukunda*, *Vāsudeva*, *Vaiśramana*, *Yakṣa*, *Bhūta*, *Nāga*, *Piśāca*, etc.

Indra, the great Vedic deity, was assigned the role of a principal attendant by both Buddhism and Jainism and was made to serve the Buddha or the Jina. The other deities of the list did not originally belong to the pantheon of the Vedic priests and were rather deities of the populace, and of the various other non-Āryan tribes. Mahāvīra usually stayed in Yakṣa shrines which shows that he had to accord a different generous treatment to such deities. Worship of such deities even by Jaina laywomen, for obtaining children, seems to have been tolerated. If Jaina traditions are correctly handed down, then Mahāvīra had to face bitter opposition from *Śūlapāṇi Yakṣa*, i.e. from the followers of Śiva who is well known as Śūlapāṇi, the trident-wielder.[50]

Skanda the Commander of Gods in the Hindu Mythology is made the commander of the infantry of Indra. But *Naigameṣin*,[51] who was associated with procreation of children as *Nejameṣa* in ancient times, was also worshipped by the Jainas for obtaining boons for children as is shown by the story of Sulasā in the Antagaḍadasāo.

Vāsudeva, originally possibly belonging to a heterodox cult, had to be given a very prominent place by the Hindus and the Jainas too made him a very favourite theme of their story literature. But with the rise of his position in Hindu literature, art and ritual or worship, an attempt was made to give him a place in Jaina art, in the Gupta age, though as an attendant, as can be seen from representation of Baladeva and Vāsudeva on a sculpture of Ādinātha in the Lucknow Museum. The practice does not seem to have lasted long. In the Kuṣāṇa period we find Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Baladeva on two sides of Neminātha in sculptures from Mathurā.

The Yakṣas, Nāgas and others had to be given a place in Jaina worship. Since the Buddhist representations of Jambhala and Hārītī became very popular, they had to be incorporated in Jaina worship and towards the close of the Gupta age, a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī of the type of Jambhala and Hārītī came to be incorporated as attendant pair of the Tīrthaṅkaras on Tīrthaṅkara sculpture. But before that the yakṣas were included as attendant chowrie-bearers on the two sides of a standing or sitting Tīrthaṅkara.

A hymn addressed to a *snake-goddess Vairoṭyā* is ascribed to Ārya Nandila or Ārya Ānandila who, according to traditions, lived in c. first century A.D. Vairoṭyā is a snake-goddess and possibly connected with Jangoli-vijjā or a charm against snake-poisoning. Belief in Yakṣas and Nāgas etc. is fairly old in Jainism and Dharaṇendra is a snake-deity one of whose chief queens is called Vairoṭyā in the canons. With the rise of Padmāvatī sometime towards the close of the post-Gupta period, Vairoṭyā lost her old great popularity. Vairoṭyā is one of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās.

Four more goddesses are very ancient in Jaina worship, though they have not been traced hitherto in sculptures. They are *Vijayā*, *Jayā*, *Jayantā* and *Aparājitā*, invoked in the Varddhamāna Vidyā. It seems that these goddesses were worshipped under various names by all sects and have been invoked by the Jainas at least from the age of Vajrasvāmī in the first or second century A.D. The later Jaina Śānti-devī is based on Vijayā as shown in the following pages.

Bāhubali became popular in Jaina worship at least in the post-Gupta age, not as a Kāmadeva (he is also a Kāmadeva in Jaina literature) but as a great sage, the Jaina counterpart of the conception of Vālmīki. It is noteworthy that not a single sculpture of Bāhubali has been recovered hitherto from the Kankalī Tila finds at Mathura.

Belief in magic charms, as shown in an earlier paper in our discussion on the Vidyādevīs, is very old and Vidyās existed even in the age of Mahāvīra and Buddha. The Paumacariya and the Vasudevahiṇḍi are our earliest sources for the different Vidyā-devīs like Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Saravāstramahājvālā, Gaurī and Gāndhārī. Soon sixteen goddesses came to be regarded as the chief Vidyādevīs (*Mahāvidyās*) as can be traced in literature, though no early sculptures are traced hitherto. It is however very likely that representations dating from at least the post-Gupta age may be traced of these goddesses.

Parents of the Jinas were accorded special veneration from very early times and the figure representing the Tablet of Āryavatī from Mathura seems to have represented the Mother of Mahāvīra.

The scripture (*Śruta*) was not forgotten by the Jainas and the Goddess of Learning was venerated from very early times, as can be inferred from the famous sculpture of Sarasvatī from Kankalī Tila which is the earliest known sculpture of the Goddess of Learning, discovered hitherto in India. *Śrī* figures on an arch of a doorway in the Ananta-Gumpha in Orissa and is a proof that from ancient times the Jainas worshipped both the goddess of learning as well as the goddess of wealth.

It is highly probable that at a very early stage, the Jainas also worshipped images of the *Sun-god*,[53] just as they included Indras, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Vāsudeva, Baladeva and others in their pantheon. It is but natural to expect that the popularity of Sun-worship amongst the masses attracted the Jainas as well. The Jainas have from very early times taken interest in astronomy and amongst the oldest existing works showing the existence of astronomical speculations in ancient India are the Jaina Sūryaprajñapti and the Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka. Pādalipta in the first or second century A.D. wrote a commentary on the Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka, a manuscript of which was discovered by Muni Śrī Punyavijayajī, a few years ago from Jesalmer. This shows the interest of the Jainas in Astronomy and we would not be wrong if we infer the existence of sun icons amongst the Jainas at Mathura in at least the Kuṣāṇa age.

Towards the close of the post-Gupta age, the growth of the pantheon obtained a further impetus and a separate yakṣa and yakṣiṇī were evolved for each of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. This growth is due to several factors: one, the growth of Tantric literature in India, two, the growth of smaller states with great ambitions and the revival of Indian art and culture in the post-Gupta age after the Hūṇa onslaught. Another factor was state-support to the Jainas in several provinces. All these factors combined led to further activity in art and literature and the new deities or old Indian deities in new roles appeared in due course. A glance at the list of attendant yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs will show that some of them are Hindu

deities assigned the role of attendants of Tīrthaṅkaras, e.g. the Īśvara yakṣa, Brahma yakṣa, Kumāra yakṣa, Ṣaṇmukha yakṣa.

As has been shown by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya,[54] collective deities form an interesting feature of the Jaina Pantheon. Such deities are the eight Vasus, the twelve Ādityas, the eleven Rudras in Hindu mythology or the eight Tārās of the Vajratārā Maṇḍala and so on in Buddhist pantheon. The Dik-kumārīs in Jainism, already mentioned, are group deities. Another class of ancient Jaina collective deities is the Lokāntika gods who like the Indra and the Dik-kumārīs are assigned a special role in the life of a Jina. When the proper time for renunciation is ripe, they approach the would-be Tīrthaṅkara and inform him accordingly, and request him to renounce the worldly life for the benefit of the world. No. J.354 in the Lucknow Museum obtained from Mathura possibly represents the Lokāntikas in an early Jaina Jātaka scene of the incident of the Dance of Nīlāñjanā which led to the renunciation by Ṛṣabha-deva. The Lokāntikas are known to the canons and are said to reside in the kṛṣṇarājis of the fifth kalpa-heaven called the Brahmaloka. They are: *Sārasvatas, Ādityas, Vahnis, Varuṇas, Gardatoyas, Tuṣitas, Avyābādhas, Āgneyās (Maruts)* and *Riṣṭas*.[55] It will be evident that most of these are Vedic deities and were given a place in the "Brahma-loka" at a very early stage. Such an adoption is natural in the history of any sect and is almost inevitable.

The conception of the *Lokapālas* is common to all sects and we hear of 4 Lokapālas of each of the different Indras, like the four great Mahārajas of Buddhism. This conception was later evolved into ten quarter-guardians. The planets came to be worshipped in the post-Gupta age and they obtained a better position than the Dikpālas in as much as they were given a place on the pīṭha of a Tīrthaṅkara image in Western India and on the stella of the Jina figure in the Pāla art. The quarter-guardians began guarding the shrine standing on the outer-wall of the sanctum.

With the growth of the yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs, worship of Vidyādevīs seems to have received a setback from which it could not recover properly.

The *Kṣetrapāla* was not forgotten and an early image assignable to c. 10th century is seen on a pillar in the Devgaḍh fort, Central India (*Fig. 163*).

The Mātṛkās must have been incorporated in the post-Gupta age. At Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu, the Vimala Vasahī contains representations of these goddesses but it is natural to expect that they were given a place in Jaina ritual at some earlier date.[56] Jinaprabha sūri (in the fourteenth century) recorded his protest against this growing worship of foreign deities, in his Vidhimārgaprapā *alias* Suvihitā-Sāmācārī.[57] A similar process worked in the South also amongst the Digambaras where many a Bhaṭṭāraka of the middle ages were originally Brahmin Pandits and where Śaivite element was very strong amongst the people. In the South *Brahmadeva* became popular amongst the Jainas, in the North (properly Western India) *Kaparddī* (Śiva)[58] yakṣa came to guard the Tīrtha at Śatruñjaya.

Later on, at least in the fourteenth century, *Ganeśa* also came to be worshipped in Jaina temples and occasionally the *Mahiṣamarddinī*, images of both of which assignable to the fifteenth century are still available in Jaina shrines. That these images were originally installed by the Jainas can be proved by the fact that a painting of the Mahiṣāsuramarddinī is available in a palm-leaf ms. at Cambay.[59] A mutilated sculpture in Jodhpur Museum (no. 96/2386) from Rewāḍā in Jodhpur division, showing lower part of Mahiṣamarddinī, has an inscription on pedestal wherein she is called Saccikā. There is a shrine of Saccikā devī on a mound at Osia where as R.C. Agrawala has shown (Journ. of B.B.R.A.S., vol. 29, part 2) Mahiṣamarddinī is worshipped by Oświal Jainas as Saccikā-devī.

Abstract deities are also obtained, the *Śānti-devatā* and the *Adhivāsanā devī* invoked by the Ācāra-Dinakara are instances of this process in the evolution of the Jaina Pantheon. But the same Jinaprabha sūri who voiced his protest against foreign elements, had to give a list of *64 Yoginīs*, obviously because belief in Bhairavas, Vīras and Yoginīs had become widely current in India.

The Vāstu-Vidhi itself, the rite of consecration of a temple, is not free from such influences. Deities worshipped in the Ekāśīti-pada-vāstu are identical with those in such rituals of the Hindus. The signs of the *Zodiac*, or the *Tithi-devatās* were not left out though such deities are not known to have been

represented. As noted by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, "the Dhyānas of the twelve signs of the Zodiac certainly have an originality special to the Jainas."[60]

The Jaina Pantheon and especially, the Jaina Tantra is influenced more by the Hindu pantheon and Tantra than by the Buddhist ones, but instances of Buddhist influence are not wanting. Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī, as their names and their chief recognising symbols suggest, are obviously borrowed from the Buddhists, for, as rightly remarked by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, "the prefix Vajra to the names of Jaina deities is not altogether meaningless, because it shows clearly that these are importations from the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism."[60a] Again, *Bhṛkuṭi* is Buddhist. Towards the end of the middle ages, attempts were made to introduce *Kurukullā* and a hymn addressed to her is known amongst the Jainas.[61]

A clear indication of Hindu influence on the Jaina ritual is the various saṃskāra-vidhis described by the Ācāra-Dinakara. The *Ṣaṣṭhī* worshipped in the Janma-saṃskāra is of course a very old Indian goddess not necessarily originally Brahmanical. But the *Mātṛkā-pūjana* is certainly Hindu. Ācāra-Dinakara also invokes the *eight Bhairavas*. A brief outline of such very minor deities, the *Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Pantheon*, was published earlier[62] by this writer. *Ghaṇṭākarṇa*,[63] originally an old non-Āryan deity, was incorporated into the Hindu pantheon as one of the ganas of Śiva[64] and the Jainas comparatively recently attempted to introduce his worship. Late manuscripts of Ghaṇṭākarṇakalpa are obtained in Gujarat and Marwar. *Māṇibhadra*[65] is a deity who has been worshipped more popularly in Jaina temples in Western India, Gujarat, Marwar, and Rajputana and though no definite early text regarding his legend could be traced, yet it seems that his worship as a Jaina deity is as old as the fourteenth or fifteenth century and probably older. It is a peculiar instance of reviving in new garb the worship of the ancient Māṇibhadra yakṣa, popular with merchant class. It also suggests that a few worshippers and images or shrines of the old Māṇibhadra had existed in these regions upto c. 1200-1400 A.D.

Symbol worship amongst the Jainas is treated separately,[66] and need not be discussed in this outline of the growth of the Jaina Pantheon along with its classification.

Dvārapālas of temples or gate-keepers of the various fortifications of the Samavasaraṇa are interesting. Nowhere are Gaṅgā and Yamunā mentioned as gate-keepers of a Jaina shrine, but *Indra*, *Indrajaya* and *Īśāna* are noteworthy. In the Samavasaraṇa, *Tumbaru* is one of the gate-keepers. Indra and others, the dvārapālas carved on door-frames facing the four sides of a Jaina shrine, are noted by Śilpa works like the Aparājitapṛcchā, the Rūpāvatāra or the Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa.

Goddesses were worshipped as *Gotra-devatās* or *Kuladevatās*. A metal image of Ambikā in the Museum of the St. Xavier's College Research Institute, Bombay, has an inscription on its back which calls her a Gotra-devatā obviously of the donor. Similarly, in the South, Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā are known as Gotra-devatās or Kula-devatās of certain families. *Śrī-Lakṣmī* is worshipped as a Kula-devatā by Hindu and Jaina families who are Śrīmālis by caste, having come from Śrīmāla (modern Bhinmāla in Rajasthan) where Śrī seems to have been the tutelary city-goddess.

Of later Tantric development the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa of Malliṣena and the commentary of Bandhuṣena, or the Vidyānuśāsana of Matisāgara (c. 16th century A.D.) provide interesting examples. The Tantric Ṣaṭ-karmas are available in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa and amongst the different forms of Padmāvatī, *Tripurā* is included. The Vidyānuśāsana gives iconographic forms of all the letters of the alphabet, a, ā, i, ī, etc. and includes sādhanas of *Karṇapiśācinī*, *Ceṭaka or Umā-ceṭaka*, *Sugrīva-Vānararāja*, *Ucchiṣṭapiśācini*, *Sundarī*, *Raṇḍā*, *Mātaṅgī* and propitiatory rites of *Bālagrahas*, the *Jvālāgardabhas* (?) and so on. A work on Bālagrahas is ascribed to Rāvaṇa, another to the famous Jaina versatile genius and monk Pujyapāda ācārya, both of which are incorporated in this monumental Tantric text. Śubhacandra's unpublished Ambikā-kalpa (c. 15th-16th century A.D.) also contains sādhanas of Karṇapiśācinī, Sundarī and Raṇḍā who are thus included in the Parivāra of Ambikā.

Somasena, another Digambara writer of c. 16th century A.D., has composed a work, Traivarṇikācāra which betrays much Brahmanical influence. It may be noted that he gives a new classification of Jaina gods and goddesses. According to him, deities are of four types: *Satyadevas*, *Kula-devas*, *Kriyā-devas* and *Veśma-devas*.

The *Satyadevas* are the Pañca-parameṣṭhins, who lead to the attainment of mokṣa. The *Kriyā-devas*

are deities like fire, who, worshipped with oblations of *havya*, baked food etc., remove all calamities. The *Kuladevatās* are divinities worshipped in families from ancient times. Cakreśvarī, Ambikā or Kuṣmāṇḍinī, Padmāvatī, Jvālinī, Rohiṇī, Mahākālī, Kālikā, Sarasvatī, Gaurī, Siddhāyinī, Caṇḍī, and Durgā are (such) Kuladevatās who should be worshipped with profound devotion by those desirous of welfare. The *Veśmadevatās* are of four types: the Viśveśvarīs, Dharādhīśa, Śrī-devī, and Dhanada or Kubera. The *Viśveśvarīs* are the Mothers of the Jinas who should be worshipped by the best ladies in their homes. By worship of the mothers, a housewife, who is barren, is able to bear a child. These Sat-kriyā-devatās (*Viśveśvarīs*) worshipped with homa for peace (*śānti*) are powerful.

Worship of Kubera in a home is said to bring eternal prosperity while worship of the Dhara-Indra (?) is enjoined for having a male child. Worship of Śrī-devī protects the life of a child in the mother's womb. They should be worshipped with garments, ornaments, fruits and cooked food.

The author further says that at the end of the worship of all the above-mentioned deities, a housewife should worship the dvārapālas and should perform *Pitṛ-Tarpaṇa* with water.[67]

With this may be compared the ancient Jaina classification of gods given to Gautama by Mahāvīra in two dialogues recorded in the Bhagavatī-sūtra. In one answer, Mahāvīra said that gods were of four classes: Bhavanapati, Vāṇavyantara, Jyotiṣka and Vaimānika.[68] In another dialogue, Mahāvīra said that gods were of five types: *Bhavyadravya-deva*, *Naradeva*, *Dharma-deva*, *Devādhideva* and *Bhāvadeva*.[69] Those souls who are going to obtain Devahood in future are Bhavyadravyadevas. Those who deserve god-like respect amongst human beings are Naradevas, e.g. the Cakravartins. Those who are well-versed in scripture are revered as Dharma-devas, e.g. the different types of Jaina monks. The Devādhidevas are the Arhats who possess the real jñāna and darśana. Those who experience the merit (karma-fruit of action) of birth as Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotiṣkas or Vaimānikas, are Bhāvadevas.

It has already been shown that these celestial beings, the Bhavanapatis etc., are divided into ten groups according to their position and function amongst gods, the groups are Indra, Sāmānika, Trāyastrimśas, Pāriṣadyas, Ātmarakṣakas, Lokapālas, Anīkas, Prakīrṇakas, Ābhiyogyas and Kilbiṣakas.

There are no grades nor Indras amongst Vaimānika gods beyond the Kalpa-heavens, in the Kalpātīta heavens, where each inhabitant calls himself an Indra and all are alike. They are therefore known as *Ahamindras*. The Kalpavāsī gods attend the ceremonial worship of each of the five Kalyāṇakas (auspicious events) of every Tīrthaṅkara but the Ahamindras do not go out of their heavens, though they do pay their homage to the Jinas on all such occasions by folding their hands in the *añjali mudrā*.

A deva is spontaneously born In each heaven there are many devīs, each deva having many wives. Each pair of deva has a big retinue of minor devas, as also vāhanas, elephants etc. Devas or celestial beings have the following eight acquisitions or supernatural powers: aṇimā, laghimā, sakabhā (power to assume any form and number of bodies at one time), vaśitva, īśitva and prakāmya (power to act at will), corresponding to such powers described in the Yoga system. The devas have fluid or changeable (*vaikriya*) bodies.[70]

Jaina texts describe the *leśyās* of each main class of gods and of different types of beings. The doctrine of leśyās or thought-colours is an interesting advancement shown by the Jainas, from ancient times, in the field of psychic research and culture.[71]

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2. For Jaina Units of Measurements, see Ramachandran, T.N., *Tiruparuttikuṇṟam and its Temples*, pp. 165ff. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, I (G.O.S.), p. 103, n.
3. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, I (GOS), p. 245 n. Yogaśāstram, 4.103. Painted diagrams of the Lokapuruṣa dating from c. 16th century A.D. are available mainly in Mss. of the *Samgrahaṇī Sūtra*. Kierfel, *op. cit.*, pl. 4 U.P. Shah, *Treasures of Jaina Bhāṇḍāras*, Fig. 93, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, I, Fig. 73. Quite a large number of illustrated Mss. of Samgrahaṇī are available in Jaina Bhāṇḍāras,

mostly dating from c. 16th century A.D. An illustrated ms of Trailokyadipaka exists in the Dig. Jaina Bhaṇḍāra, Bombay Besides miniatures in such texts on Cosmography, are found paṭas or paintings on canvas or paper, with diagrams of the Jaina conception of the Universe or of the two-and-a-half continents (aḍhāi-dvīpa) constituting the mānuṣya-loka. See Kierfel, *op. cit*, plates 5-6. The practice of painting such paṭas is referred to by Śānticandra in his comm. on *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sūtra 12, p. 72. For some more illustrations of the Samgrahani, see *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, I, Figs. 269-271, 273-278 and pp. 95ff.
Also see Caillat Collettee, *Jaina Cosmology* (in French and in English, Paris, 1982). Cf.
कटिस्थकरवैशाखस्थानकस्थनराकृति ।
द्रव्यै. पूर्ण स तु लोक· स्थित्युत्पत्तिव्ययात्मकै: ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi*, 2.3 478

Also
वैशाखस्थ. कटिन्यस्तहस्त स्याद्यादृश पुमान् ।
तादृश लोकसस्थान · · · · · · · · · · · · ॥
—*Ādipurāṇa*, 4 42

4. Also see *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 1.137ff, vol. I, pp. 17ff. Cf.
वेत्रासनसमोऽधस्तान्मध्यतो झल्लरीनिभ. ।
अग्रे मुरजसकाशो लोक स्यादेवमाकृति ॥
जगत्त्रयेस्त्वधस्तिर्यगूर्ध्वलोकविभेदत: ।
अधस्तिर्यगूर्ध्वभावो रुचकापेक्षया पुन: ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi*., 2.3.479, 481
5. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 1 6, *Tattvārtha sūtra*, III 1-2, *Tiloyapannatti*, 2.9ff, Vol I, pp. 52ff *Triṣaṣṭi* (text), 2 3 484, 486-502.
6. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 1.152ff, 2.26f, 362f.
7. *Tattvārtha sūtra*, 3 9-11, pp. 143ff *Triṣaṣṭi* (text) 2 3. 552-566, *Ādipurāṇa*, 4.49, *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasena, 5 4-7, *Jainendra Siddhāntakośa*, pp 460-462.
8. Also see tables in Kierfel, *op. cit.*, pp 215, 218, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.1624ff, Vol. I, pp. 355ff
For Hindu traditions, Ali, S.M., *Geography of the Puranas* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 10ff.
9. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.2065ff, pp. 408ff. *Triṣaṣṭi*, 2.3.577ff.
10. For names see *Triṣaṣṭi*. II (G O S), p 112.
11. *Triṣaṣṭi* II (GOS), p. 119 for a list of Mlecchas.
12. For a detailed account of Āryas and Mlecchas, see Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, 176-179.
13. For a list of Vidyādhara cities, Kierfel, *op. cit.*, p. 329 *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sūtra 12, p. 72f; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.112-125, vol. I, p 156.
14. *Triṣaṣṭi*, text, 2.3 556-566, GOS, *op cit*, pp. 109ff; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 1808ff.
15. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.15-87, pp 143ff For interesting descriptions of the Jagati, the Padmavaravedikā, the four gates, the god Vijaya superintending over the Vijaya-gate, etc. see Jivajivabhigama, sū. 124ff, pp. 177ff, *Triṣaṣṭi*, II, GOS, p. 113, *Triṣaṣṭi* text, 2.3 612ff
16. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 45ff, pp. 147f; p. 151
17. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.25ff, pp. 145ff; p. 151.
18. *Harivaṃśa*, 5.181, p 84, *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, *op. cit.*, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 25-26, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 5.37ff, Vol. II, p. 535. He is the same as *anāḍhiya*, worshipped in the Vardhamāna-vidyā.
19. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sū. 12-13, pp. 72ff. The Siddhāyatanas and the Śāśvata-Jina-pratimās are discussed in *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 40, 52ff, 117-121.
20. *Harivaṃśa*, pp. 647-680, 122-24; Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, p. 181; Kierfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 253ff. *Triṣaṣṭi*., 2-3.704-738, II, GOS, pp. 120ff. Also see Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, on Nandīśvaradvīpa.
21. *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, 3.2, sū. 183, p. 356, for an early account of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.
22. Paṭas or plaques representing the 52 shrines on the Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects. The Digambaras represent 52 small figures of the Jinas (suggesting 52 shrines) on a four-tiered platform or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced (see Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, p. 181 and pl. xxxi, figs. 3-4). The Śvetāmbaras represent 52 miniature shrines in four groups of 13 each, arranged in different ways. A beautiful plaque from Ranakpur was discussed in *JISOA*, IX (1941), p 48, pl. V, by this writer. Also see U P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 119ff, fig. 89.
23. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sūtras 172-173.
24. For example, the inter-continental mlecchas are Ekoru, Hayakarṇa, Gajakarna, Gokarna, Śaṣkuli-karṇa, Meṣamukha, Hayamukha etc., the Karmabhūmija mlecchas are Śaka, Yavana, Sabara, Barbara, Kāya, Muruṇḍa, Uḍra, Goḍra, Arapāka, Hūṇa, Romaka, Bhilla, Pulinda, etc The lists vary in some texts. See *Prajñāpanā sūtra* for a list of mlecchas; also, Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-77, *Triṣaṣṭi*., II (GOS), pp. 119ff
25. *Trilokasāra*, verses 687ff. *Triṣaṣṭi*., II (GOS), p. 112. *Trilokasāra*, vv. 711ff give a list of countries in the Ārya kṣetras of Bharata land; also see *Triṣaṣṭi*, *op. cit.*, p 117. *Triṣaṣṭi* text, 2.3 750-79, *Jainendra-Siddhānta-Kośa*, vol. 4, pp. 511-38.
26. Ramachandran, *op. cit*, p 184. In Kalpasutra miniatures, the nirvāṇa of a Jina is usually represented by showing him sitting in padmāsana on the Siddhaśilā, white and shaped like an inverted umbrella (or a crescent moon).
27. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 4 1, sū. 257, vol. I, p. 198, *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, 3.1, sū. 114ff, pp. 158ff.
28. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 3.9-10, 119ff, vol. I, pp. 111, 126ff, *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, *op. cit.*
29. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, pada 2, sū. 37, vol. I, p. 283; *Bṛhatsaṃgrahaṇī* of Jinabhadra Gani Kṣamāśramaṇa, vv. 44ff and in the *Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra*, vv. 25. See Kierfel, *Kosmographie der inder*, Section on Jaina Cosmography.
30. *Sthānāṅga*, 10.3, sū. 766. Kierfel, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
31. See *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, pada 2, sū. 27, Vol. I, pp. 267ff and *Jīvājīvābhigama*, comm. on sū. 117, pp. 161-165.
32. For Sixty-Four Indras, see *JOI*, 34, nos. 1-2, pp. 41ff. See *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, *op. cit.*, sū. 32ff, pp. 274ff.
33. Malayagiri's comm. on *Bṛhatsaṃgrahaṇī* of Jinabhadra, p. 3 says—
तथा विविधमन्तरं वनान्तरमादिकमाश्रयरूपं येषां तेव्यन्तरा:, तथा हि तेषु तेषु वनान्तरेषु शैलान्तरेषु कन्दरान्तरेषु च प्रतिवसन्तीति सुप्रसिद्ध-मेतत् ॥

For Vyantaras, see *Bṛhatsamgrahaṇī*, vv. 58ff, pp. 28ff, v. 163, p. 73; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 6.44ff, Vol. II, pp. 647ff. Kierfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 270ff.

34. *Samgrahaṇī sūtra*, comm. on v. 30, also see v. 32.
35. *Samgrahaṇī sūtra*, comm. on v. 30, also see v. 32.
36. It is indeed very interesting to note that both *Tārā* (*Tārakā*) and *Bahuputrikā* (*Bahuputrā*) were from ancient times regarded as queens of Indras of Yakṣas, i.e. they were Yakṣīs. It shows that the origin of Tārā as well as Bahuputrikā (or Hārīti) lies in the ancient Yakṣa cult.
37. *Samgrahaṇī sūtra*, comm. of Devabhadra on v. 30.
38. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, sū. 38, comm. on p. 70.
39. *Samgrahaṇī sūtra, op. cit.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, pada 2, sū. 38. For tables regarding the Vyantaras (and gods of the other classes) see Kierfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 272ff.

    The following description of the palaces of Vyantara gods may be noted:

    मालावलीकदल्याधा: प्रेक्षासनसभागृहा ।
    वीणागमंसताखिलप्रसाधनमहागृहा. ॥
    मोहनस्थानसभाश्च रम्या रत्नमया गृहा: ।
    सर्वतस्तत्र शोभन्ते व्यन्तरामरसेविता: ॥
    हंसक्रौञ्चासनैर्मुण्डैर्मृगेन्द्रमकरासनै: ।
    स्फाटिकैश्चर्तैर्न ग्रै: प्रवालगरुडासनै: ॥
    दीर्घस्वस्तिकवृत्तैस्तैर्विपुलेन्द्रासनैरपि ।
    गन्धासनैश्च रत्नाढ्यैर्युक्ता: सुरमनोरमै: ॥

    —*Harivamśa*, 5.383ff, p. 101

42. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, chp. VII, Vol. II, pp. 657ff. *Prajñāpanā*, sū. 50.
43. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, pada 2, sū. 51.
44. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, Vol. II, pp. 1033ff Table; also see p. 1032 Table of Kalpātīta gods; chp. VIII, pp. 832ff for text. For all Vaimānikas see Kierfel, *op cit.*, pp. 291ff.
45. *Harivamśa*, 5.390ff, pp. 101f; *Jīvājīvābhigama*, sū. 128-129, pp. 201ff.
46. *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature*, by U.P. Shah, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Sept. 1951
47. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 4, Sū. 90, vol. I, pp. 330ff calls him Aṇāḍhiya.
48. Dik-Kumārīs, Hrada-Devīs and such other minor deities are treated by U.P Shah in a series of articles entitled *Minor Jaina Deities*, published in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXI, no. 3, pp. 275-290; Vol. XXX, no. 4, pp 371-378; Vol. XXXII, nos 1-2, pp. 82-98; and *Journal of the M S. Univ. of Baroda*, Vol. XXX, no. 1, pp. 75-109 dealing with iconography of *Some Minor Jaina Deities—Mātṛkās and Dikpālas.*
49. *Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (Guj.), pp. 181ff. For illustrations and discussion about an ancient painted wooden book-cover of a palm-leaf ms. at Jesalmer, see U.P. Shah & Muni Punyavijaya, *Some Painted Wooden Book-Covers from Western India, Journ. of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. I.
50. Also cf. the story of Peḍhāla, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, vol. II, p. 175ff.
51. Discussed by us in *JISOA*, XIX, pp. 19ff.
52. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās*, *JISOA*, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 114ff and plates; and *A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jaina Literature*, publ. in *Bhāratakaumudī*, Vol. II, pp. 839-854.
53. Smith, *Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities from Mathura*, pl. xxxi, fig. 1 shows a carved pediment with a figure of two-armed sun-god in a Caitya-window motif.
54. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *Jaina Iconography—A Brief Survey, Shree Ātmārāmjī Śatābdi Grantha*, pp. 114-121.
55. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 6.5. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 8.616ff, Vol. II, pp. 859f.
56. For Mātṛkās at Abu, see Shah, U.P., *Some Minor Jaina Deities—Mātṛkās and Dikpālas, Journal of the M.S. Univ. of Baroda*, vol. XXX.1 (1981), pp. 75-109 and plates.
57. तत्थ कज्जारम्भे विणायगाइनामग्गहणं······विवाहे विणायगठवणं छट्ठीपूयणं माऊणं ठावणा······कुलाईणं ओवाहण········रेवंतपंच- देवयाणंपूया·· ···इमाए मिच्छत्तठाणाइं परिहरियव्वाइं ॥

    —*Vidhimārgaprapā*, p. 3

    It is interesting to note that the Ācāra-Dinakara prescribes Vināyaka-pūjā, Saṣṭhi-pūjā, Mātṛkā-pūjā, Mūla-aśleṣā-śānti etc., prohibited by Jinaprabha sūri.
58. S. Settar, *The Brahmadeva Pillars, Artibus Asiae, XXXIII, 1-2*, Shah, U.P., *Brahma-Śānti and Kaparddi Yakṣas, Journal of the M.S Univ. of Baroda*, Vol. VII, no. 1 (1958), pp 59ff.
59. Published in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 71. Also see Agrawala, R.C., राजस्थान में जैन सच्चिकादेवी पूजन, publ. in Jaina Siddhānta Bhaskar, XXI.1, pp. 1-5. Also see M.N.P. Tiwari, *Some Unpublished Jaina Sculptures of Gaṇeśa from Western India, Jaina Journal*, January, 1975, pp. 90-92 and plates. Dhaky, M.A. in *Babu Chhoṭelāl Jaina Smṛti Grantha* (Calcutta, 1967), *The Iconography of Sacciya Devi*, pp. 63ff, has shown that very probably originally the Saccikā was derived from the Hindu goddess Kṣemankarī.
60. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *Jaina Iconography—A Brief Survey, Shree Ātmārāmjī Śatābdi Grantha*, pp. 114-121.

60a. *Ibid*

61. *Jaina Stotra Samuccaya* (publ. Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay) contains a *Kurukullā-Stavana* by Vādideva sūri.
62. In *Ācārya Anandshankar Dhruva Memorial Volume, part III* (Ahmedabad, 1946).
63. Shah, U.P., *Minor Jaina Deities, Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. XXXII, nos. 1-2, pp. 95-96. For other Minor Jaina Deities, see Shah, U.P., *Minor Jaina Deities, Journal of O.I.*, Vol. XXXI.3, pp. 274ff and XXXI.4, 371ff.
64. According to Vyāḍi quoted by Hemacandra in his comm. on *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 2-114, p. 89.
65. Shah, U P., *Minor Jaina Deities, JOI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 82-98, esp. pp. 97-98.
66. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 39-121. Also chp. on *Canons and Symbols of Jaina Iconography*, in *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed. by A. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1975), Vol. III, chp. 35, pp. 465-493.

67. *Traivarṇikācāra*, adh. 4, vv. 209-213, and end of chp. 5. For a criticism of this work see Grantha-Parīkṣā (Hindi), part III, by Jugalkishore Mukhtar.
68. *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 2.7.
69. *Ibid*., 12-9, also *Sthānāṅga*, 5.1, sū. 401 and comm., Vol. II, p. 302. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, 36, 203-247, SBE, XLV, pp. 225ff. *Varāṅgacarita* (Dig.), chp. 9, pp. 73ff.
70. Also see *Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples*, footnote on p. 228.
71. A very illuminating paper on the same contributed by A.N. Upadhye is published in the *Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda*. Jaini, Padmanābha, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, p. 114; Basham, A.L., *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, p. 245.

CHAPTER SIX

Kulakaras and Śalākāpuruṣas

A. KULAKARAS

The Brahmanical traditions give a list of fourteen Manus or law-givers, who are also known as propagators of mankind. The Jainas similarly acknowledge a set of first law-givers who flourished in the present Avasarpiṇī Age (in the third division called suṣama-duhṣamā, when beings were born as twins and when the Wishing Trees (kalpa-vṛkṣa) used to provide them with necessary food, light and other necessities of life). The age of the Kulakaras was a primitive one, when arts and sciences were not known, and crime and punishment were in infancy.[1]

In course of time, the Wishing Trees failed to give proper service and man was obliged to protect himself against wild animals etc., and quarrels over properties arose. In difficulties such as these, man could approach the Kulakaras of his times for proper guidance, protection and dispensation of justice. Kulakaras were thus the first law-givers in Jainism.[2]

According to the Śvetāmbaras, Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, was the last Kulakara, while according to the Digambaras, Nābhi, the Father of Ṛṣabha, was the last law-giver. The Bhagavati, the Sthānāṅga and the Samavāyāṅga sūtras and the Āvaśyaka Niryukti representing earlier Śvetāmbara traditions, give a list of seven such law-givers of the present Avasarpiṇī and are followed by later writers like Hemacandra.[3] The Āvaśyaka Niryukti and the Ācāradinakara[4] further give the complexions of these Kulakaras. The Kāla-Lokaprakāśa gives different complexions. Below is given a table showing complexions of Kulakaras and names of their wives according to these texts:

Śvetāmbara List

	Kulakara	Wife	Complexion acc. to Āva. Nir. and Āca. Di.	Colour acc. to Loka P.
1.	Vimalavāhana	Candrayaśā	Golden	Golden
2.	Caksuṣmān	Candrakāntā	Black	Golden
3.	Yaśomān (Yaśasvin)	Surūpā	Black	Golden
4.	Abhicandra	Pratirūpā	White	Black
5.	Prasenajit	Cakṣuḥkāntā	Black	Golden
6.	Marudeva	Śrīkāntā	Golden	Golden
7.	Nābhi	Marudevī	Golden	Golden

(Wives of all the Kulakaras are black in complexion.)

But the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti differs from other Āgama texts by giving the following list of fifteen Kulakaras instead of the usual seven noted above: 1. Sumati, 2. Pratiśruti, 3. Sīmaṅkara, 4. Sīmandhara, 5. Kṣemaṅkara, 6. Kṣemandhara, 7. Vimalavāhana, 8. Cakṣuṣmān, 9. Yaśasvin, 10. Abhicandra, 11. Candrābha, 12. Prasenajit, 13. Marudeva, 14. Nābhi, 15. Ṛṣabha.

The Paumacariyam of Vimala sūri, assignable to c. fifth century A.D., regarded as a work of their sect by the Śvetāmbaras, gives a list of fourteen Kulakaras, omitting the last one (Ṛṣabhanātha) from the above list. The text generally follows the same order, with slight changes.

In this list, the name of Yaśasvin is omitted which shows that a verse, before the names of Vimalavāhana and the rest in v. 55, has fallen out from later manuscripts, which inference is supported by the order in the Digambara Padmacarita. In v. 56, the author of the Paumacariyam expressly says that there were fourteen Kulakaras.

Curiously enough, this Śvetāmbara belief obtains support in the Digambara tradition which gives a list of fourteen law-givers The Tiloyapaṇṇatti gives the following details useful for our subject:

	Name	Complexion	Wife
1.	Pratiśruti	Golden	Svayamprabhā
2.	Sanmati	,,	Yaśasvatī
3.	Kṣemaṅkara	,,	Sunandā
4.	Kṣemandhara	,,	Vimalā
5.	Sīmaṅkara	,,	Manohārī
6.	Sīmandhara	(?)	Yaśodharā
7.	Vimalavāhana	Golden	Sumati
8.	Cakṣuṣmān	,,	Dhāriṇī
9.	Yaśasvin	,,	Kāntamālā
10.	Abhicandra	,,	Śrīmati
11.	Candrābha	,,	Prabhāvati
12.	Marudeva	,,	Satyā
13.	Prasenajit	,,	Amitamati
14.	Nābhirāja	,,	Marudevī

The Ādipurāṇa[9] however adds that Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi, was both a Jina and a Kulakara, and that Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, was both a Cakradhṛt and a Kuladhṛt. It would thus seem that the author wants to raise the number of Kulakaras from 14 to 16. Varāṅgacarita[10] explicitly says that there were sixteen Manus, and gives a similar list. They are called Vaṁśakaras or propagators of race and Bhūmipālas or Kings and law-givers.

The above analysis shows that there are two distinct traditions in Śvetāmbara literature and that the second one recorded by Jambūdvīpaprajñapti and the Paumacariyam is followed by the Digambaras. But the names given in the shorter list are common to both the traditions. Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramana was aware of both the traditions amongst the Śvetāmbaras and made unconvincing attempt to explain away the obvious contradictions. Śānticandra, the commentator of the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, also made another attempt.[11] This analysis is a pointer to the fact that some of the Digambara traditions, though recorded in works later than the Śvetāmbara Āgamas, are based upon older sources not always known to us.

The Sthānānga sūtra[12] further gives lists of seven Kulakaras of the Past Utsarpiṇī, ten of the Past Avasarpiṇī, seven of the Future Utsarpiṇī and ten of the Future Avasarpiṇī.

Representations of Kulakaras have not been discovered, but looking to the popularity of the conception there are hopes that they may be discovered at a future date, either in a group or separately though the latter is less likely. There is however a class of sculptures showing a male and a female sitting under a tree, with a child usually on the female's lap, which has not been satisfactorily identified so far. They are discussed separately in this work as Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras where it is shown that the presence of a bull symbol in one and of an attendant Yakṣa couple in another specimen points to their being sculptures of Parents of different Jinas rather than the Kulakaras sitting under a Kalpavṛkṣa. The Kumbharia panel with names of Parents further supports our view.

The *Kalpavṛkṣas* of Jaina mythology may however be noted since we find them mentioned in accounts

of the Kulakaras. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti gives the following list: Pānāṅga (Pānāṅga), Turiyanga (Tūryāṅga), Bhuṣaṇāṅga (Bhūṣaṇāṅga), Vatthaṅga (Vastrāṅga), Bhoyaṅga (Bhojanāṅga), Ālayanga (Ālayāṅga), Diviyaṅga (Dipakāṅga), Bhāyanaṅga (Bhājanāṅga), Mālaṅga (Mālāṅga), Tejaṅga (Tejāṅga) with excellent drinks, music, ornaments, garments, edibles and ready-made dishes, mansions to live in, lamps, utensils and garlands of flowers respectively while the last type, namely Tejanga, seems to be self-luminous, serving the purpose of heavenly luminaries.[13]

The Paumacariyam gives a similar list with slightly different titles but signifying the same characteristics of these Wish-fulfilling trees.[14] The Sthānāṅga sūtra[15] gives the following names: Mattaṅgatā (Mattāṅga), Bhiyaṅga (Bhṛtāṅga), Tuditaṅga (Truṭitāṅga), Divaṅga (Dīpāṅga), Joti-aṅga (Jyotiṣāṅga), Cittaṅga (Chitrāṅga), Cittarasā (Chitrarasāḥ), Maṇiyaṅga (Maṇiaṅga), Gehāgāra (Gehākāra), Anitaṇā or Aniaṅga (Anagnakā).

The Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra elaborately describes the functions of each of the types of wishing trees mentioned above. Thus they provide the Yugalikas (twin-born) with wives and intoxicants, utensils, music and musical instruments, (serve the purpose of) small lamps, (also of the bigger) heavenly luminaries, (and supply people with) garlands, edibles, riches and ornaments, mansions and residential quarters, and garments (to cover the privy). It would be interesting to note that sculpture of the Śuṅga age, especially Bharhut and Sanchi, shows representations of this type of Kalpavṛkṣa motif. Garlands, ornaments etc. hung from creepers are found depicted in several specimens. Śrī Śivarāmamūrti has referred to such specimens, in another context, in his work entitled *Sculpture Inspired by Kālidāsa*,[16] and has referred to descriptions of such motifs in his essay. The consensus of opinion does not agree with his dating of Kālidāsa in the first century B.C., but the evidences collected by him help us now to conclude that the motifs remained popular upto the fifth century A.D., which again is the age of the latest edition of the Śve. Jaina canon. The descriptions of the Kalpavṛkṣas, however, are so detailed that we are inclined to regard them as older than the age of Kālidāsa and it would not be wholly unwarranted if we regard them at least as old as the first two centuries of the Christian era if not as old as the first or second century B.C. As shown by Moticandra,[17] the Rāyapaseṇaīya gives a very realistic description of the Jaina stūpas of the Kuṣāṇa Age. This description of the Kalpa trees is another evidence to show that most of the available Aṅga and Upāṅga text portions are not later than the age of Ārya Skandila of the Mathura council in early fourth century A.D. Belief in the Kulakaras, which is closely associated with the descriptions of the Primitive Man and the Kalpavṛkṣas, is also not later than the fourth century A.D. It is difficult to fix up an upper limit for the tradition.[18]

B. ŚALĀKĀPURUṢAS

The Jaina conception and evolution of the Śalākāpuruṣas has been discussed in the Chapter on Notes on the Jaina Pantheon giving classifications of Jaina deities. Śalākāpuruṣas are 63 according to both the sects. As shown before, in the earlier stage there were only 54 Śalākāpuruṣas and the nine Prati-Vāsudevas came to be regarded as such great men only at a later stage. The following pages will give an account of the *twelve Cakravartis*, the *nine Vāsudevas*, the *nine Baladevas* and the *nine Prati-Vāsudevas*, only so far as it concerns our study. Details about their lives are not within the scope of this work.

The Nāradas, the Rudras, or the Kāmadevas, excepting only Bāhubali, the first Kāmadeva, are minor deities and except Bāhubali, have no place in Jaina temple worship, nor are they regarded as Śalākāpuruṣas.

Representations of some scenes of Cakravartin's conquests and of fights between Vāsudeva and Prati-Vāsudeva were carved in relief on some Jaina temple walls of the mediaeval period but these require a special study. Unfortunately this writer could not do so. However such scenes, especially from the Jaina versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, are found on walls of Jaina temples in Western India. The whole story of Bharata and Bāhubali is depicted in the dome of the porch in front of the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Vimala Vasahi, Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu.

Recently a set of two long painted wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf manuscript, assignable to the

thirteenth century A.D., are found by Muni Śīlavijaya. The paintings depict, in a continuous narrative, scenes from the previous births and the life of Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha who also was a Cakravartin. In this narration *Anantavīrya Vāsudeva* and *Damitāri Prati-Vāsudeva* and *Aparājita Baladeva* are painted. Two wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf ms. in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāra at Jesalmer contain representations of all the 63 Śalākāpuruṣas. They date from the twelfth century A.D. and are discussed with illustrations by Muni Punyavijaya and U.P. Shah in *Some Painted Wooden Book-Covers from Western India, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (New Series), Vol. I, Special No. on Western Indian Art, pp. 34-44 and plates.

Twelve Cakravartins

Cakravartins are Universal Monarchs or World Conquerors. The Jaina Purāṇas give a list of twelve such Cakravartins who flourished in this Avasarpiṇī.[19] Golden in complexion, they all belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra.

The first amongst them was Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, who gave his name to this land, which is called Bharata-bhūmi or Bhārata.[20] His chief queen was Subhadrā.

Sagara, the son of Sumitra and Yaśomati of Ayodhyā, and a contemporary of Ajitanātha, was the second Cakravartī. Bhadrā was the queen.[21]

Maghavā, the third, was the son of Samudravijaya and Bhadrā and ruled from Śrāvastī in the interval between the fifteenth and the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkaras. Jayā was the queen.

Sanatkumāra, the fourth, was born in Hastināpura to Aśvasena and his wife Sahadevī in the same interval. Vijayā was the queen.[22]

The three Tīrthankaras, namely, Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha, were the fifth, sixth and seventh Cakravartins respectively.[23] The eighth, Subhūma, lived in Hastināpura and was the son of Kṛtavīrya and Tārā. The queen was Padmāśrī. Jaina accounts give a different version of the Hindu mythology of Paraśurāma. King Anantavīrya of Hastināpura was the grandfather of Subhūma. The queen of Anantavīrya was a sister of Reṇukā, the wife of Jamadagni. Once Jamadagni gave Reṇukā a *bambhanacaru* and her sister a *khattiyacaru* to eat but the two sisters exchanged their dishes. Reṇukā gave birth to Rāma and her sister to Kṛtavīrya. Rāma killed Anantavīrya and gave the throne to Kṛtavīrya but later on killed the latter also. Subhūma, the son of Kṛtavīrya, took revenge on Rāma who was a Brāhmana and slew him and was satisfied after slaying Brāhmaṇas of the earth twenty-one times.[24]

The next Cakravartī was Mahāpadma or Padma, son of Padmottara and Jvālā who lived with his queen Vasundharā in the city of Vārāṇasī.

The tenth, Hariṣeṇa, son of Merā and Mahāhari, lived in Kāmpilya in the interval between Munisuvrata and Naminātha. Devī was his chief queen.

The eleventh Universal Monarch was Jaya or Jayasena, son of Vijaya and Vaprā, who reigned with his queen Laksmīvatī from Rājagṛha in the interval between Naminātha and Neminātha.

The last Cakravartin of this Avasarpinī age was Brahmadatta, the son of Brahma by Cūlanī, who ruled from Kāmpilya with his queen Kusumavatī in the interval between Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. He had alliances with the king Dīha of Kośala, Kaḍaya of Kāśī, Kaṇerudatta of Gajapura and Pupphacūla of Campā. After Bambha's death, king Dīha (Dīrgha) is said to have managed the affairs of the kingdom of Kāmpillapura. Later on a battle ensued between Brahmadatta and Dīha in which the former killed the latter. References to Brahmadatta in Hindu and Buddhist literatures suggest the possibility of Brahmadatta being a historical personage.[25]

The mother of a Cakravartin sees some dreams at the time of conception. According to the Ādipurāṇa, Bharata's mother saw the sun and the moon, the mount Meru, the lake with swans, earth and the ocean.[26] According to Hemacandra, Summaṅgalā, the mother of Bharata, sees fourteen great dreams.[27] Accounts of world conquests by these different Cakravartins are almost similar in the Jaina Purāṇas. Bharata, for example,[28] started on his conquests, with his *cakra*-jewel preceding the army, followed by the bearer of the staff-jewel, the *senāpati* (another jewel of a Cakravartī), the horse-jewel, the priest-

jewel, etc., and conquered the Māgadha-tīrtha in the east of Jambūdvīpa, the Varadāma in the south, the Prabhāsa in the west, and the goddess Sindhu, the Veyaddha mountain and the Timisa-cave (guhā). Crossing the river Sindhu by the *carma*-jewel, he conquered the Siṁhalas, Barbara, Aṅga, Cilāya, Javaṇadīva, Arabaka, Romaka, Alasaṇḍa, the *mlecchas* known as Pikkhura, Kālamuha and Joṇaka, the mlecchas residing on the south of the Vaitāḍhya, and in the south-west the region upto the Sindhu-sāgara and finally the most beautiful Kaccha. Then, marching through the Timisaguhā, Bharata ordered his general to open its southern gate. Then, crossing the rivers Unmagnajalā and Nimagnajalā, he defeated the rich, arrogant and powerful Cilāyas known as Āvāḍa, dwelling in the northern half of the Bharata land. Next, he conquered Culla (*kṣudra*) Himavanta mt. and proceeded to Ṛṣabhakūṭa mt. where with his *kāgaṇī* (*kākiṇī*) jewel, Bharata inscribed his name as the first universal monarch. When he went to the north of the Veyaddha (Vaitāḍhya) mountain, Nami and Vinami, the two overlords of the Vidyādharas, offered him the gift of a *strī-ratna* (woman-jewel), Subhadrā by name.[29] Next, Bharata conquered the river Gaṅgā along with the cave Khaṇḍaprapāta on its western bank, where, opening the northern gate of the cave, he obtained the nine *nidhis* or treasures, namely, *Naisarpa, Pāṇḍuka, Piṅgala, Sarvaratna, Mahāpadma, Kāla, Mahākāla, Māṇavaka* and *Śaṅkha*.[30]

Thus attended by the fourteen jewels, the Cakravartī returned to his capital Vinītā where his coronation as a universal monarch was performed with due pomp and splendour.

According to both the sects, every universal monarch obtains *ratnas* or jewels amongst human beings and amongst symbols, weapons or animals. They are: *Cakra* (disc), *Daṇḍa* (staff), *Asi* (sword), *Chatra* (umbrella), *Carma* (hides), *Maṇi* (diamond), *Kākiṇī* (cowrie), *Aśva* (the horse), *Gaja* (the elephant), the Commander-in-Chief, the Home Minister, the Architect (Varḍdhakī), the Priest and lastly the Queen.[31]

As already noted, Cakravartins have a golden complexion, and the mark of the *Śrīvatsa* symbol, formed of hair, adorns their chests.[32]

Representations of Cakravartins as separate sculptures[32a] are difficult to obtain. Hitherto only four such sculptures of Bharata, the first Cakravartin, could be obtained. Of these, one from a small shrine in Devgaḍh is illustrated here in *Fig. 156*. On his two sides are shown his fourteen *ratnas*. Another sculpture, illustrated in *Fig. 160* is from temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh, showing Bharata in *kāyotsarga* mudrā. The *ratnas* are distributed on his two sides and on the pedestal. The third sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. It is preserved in one of the cells in the compound of the main Ādinātha shrine on the mount Śatruñjaya (see *Fig. 41*). Bharata is here represented as standing in meditation in the kāyotsarga posture. On one side of Bharata stands a male with a sword in hand, on another side is another male figure carrying a *noḷi* (money-bag) with two hands. Possibly he is a donor. The image is inscribed in the year 1391 v.s. and helps us to identify the sculpture as representing Bharata. Two small *cakras* are shown just near the fingers of both the hands of Bharata, and a *cakra* is shown in the centre of the pedestal suggesting that Bharata is a Cakravartin. There is one more sculpture at Devgaḍh.

But representations of the march of a Cakravartī are not unknown on Jaina temple walls. Usually they are on exterior walls of the main shrine, in the part reserved as *Nara-thara*. A battle scene between Bharata and Bāhubali is available in the front ceiling of the Rangamandapa of the Vimalavasahi at Abu, as also in a ceiling of Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia.

Ratnas or jewels of a Cakravartī are usually represented in miniature paintings of the Samgrahaṇī sūtra. For representations in miniatures of Bharata's conquests, see for example Brown, *op. cit.*, fig. 129.

The Jaina traditional accounts of the conquest of a Cakravartī are of special value for students of ancient geography. The oldest accounts of these are reminiscent of some old traditions. The Timisa guhā for example is interesting. The Prabhāsa-tīrtha is well known, but Varadāma tīrtha should be located.

Nine Vāsudevas

Jaina mythology describes lives of nine *Vāsudevas* or *Nārāyaṇas* who are also called *Ardha-Cakrins* as they ruled over three parts of the earth and enjoyed half the power of the Cakravartins. Belief in

Vāsudevas and their step-brothers Baladevas is very old as they are referred to in the earliest traditions represented by the Āgama texts and the works attributed to Bhadrabāhu. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras give identical lists of Vāsudevas which fact shows that the belief antedates the final crisis between the two sects and is probably much earlier.

The Samavāyānga sūtra[33] gives the following list of Vāsudevas along with names of their parents: (1) Tripṛṣṭha, son of Prajāpati and Mṛgāvatī, (2) Dvipṛṣṭha, son of Brahma and Umā, (3) Svayambhū, son of Soma and Pṛthvī, (4) Puruṣottama, son of Rudra and Sītā, (5) Puruṣasimha or Nṛsimha, son of Śiva and Ammayā, (6) Puruṣapuṇḍarīka, son of Mahāśiva and Lakṣmīvatī, (7) Datta, son of Agniśikha and Śeṣavatī, (8) Nārāyaṇa,[34] son of Daśaratha and Kekayī and (9) Kṛṣṇa, son of Vāsudeva and Devakī.[35]

As already noted, the Digambara texts give the same list.[36] According to both the sects, all the Vāsudevas are black and wear garments of yellow colour.[37] The Vāsudeva has a chowrie-bearer attending upon him, while an umbrella is held over his head. On his banner is seen the mark of an eagle.

The following seven are the weapons and symbols of a Vāsudeva, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions: (1) the conch *pāñcajanya*, (2) the disc *Sudarśana cakra*, (3) the club *Kaumodakī*, (4) the bow *Śārnga*, (5) the *Nandaka* sword, (6) the jewel known as *Kaustubha maṇi*, and (7) the long garland of flowers, known as the *Vanamālā*.[38] The Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra however adds the *śakti* in the above list.[39]

The following from the Uttarādhyayana is especially noteworthy as the passage refers to only three weapons of Vāsudeva: 'As Vasudeva, the god with the conch, discus and club, who fights with an irresistible strength, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.'[40] This is indeed an early tradition of the iconography of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu. The fourth hand is usually held in *varada mudrā*.

The Śve. text Pradyumna-carita says that Kṛṣṇa, the lord of Dvārikā and the enemy of Kaṁsa, was dark in complexion and wore yellow garments. Four-armed, he carried the conch *Pāñcajanya*, the *Nandaka* sword, the *Śārṅga* bow and the *Kaumodakī* club in his hands.[41]

The Digambara traditions give the following seven weapons of a Vāsudeva: Bow, Conch, Discus, Staff, Sword, Śakti, and Club.[42]

Both the sects agree in regarding all Vāsudevas as dark in complexion and having the eagle as their banner-mark. Besides, all the Vāsudevas are said to have been born in the Gautama gotra, except the eighth who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. After death, the Vāsudevas go to hell while the Baladevas are said to have obtained emancipation or heaven. This Jaina conception about life after death of the Vāsudevas and the Baladevas stands in contrast with the Hindu accounts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma or of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. But the iconographic resemblance between the Jaina Vāsudeva and the Hindu Kṛṣna is quite obvious and unmistakable. The variations from the Hindu mythology, obtained in the Jaina versions of the life stories of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, are generally due to the new background of Jaina faith.

The Vāsudevas, Baladevas and the Prati-Vāsudevas or enemies of Vāsudevas were amongst the earliest of the Brahmanical deities who found a place in the Jaina Mythology.[43] It is well known, from the find of the famous Besnagara inscription of Heliodorus, the Ghosundi and Hathibada inscriptions, or of the image of Balarāma from Mathura assignable to the first or second century B.C., and from the image of Viṣṇu from Mathura assignable to the first century A.D., that the cult of Vāsudeva and Balarāma was popular in Mathura, Vidiśā, Nagarī (Madhyamikā) and other places[44] and incorporation of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult was necessary if Jainism aimed at appealing to the masses of India. Besides, this cult, based on the doctrine of Bhakti, was in itself a reform on the older Vedic ritualistic faith and the anti-Vedic Jaina writers found it easier to incorporate the belief in Vāsudevas rather than other deities invoked in Vedic sacrifices.[45]

Nine Baladevas

According to both the sects, each Vāsudeva has a step-brother, white in complexion and known as Baladeva. Nine in number, they are intimately associated with the exploits of Vāsudevas, and are

depicted as superior to them in as much as the first eight Baladevas obtain emancipation and the last of the list is said to have obtained one of the heavens. The Vāsudevas, as already shown, go to one of the different hells after death.

The Samavāyāṅga sūtra gives the following list of the Baladevas and their mothers, who lived in the present Avasarpiṇī age: (1) Acala, Bhadrā; (2) Vijaya, Subhadrā; (3) Bhadra, Suprabhā; (4) Suprabha, Sudarśanā; (5) Sudarśana, Vijayā; (6) Ānanda, Vaijayantī; (7) Maṇḍana, Jayantī; (8) Padma, Aparājitā; (9) Rāma, Rohiṇī.[46]

The Digambara texts give the following list: Vijaya, Acala, Sudharma, Suprabha, Sudarśana, Nandī, Nandīmitra, Rāma, and Padma.[47]

According to both the sects, they wear garments of dark-blue colour. On their banners is seen the mark of the palm-tree (*tāla*).[48] They carry the bow, the plough, the pestle and the arrow according to the Śvetāmbara tradition[49] while the Digambaras describe the following symbols: the club, the garland of jewels, the plough, and the pestle. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti however notes the following iconographic marks of a Baladeva: the plough, the pestle, a chariot and a garland of jewels (*ratnāvali*).[50]

Like the Vāsudevas, the Baladevas have their parallels in the Hindu mythology, although of course, changes have been made in the Jaina accounts to suit their own environment.

Images of Baladevas and Vāsudevas, installed for worship in Jaina temples, are not known hitherto, but scenes depicting their stories are sometimes available in temple carvings. Again, a Baladeva and a Vāsudeva are seen on two sides of a Jina, one on each side, especially during the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathura, and this fact helps us to identify the Jina as Neminātha since, in Jaina mythology, both Kṛṣṇa (Vāsudeva) and Baladeva or Balarāma are regarded as cousin brothers of Neminātha. Sculpture no. J.47 in the State Museum, Lucknow, shows Neminātha standing in the centre and to his right is standing Balarāma with snake-hoods overhead and holding the *gadā* and the *hala* (plough) in his two upper hands and the wine-cup in one of the two lower hands. To the left of Neminātha is Kṛṣna, four-armed, wearing a *vanamālā* and showing the *gadā*, the *abhaya mudrā*, etc.[51] In sculpture no. J.121, in the same Museum, also from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find Kṛṣṇa showing the *gadā*, the *śankha* (conch), etc , while Balarāma with seven snake-hoods overhead is two-armed. The symbols shown by Balarāma are not distinct. The sculpture dates from the Gupta age, c. fourth century A D., for illustration of J 121 see Shah, U.P., *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism*, Paper no. 6 in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, fig. 6. Figure 7 in the same paper, no. J.117, State Museum, Lucknow, is identified as Neminātha by some scholars but the figure on his right with snake-hoods has both his hands in the *añjali mudrā* and the figure on the left is also a two-armed figure with both the hands in the *añjali mudrā*. This figure has no snake-hoods and should be regarded as a Yakṣa while the figure to the right of the Jina represents a Nāga figure. In the descriptions of the Śāśvata Jina Pratimās in Jaina canons we find Yakṣa and Nāga figures accompanying the Jina figure. No. J.60 in the same museum also has a Nāga and a Yakṣa as attendants. They are not Baladeva and Vāsudeva.

This practice of showing Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with Neminātha lingered on even upto the tenth or eleventh century in U.P. and M.P. as can be seen on a sculpture of Neminātha in Temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh and another sculpture, probably from Mathura, is no. 66.53 in the State Museum, Lucknow, and dates from c. eleventh century A.D. In both the above sculptures, Kṛṣna and Balarāma are four-armed (for illustrations, see M.N.P. Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimā Vijñāna* (Hindi), figs. 27-28). *Figure 55* illustrated here is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. In the centre of the pedestal, on the right of the *dharmacakra* is a bull which shows that the Tīrthaṅkara sitting in padmāsana must be Ṛṣabhanātha. The head of the Jina is lost. The sculpture hails from Orai in U.P. and may be assigned to c. eighth century A.D. The Jina is attended upon by a *cāmaradhara-yakṣa* on each side. Beyond the Yakṣa on the right is a four-armed standing figure of Balarāma with the *gadā* (?) in his right upper hand, the wine-cup in the right lower one and the plough (*hala*) in the left upper hand. The left lower is placed on the *kaṭī*. On the corresponding left side of the Tīrthankara is standing four-armed Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva showing the mace and the *cakra* in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the conch in the left lower one. The right lower hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā*. The sculpture is published as figure 98 in

Vincent Smith's Jaina Stūpa . . . A sculpture of Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata, illustrated here as *Fig. 72* (no. J.776 in the Lucknow Museum), has on top a miniature figure of a Tīrthaṅkara with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa on his two sides. Perhaps this miniature figure of the Jina was meant to represent Neminātha. Incidentally it may be noted that there are two crowned figures standing in the *kāyotsarga posture* on two sides of the central Jina and the vidyādhara pairs. They are *Jīvantasvāmī* images.

Since no Vāsudeva or Baladeva is connected with the life history of Ṛṣabhanātha, the sculpture from Orai discussed above is especially noteworthy. Figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa seem to have been introduced as attendants to or in a position inferior to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha in order to underrate Hindu gods, just as Īśvara, Garuḍa, Ṣanmukha and others were later introduced as Yakṣas or Śāsanadevatās of different Tīrthankaras. Mathura, the birth place of Kṛṣṇa, was a stronghold of Kṛṣna worship and the Pāñcarātra cult. Only Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are introduced as cousins of Neminātha. No other relatives of other Tīrthaṅkaras are introduced on Jaina sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa age. It is therefore reasonable to infer that figures of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva were introduced on sculptures of Neminātha in order to counteract Hindu influence in image worship amongst the masses.

In a ceiling in front of Devakulikā no. 10 in the Vimala Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu, we have a relief slab showing the water-sports (*jalakrīḍā*) of Kṛṣṇa, his queens and his cousin brother Neminātha. This is according to the Jaina accounts of the life of Neminātha. Similar scenes are also depicted in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra. The Kalpa-sūtra miniatures also include scenes of trial of strength between Neminātha and Kṛṣna (for these different types of scenes see Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra*, figs. 102, 104, 105, 106: Nawab, S.M., *Jaina Citra-Kalpa-Druma*, figs. 212, 213).

One of the ceilings in front of the Devakulikās at Vimala Vasahi contains a beautiful big relief sculpture showing the scene of *Kālīya-damana* by Kṛṣṇa. Another such ceiling shows the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu by the Nṛsimha incarnation of Viṣṇu. Both these reliefs clearly demonstrate Brahmanical Paurāṇika influence in Jaina literature and art (see *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. II, chapter 23, and plate 186, figs A & B).

A mutilated slab from Kankali Tila, Mathura, being a part of a Tīrthaṅkara sculpture, dating from the Kuṣāna period and described by V.S. Agrawala,[52] shows a figure of Balarāma on one side and suggests that a figure of Krsna-Vāsudeva must have existed on the other side of the central Tīrthaṅkara image now mutilated and lost.

Nine Prati-Vāsudevas

The Prati-Vāsudevas or the enemies of Vāsudevas are also nine in Jaina Purāṇas, each Vāsudeva having one such opponent

Both the sects give the same list.[53] They are Aśvagrīva, Tāraka, Meraka, Madhukaiṭabha, Niśumbha, Bali, Prahlāda, Rāvaṇa or Laṅkeśa and Jarāsandha or Magadheśvara.[54]

The first eight are supposed to have been Vidyādharas while the last was a man of the earth.[55] The Prati-Vāsudevas, fighting with the *cakra*-weapon, perished from their own cakras, which went into the service of the Vāsudevas at the last moment.[56]

Names of rivals of Vāsudevas are met with in Hindu mythology also where they are generally called rākṣasas or asuras Tāraka was killed by Kumāra or Kārttikeya, while Madhu, Bali, Rāvaṇa or Jarāsandha are well known opponents of gods and men and are usually killed by incarnations of Viṣṇu in the Hindu accounts. The name of Prahlāda figuring as an enemy of Vāsudeva in Jaina accounts is especially noteworthy as he is a great saint and a devotee of the first rank in the Bhāgavata cult.

It may be noted that the introduction of these nine arch enemies of Vāsudevas in the lists of Śalākāpuruṣas or Great Men seems to be a later conception in Jainism, although of course they figured in the accounts of Vāsudevas as their opponents. Śīlaṅka, for example, called his work a *Caupanna-Mahā-Puruṣa-Cariyam*, thus acknowledging only the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras + the twelve Cakravartins + the nine Vāsudevas and the nine Baladevas as the 54 Śalākāpuruṣas or Great Men. The

Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, 2, sū. 34,[57] and the Sthānāṅga, 3.1, sū. 143[58] also lend support to this belief. It must be noted that the Āvaśyaka Niryukti also omits the Prati-Vāsudevas.[59]

REFERENCES

1. For a fuller account of the Jaina divisions of time, the Golden Age and the Kulakaras, see Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭi*, I, *Transl. GOS, Vol. LI*, pp. 93-100; *Vasudeva-hiṇḍi*, I, 157ff; for Digambara accounts *Ādi-Purāṇa*, I, ch. 3, vv. 53ff, pp. 49ff; *Padmacaritam* (of Raviṣena, Manekchand Dig. Granthamala), ch. 3, vv. 48-88; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, vol. I.4, vv. 313-503, pp. 184ff.
2. Cf.: Prajānām jīvanopāyamananāmānavo matāḥ
   Āryāṇām Kulasamstyāyakṛteḥ Kulakarāḥ ime 221.
   Kulānām dhāraṇādete matāḥ Kuladharā iti
   Yugādipuruṣāḥ Proktāḥ yugādau prabhaviṣṇavaḥ 212.
   Vṛṣabhaḥ Tīrthakṛccaiva Kulakṛccaiva sammataḥ
   Bharataḥ Cakrabhṛccaiva Kuladhṛccaiva kīrtitaḥ 213
   —*Ādipurāṇa*, ch. 3, op cit.
3. *Samavāyāṅga*, pp 150-155; *Sthānāṅga*, 7 3, sūtra 556, Vol. II, p 398; *Bhagavati*, 5.3
4. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, vv. 147-167; *Ācāradinakara*, I, pp. 33-34.
5. *Kālalokaprakāśa*, ch. 32, vv. 1-27, 31.
6. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, I, pp 130ff, ch 2, sū. 28ff
7. *Paumacariyam*, 3, vv. 48-56, pp. 10-11.
8. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, I, pp. 204ff, ch 4, vv 495-503.
9. *Ādipurāṇa*, 3, vv. 53-216, especially see v. 213 quoted above in n 2
10. *Varangacarita*, 27, vv. 33-36, p. 267.
11. See Śānticandra's comm. on Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, I, pp. 132ff See the footnote of the editor who notes the comments of Jinabhadra from Viśeṣaṇavatī and from the Hīravṛtti discussion on the problem.
12. *Sthānanga*, 10.3.767, p. 518 and 7.3, sū. 556, p 398. This shows that the *Sthānāṅga sūtra* text, as available to us today, is relatively later and seems to date from a period not earlier than the fourth century A D. Malavaṇiyā, Dalsukh, *Sthānāṅga-Samavāyāṅga* (Ahmedabad, 1955), pp. 687-695
13. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, I.4, 342-353, pp. 187-188.
14. *Paumacariyam*, 3 37, p. 10.
15. *Sthānānga*, *op. cit.*, 10.7; 10.3 766, p 517f.
16. Sivaramamurti, *Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa*, Madras
17. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. XXII, pp 1-2, 64-80.
18. The detailed descriptions of the various trees given in the *Jīvājīvābhigama Sūtra*, sū. 3, pp. 264ff, are noteworthy for students of Indian art and culture, since they give lists of different types of wines, edibles, lamps, utensils, architectures, musical instruments, garments etc. See *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, I, sū. 20, pp. 99f (with Śānticandra's comments on these lists), Jiva sū. 3, pp. 264ff and 145ff.
19. Life stories of different Cakravartins may be studied from the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra, *Harivamśa* of Jinasena, *Uttarapurāṇa* of Gunabhadra, *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, etc. For all Cakravartins of present and future ages, see *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 158.
20. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 3.41-71; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp 182ff; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, I, pp. 186ff.
21. For a short account of Sagara, see Jain, J.C., *op. cit.*, p 375. *Uttarādhyayana Tīkā*, 18, pp. 233ff; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, II, p. 300, 304ff. Also cf. the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in *Mahābhārata*, III, 105ff; *Rāmāyana*, I.38ff; *Cūlavamśa*, lxxxvii 34.
22. Also see *Mahābhārata*, III.188.24; I.69.24; *Dīghanikāya*, II, pp. 210ff.
23. *Sthānāṅga*, 3.4.231, Vol. I, p. 178.
24. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 520; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, II, pp. 235-40, *Mahābhārata*, III 117f; XII.48; *Rāmāyana*, I.74-77.
25. *Uttarādhyayana Tīkā*, 13, pp. 187ff
    Also see the *Mahāumagga Jātaka*, the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I.33.18ff. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 20, 591.
26. *Ādipurāna*, 15, vv. 100-101, p. 334.
27. *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), p. 148.
28. Jain, J.C., *op cit*, pp. 347f. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 3.41-71, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 182-228; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, I, pp. 186ff. Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas*, p. 19f.
    For the details of an early Digambara version of Bharata's conquests, see *Mahāpurāna* of Jinasena and Gunabhadra, II, chs. 26-36.
29. The account given here is mainly based on the Śvetāmbara version available in the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti etc. referred to in the preceding footnote. It may be compared with other Śvetāmbara versions like that of Hemacandra and others. For Buddhist belief in Cakravartin's jewels (*ratnas*), see *Digha Nikāya*, sutta 17; *Anguttara*, 5 131, 5 144
30. *Sthānāṅga*, 9.3, sū. 673, pp 448f.
31. *Sthānāṅga*, 7.3, sū. 558, vol. II, p. 398; *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 3.67, p. 260; *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), p. 262; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.1377-82, p. 324; *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Gunabhadra, 337, vv. 84ff.
32. Cf.: आजानुलम्बिना ब्रह्मसूत्रेण विबभौ विभुः ।
    ...किरीटोदग्र (किरीटो०) मूर्धाग्रो कर्णाभ्यां कुण्डले दधौ ।
    ...वक्षःस्थलेऽस्य रुरुचे रुचिरः कौस्तुभो मणिः ।
    —*Ādipurāṇa*, 26, 62ff
    Also note—सव्वेऽवि एगवन्ना निम्मलकणगप्पभा मुणेयव्वा ।
    —*Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 391
    Also see *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), pp. 212, 256, 262 *Kālalokaprakāśa*, 31.20-21; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, *op. cit.*; *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 3.42, pp. 180-81.

32a. M.N.P. Tiwari has identified in all five figures of Bharata at Devgaḍh. Of these some are portrayed with a Tīrthaṅkara and Bahubali as Tri-Tirthika images, Tiwari, *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, pp 106-109.

33. Samavāyāṅga sūtra, pp 152-58, sū 158-59 Also see Āvaśyaka Niryukti, gāthās 375ff *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS), pp. 350-51 for Śve lists; the Vasudevahiṇḍi gives accounts of Kanha, Tiviṭṭha, Purisapuṇḍariya, Purisuttama and Lakhaṇa

34. *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri and *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa especially deal with the life-story of Lakṣmaṇa, the 8th Vāsudeva and Rāma, his brother, the 8th Baladeva For a discussion on the Jaina versions of the Rāma-story, see Narasimhachar, D.L., *The Jaina Ramayanas*, *IHQ*, XV, pp 575-594, Rev. Dr. C Bulcke, *Rāma-Katha* (Hindi). Kulkarni, V M., *Jaina Rāmāyanas and their source*, *The Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Asia* (Delhi, 1980), pp. 226ff.

35. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is referred to in the *Uttarādhyayana*, xxii (SBE), p 113 and *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1 xvi, pp 68, 176f, *Niravavaliao*, v 1; also see *Kṛṣṇa in Jaina Legends*, Deshpande, M N, *Jaina Antiquary*, X, pp 25ff.

36. Trilokasāra, gāthā 825, *Varāṅgacarita*, 27, 42, p. 268; *Tiloyapannatti*, I 4 1412, p 329.

37. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 402, *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (GOS LI), p. 350, *Triṣaṣṭi*, IV.1 235ff (GOS CVIII), p. 18. *Mahapurāṇa* of Puspadanta; *Ādipurāṇa*, *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, 57, vs. 90ff. *Harivaṃśa*, 35.35, 41.36-37.

38. *Kalalokaprakāśa*, 31, vv. 462-483; *Bṛhat-Saṃgrahaṇi*, v 304, p. 119; *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, II 128-37, *Trisasti*, IV.1 524ff (GOS CVIII), p 43 Note the following from *Samavāyāṅga*, *sū 158, p 152f.* ''तालद्धओव्विद्ध-गरुलकेऊमहाधणुविकड्ढया''''''अद्धभरहसामी''''''हलमुसलकणकपाणी सखचक्कगयसत्तिनंदगधरा पवरुज्जलविमलगोत्थुभतिरीडधारी कुंडल-उज्जोइयाणणा पुंडरीयणयणा एकावलिकण्ठलइयवच्छा सिरिवच्छसुलंछणा वरजसा सव्वोउयसुरभिकुसुमरचितपलंबसोहंतकंतविकसंतविचित्तवरमाल-रइयवच्छा'''' कडिसुत्तगनीलपीतकोसेज्जवाससा नरसीहा''''''दुवे दुवे रामकेसवा भायरो होत्था'''' ''॥

39. *Praśnavyākaraṇa*, pp. 250ff: ''''''अजिता अजियरहा हलमुसलकणगपाणी सखचक्कगयसत्तिणंदगधरा पवरुज्जलसुकयविमलकोथूभतिरीडधारी कुंडलउज्जोवियाणणा पुंडरीयणयणा एगावलीकंठरइयवच्छा सिरिवच्छसुलंछणा वरजसा सव्वोउयसुरभिकुसुमरइयपलंबसोहंतवियसंतविचित्तवणमालरइयवच्छा' '' 'कडिसुत्तकनीलपीयकोसेज्ज-वाससा पवरदित्ततेजा ' ' ।

Thus in both the *Samavāya* and the *Praśna*, the descriptions are identical, the symbol of śakti is however the special attribute of Kumāra Skanda in Hindu Iconography.

40. *Uttarādhyayana (SBE)*, p. 113

41. *Pradyumnacarita*, 3, vs 73-76.

42. *Tiloyapannatti*, I.4.1434, p. 332, *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, *op cit*

43. Cf Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p 487.

44. Jaina Agamas often refer to festivals and shrines of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Vāsudeva, Nāga, Yaksa and others, apparently as beyond the sphere of Jaina worship, but widely current amongst the masses, and the references show their existence probably as early as the age of Mahavira, see Jaina, J.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 215-225 Also see Benjamin Presiado-Solis, *The Kṛṣṇa Cycle in the Purāṇas* (Delhi, 1984), chps. 1 and 2, pp. 1-39.

45. Conversely, later on, when the Hindu Purāṇas were recast, Ṛṣabha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, was given a place in the Vaiṣṇava cult as one of the twenty-four incarnations of Viṣṇu The Bhāgavata Purāṇa reference to Ṛṣabha perhaps shows the spirit of synthesis and assimilation of the Hindu Purāṇas, or, an ancient Indian deity or sage Ṛṣabha was adopted and assimilated by the Brahmanical faith as well as by Jainas in their Purāṇas. Ṛṣabha is referred to in *Bhāgavata*, V.3.20; 4.2; V.4.9, as also in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Pūrva II.14; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II 1 27-32; *Vāyu Pu*, 31.50-52; *Mārkaṇḍeya Pu.*, 50.39-41, *Nṛsimha Pu.*, 30.7, *Śiva Pu.*, VII.9.3 etc. However, B.N Sharma's attempt to prove hoary antiquity of Jaina Ṛṣabha, in his Intro. to the second ed of B.C Bhattacharya's Jaina Iconography with the help of Ṛgvedic passages where the word Ṛṣabha occurs, is not convincing

46. *Samavāyāṅga*, sū 159, pp 153ff Also, *Triṣaṣṭi* I (GOS), p. 350.

47. *Varāṅgacarita*, 27 43, p. 268, *Tiloyapannatti*, I 4 1411, p. 328, *Trilokasāra*, gāthā 827.

48. *Kālalokaprakāśa*, vv 484ff; *Samavāyāṅga* and *Praśnavyākaraṇa* passages quoted in the section on Vāsudevas; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, I.78, 81, 312, 326; *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, 57, v. 93

49. The Bhāṣya-gāthā quoted on p 237 of Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti of Haribhadra, shows that Baladevas fought with the plough and the pestle only: *holunti Vāsudeva nava anne nilapīakosijja, halamusalacakkajohi satāla-garula-jjhayā*... *Āvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, verse 39 Also see *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 2.138f Also see *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū 158 and *Sthānāṅga*, su 672.

50. *Tiloyapannatti*, I.4 1435, p. 332, *Uttarapurāṇa*, 57-93.

51. See Srivastava, V N., *Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow, Bulletin of Archaeology and Museums, U P* (*Sangrahālaya Puratattva Patrikā*), *no 9 (1972)*, pp 45-52 and figs 5, 5a, 5b (no J 47), fig. 6 (no J.117), fig 7 (no. J 60), fig. 8 (no J.83).

52. Agrawala, V.S., *A Fragmentary Sculpture of Neminatha in the Lucknow Museum*, *Jaina Antiquary*, VIII.2, pp. 45ff and plate No. J 89 in Lucknow Museum. Also see his paper *Some Brahmanical Deities in Jaina Religious Art*, in *ibid*, III 83-92 Agrawala has referred to no. 2502 of Mathura Museum showing Nemināṭha with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa

53. *Samavāyāṅga sutra*, su 159, p. 153; *Vasudevahindi*, pp 275-78, 313f, 80ff, 118f, 348f, 240; *Triṣaṣṭi* I (GOS), p. 352; *Varāṅgacarita*, 27.44, p 268, *Tiloyapannatti*, 4.1413, Vol. I, p. 329.

54. The Digambara text *Mahāpurāṇa* (Guṇabhadra) however gives the following Prati-Vāsudevas in its accounts: *Aśvagrīva*, *Tāraka*, *Madhu*, *Madhusūdana*, *Madhukṛdu*, *Niśumbha*, *Bali*, *Rāvana* and *Jarāsandha*.

55. *Trilokasāra*, gāthā 828.

56. Cf. *Triṣaṣṭi*, op. cit.

57. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, vol. I, p 164.

58. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, vol. I, pp. 75, 123.

59. Cf. Śānticandra's commentary on *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 2, sū. 3, p. 161.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Devādhideva Tīrthaṅkara

The supreme object of veneration in Jainism is variously invoked as a Tīrthaṅkara,[1] a Jina,[2] or an Arhat.[3] Hemacandra in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi kośa includes the Tīrthankaras under the category of *Devādhidevas*, i.e., *God of Gods*.

Varāhamihira says that the Lord of the Ārhatās (followers of Arhats, i.e., the Jainas) is to be represented with the arms reaching the knees (obviously when in a standing posture) and a *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest. Young and beautiful, he has a peaceful (pleasing) countenance while his garment is verily the quarters (i.e., he wears no garments).[4]

According to the Mānasāra, a silpa text of about the sixth cent. A.D., the image of a Jina should have two arms and two eyes, and the head should be clean shaven and there should be no top-knot (*uṣṇīṣa*). It (the Jina image) should be in a straight erect or sitting posture. The legs should be uniformly straight and the two long arms should be in the same posture. In the sitting posture, the two feet are placed on the lotus-seat, the whole image being in a somewhat stiff attitude and bearing a look meditating on the Supreme Soul. The right and left hands should be placed (one upon the other) with the palm upwards The image should be placed upon a throne in an erect sitting posture. At its top should be a pinnacle and a crocodile arch. Above, there should be the Kalpa-tree together with the royal elephant and such other figures There should be no ornaments and no clothes on any part of the body of the Jina image which is usually beautiful. The *śrī-vatsa* mark should be made in gold over the chest.[5] Haribhadra Sūri[6] and others emphasise his pleasing countenance. According to the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra of Pandit Āśādhara (1228 A.D), the eyes of the Jina should be centred on the tip of his nose . . . The Jina image should also be accompanied by the eight *prātihāryas* and the yakṣas.[7]

Vasunandi Saiddhāntika in his Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha[8] (c. 12th cent. A.D.) referes to the *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest. The images of a Jina are further said to be accompanied by the eight *prātihāryas*. The soles of the feet show marks of the conch, the *cakra*, the goad, the lotus, the *yava* (oat), the *chatra* (umbrella), etc. The images of Tīrthaṅkaras are either in the standing (*kāyotsarga*) or the sitting (*paryaṅkāsana, padmāsana*) postures. The Jina figure is young and void of any garments.

In both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, images of each Tīrthaṅkara are obtained in both the postures. In the sitting postures they show the *dhyāna-mudrā* with the hands resting one upon the other on the lap, with palm upwards. The Tīrthaṅkaras sit either in the *padmāsana* posture (lotus-posture, with legs crossed), or in the *ardha-padmāsana* (with one leg tucked up and the other tucked up but placed over the first, but not crossed, and the hands in the *dhyāna-mudrā* as in the padmāsana). The *ardha-padmāsana* posture is mainly popular in South India amongst the Digambaras.

In the *kāyotsarga* posture the Jina stands erect but not stiff, with hands hanging loose, straight and at ease, the eyes engaged in meditation as in the sitting posture.

No distinction is made in the selection of postures, all Tīrthaṅkaras being represented in both the postures by both the sects. However, Jaina texts have noted postures of various Jinas at the time of Nirvāṇa. Twenty-one Tīrthaṅkaras obtained Nirvāṇa while meditating in the *kāyotsarga* posture whereas three attained it while meditating in the sitting posture. These three are Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra according

to the Śvetāmbara view.[9] According to the Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇatti (c. 6th-7th cent. A.D.), these three are Ṛṣabha, Vāsupūjya and Nemi.[10] *According to the Āvaśyaka Niryukti gāthā 969, the Jinas are represented in this world in the posture in which they left it.* But in actual worship this is not strictly adhered to.

Images of Tīrthankaras were made of costly gems, metals, wood, clay, precious jewels or semi-precious stones. The Ācāra-Dinakara, a Śvetāmbara text of the fourteenth century, provides instructions regarding the selection of any of these materials. One may prepare images of gold, silver or copper, but never of bronze (*kāṃsya*), lead or tin. Brass is often used in casting images, though, as a general rule, mixtures of metals are discouraged.[11] It is also enjoined that images of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory or cow-dung or paintings should not be worshipped in private houses by persons desirous of welfare.[12] Vasunandi (Digambara), in his Śrāvakācāra, says that images of Jinas and others (Siddhas, Ācāryas and others) should be made according to iconographic formulas (*paḍimā-lakkhaṇa-vihi*), the materials used being gems, gold, jewels, silver, brass, pearls, stone, etc.[13] Vasubindu (Dig.), in his Pratiṣṭhā-pātha, adds crystals, and says that the wise praise images accompained by a big lotus-seat,[14] the lotus being shown as rising high.[15]

The Ācāra-Dinakara, while distinguishing the images to be worshipped at home from those to be installed in temples, adds that one should not worship images whose limbs are mutilated or bent etc. Images made of metals, stucco or plaster deserve to be repaired but wooden and stone sculptures need not be repaired for worship. However, images more than one hundred years old or those installed and consecrated by the best of men must be continued in worship even when they are mutilated. They should be preserved in temples but are not to be worshipped at home.[16]

Images made of crystal are seen in many Jaina temples. Tīrthaṅkara images made of precious stones like ruby, sapphire, emerald, etc. exist in Jaina shrines at Śravana Beḷagoḷa, Mūḍabidri, and in some collections in Bihar, Bengal etc. A Tīrthankara image in jade, presented to L.D. Institute of Indology by the late Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, is published by us in the *Treasures of Jaina Bhaṇḍāras.* Metal images in brass, bronze, alloys of copper, as also rarely in silver, are available in Jaina shrines. Tīrthankara images on wood work of Jaina shrines and private houses are well known.

The State Museum, Lucknow, preserves two old terracotta images of Tīrthankaras. A third such terracotta image is preserved in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta. Recently, B.B. Lal and S.K. Srivastava have found, during excavations at Ayodhyā, a terracotta figure of a Jina, which has been assigned to c third century B.C. with the evidence of stratigraphy.[17] This find further supports our belief that already in the third century B.C., worship of the Jina image had started. This further supports the earlier theory of K.P. Jayaswal, supported by this writer, and by some other writers, that the highly polished torso of a Jina image excavated from the site of Lohanipur (an extension of old Pāṭaliputra) dates from the Mauryan period. The high polish was known in the Mauryan period. The terracotta Jina excavated by B.B. Lal further shows that it is reasonable to assign the Lohanipur torso of a Jina image to at least the age of Samprati, the Mauryan ruler well-known for his patronage of Jainism.

Jina images painted on cloth, palm-leaves and paper are known. One of the earliest dated Jina image on palm-leaf is dated in V.S. 1157. Earlier paintings on cloth or palm-leaf have not survived in Indian climatic conditions. Wall paintings are known from Ellora, Sittannavasal, Tirumalai etc. The tradition continued from ancient times as is suggested by literary sources.

Tīrthankara images are carved and installed in sanctums of Jaina shrines and outside in temple-wall niches, in ceilings, on beams of ceilings, in the interior decorations of domes of temple halls, on tops and/or bases of pillars (e.g. the Kahaon pillar, various types of *mānasthambhas* at places like Devgadh, the Jaina Victory pillar at Chitod in Rajasthan, etc.), on door-lintels of temples, in book-illustrations of Jaina manuscripts, on cloth paintings representing various Jaina Tantric diagrams, and even in *Citra-Paṭas*, in scroll-paintings like the scroll depicting life of Nemināthа from the Digambara collection at Kāranjā, in *Vijñapatipatras*, on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts etc. Some of these book-covers, discovered hitherto, depict scenes from the previous as well as the last existences of Tīrthaṅkaras, Mahāvira, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha. A set of such wooden book-covers (*kāṣṭha-paṭṭikās*) show in a

row the twenty-four Mothers of Tīrthaṅkaras of this age, another shows the sixty-three Śalākāpuruṣas while a third one shows the sixteen Mahāvidyās of Jaina Tantrika worship.

An image is called a caitya (ceiya), pratimā, a bimba or an archā. A Jaina temple is called a caitya, an āyatana, a vasahi (basadi in the south) or vasati, a Jinālaya, a deula or devakula, according to Jaina texts and inscriptions.

The Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra-bhāṣya, a work of sixth century A.D., refers to a practice in Mathura. The Jina-figures were on lintels of entrance-doors of residential buildings of the Jaina inhabitants.[18] Such images were known as *maṅgala-caityas*. The text classified *caityas* or images into four types: *sādharmika-caityas, śāśvata-caityas, bhakti-caityas, and maṅgala-caityas*. The last type is explained above. The *śāśvata-caityas* are images of *śāśvata-Jinas* installed in heavens. We shall refer to them again later in this chapter. *Bhakti-caityas* are those prepared by human beings for devotion and worship. *Sādharmika-caityas* are memorials, portraits, of followers of the same sect. The text cites an instance of the image of one monk *Vārattaka* carrying the mouth-piece (*muhapatti*) and the broom-stick (*rayoharaṇa*), installed by his son who followed the same doctrine.[19]

There is another type of image which is called *Jīvanta-svāmī-pratimā*. The term and the use of such images are known from Śvetāmbara sources only. It means an image of a person installed in his own life-time and was specially used for a life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra. Later on it came to be used for such images of Mahāvīra as showed the iconographic peculiarities of the original Jīvantasvāmī image. Still later, such Jīvantasvāmī images of Tīrthaṅkaras other than Mahāvīra were also installed. The term was also used in the sense of a life-time image (i.e. installed in the life-time of the person whose image or portrait it is). For example, a stone-image of Merucandra sūri in the Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha temple at Cambay, installed in V.S. 1393=1336 A.D., is called a Jīvantasvāmī image of that sūri in the inscription incised on the image (see *Fig. 177*).

Another type of Tīrthaṅkara images is known as images of *Viharamāṇa Jinas*. We shall discuss them later in this chapter.

(A) TĪRTHANKARAS OF THE PRESENT AVASARPIṆĪ AGE (ĀRĀ)

Lives of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of this age (*ārā*, according to the Jaina conception of time) are the subject matter of several works like the Kalpa-sūtra (Śve.), and the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (Dig.). The Samavāyāṅga sūtra, a Jaina canonical Aṅga-text,[20] gives lists of Tīrthaṅkaras of the Bharata and Airavata kṣetras of the Jambūdvīpa.[21] The lists are as under:

Bharata Kṣetra	*Airavata Kṣetra*
1. Ṛṣabha	1. Candrānana
2. Ajita	2. Sucandra
3. Sambhava	3. Agniṣeṇa
4. Abhinandana	4. Nandiṣeṇa
5. Sumati	5. Ṛṣidatta
6. Padmaprabha	6. Vyavahārī
7. Supārśva	7. Somacandra
8. Candraprabha	8. Yuktisena
9. Suvidhi (or Puṣpadanta)	9. Ajitasena
10. Śītala	10. Śivasena
11. Śreyāmsa	11. Buddha
12. Vāsupūjya	12. Devaśarman
13. Vimala	13. Asamjala (?)
14. Ananta	14. Anantaka
15. Dharma	15. Amitapāṇi

16. Śānti	16. Upaśānta
17. Kunthu	17. Guptisena
18. Ara	18. Atipārśva
19. Malli	19. Supārśva
20. Munisuvrata	20. Marudeva
21. Nami	21. Sāmakoṣṭha
22. Nemi	22. Agnisena
23. Pārśva	23. Agnigupta
24. Mahāvīra Varddhamāna	24. Vāriṣeṇa

The Airavata-Kṣetra list of the Samavāyānga sūtra is not clear. The Pravacanasāroddhāra (Śve.), verses 296-303, gives a slightly different list for the Airavata-Kṣetra.

The Kalpa-sūtra tradition of twenty-four Jinas of this age is certainly older than c. 300 A.D. when Agastyasimha sūri commented on it in his Daśā-Cūrṇi. The Caturvimśati-stava or the Logassa-sutta attributed to Bhadrabahu I (170 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa) pays homage to twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. The Nāyādhammakahāo, a canonical text, refers to the life of Mallinātha, the nineteenth Jina. The available text of Nāyādhammakahāo perhaps dates from c. fourth century A.D. Mallinātha is here described as a princess, which is the Śvetāmbara tradition, whereas the Digambaras regard Mallinātha as a male (The Digambara sect believes that females cannot obtain the Kevalajñāna.[22]) The Sthānānga sūtra refers to various Jinas in sūtra 108 and notes their complexions.

The Āvaśyaka-niryukti (gāthās 949-951) refers to a Jaina stūpa of Munisuvrata at a place called Viśālā. Even though the extant text of the Āvaśyaka-niryukti does not seem to be earlier than the second century A.D., the stūpa referred to must be placed in an earlier period.

Belief in the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras is also known to the Bhagavatī-sūtra, śataka 16, uddeśa 5. This sūtra further refers to Munisuvrata in other context, while the Sthānānga refers to Malli, Pārśva and Aristanemi (in sūtras 229, 381). It may therefore be concluded that belief in twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras existed in the beginnings of the Christian Era and probably dates from at least a century or two earlier. All these Jaina canonical *Anga* texts are regarded as works of direct disciples of Mahāvīra, but since the texts of the available editions usually follow the Mathura Council edition of c. early fourth century A.D., it is difficult to say how much older is the belief in twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. The Kalpa-sūtra describes in detail lives of only the first (Ṛṣabha), the twenty-second (Nemi), the twenty-third (Pārśva) and the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara (Mahāvīra). Details regarding lives of the remaining Jinas given in Kalpa-sūtra are scanty and in stereotyped formula form. Further investigation into the problem is necessary.

During the Kuṣāṇa period, at Mathura, sculptures of the different Tīrthankaras showed no cognizances (*lāñchanas*, recognising symbols), excepting Ṛṣabhanātha who showed locks of hair on back and shoulders, and Pārśvanātha who had a canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead, all other Jina images could be identified only with the help of their names mentioned in the votive inscriptions on their pedestals.

During the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura we find evidence of worship of at least a few of the list of the 24 Tīrthankaras, namely, Ṛṣabhanātha, Sambhavanātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[23] The famous pedestal of an image once supposed to be of *Arhat Nandyāvarta* and dated in the year 299 (year 199 according to Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw) is now identified as an image of *Munisuvrata* (the twentieth Jina) by K.D. Bajpai who has corrected the older reading of the inscription on the pedestal.[24] Smith published an image from Kankali Tila, Mathura, which, according to the inscription on it, is of Sambhavanātha, the third Jina, installed in the year 9. Image no. J.19 in the Lucknow Museum is of Sambhavanātha according to the inscription on it. Fig. no. J.8 in the same museum has an inscription which calls it an image of Ariṣṭanemi. Some more images of Ariṣṭanemi, partly mutilated, also from Mathura, have been identified. Often one finds in sculptures of Ariṣṭanemi a figure of Kṛṣṇa standing on one side and of Balarāma standing on the other side of the central figure of Neminātha.

Thus the list of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras was either already evolved or was in the process of being evolved in the age of the Mathura sculptures in the first three centuries of the Christian Era.

As noted above, lives of only four Jinas—Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra—are described in detail in the Kalpa-sūtra. These probably formed the theme of the original text. A glance at the stock treatment, the summary treatment of the lives of the remaining Tīrthaṅkaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest their later addition in the Kalpa-sūtra. The absence of images of about eighteen Tīrthaṅkaras at the Kankali Tila, Mathura, cannot be advanced as an argument in favour of later introduction of these names in the list of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras as it is a negative evidence but it would suggest that at least these eighteen Jinas were perhaps less popular in Jaina image-worship of the Kuṣāṇa period, at Mathura. They could have been relatively later additions in the list. One can say with confidence that at least before the time of the Mathura Council (*Māthurī Vācanā*) in the early part of the fourth century A.D., belief in the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras was firmly established.[25]

Images of different Tīrthaṅkaras are generally identified with the help of *lāñchanas* or cognizances usually carved below their seats, on top of the siṁhāsana and sometimes on the lower end of the pedestal. Both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects give lists of such recognising symbols. However they are not obtained in any early texts. None of the Āgamas (canonical texts), not even the Kalpa-sūtra which gives lives of the twenty-four Jinas, nor even the *Niryuktis*, nor the *Bhāṣyas* and the *Cūrṇis* give a list of these cognizances. Only the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* at one place refers to the fact that Ṛṣabha was so called because he had the sign of a *ṛṣabha* (bull) on his *urus* (thighs).[26] But it gives no *lāñchanas* of other Jinas. And this *Niryukti*, as available today, is not regarded earlier than the second or third century A.D. The *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, assigned to c. fifth century A.D., which gives lives of several Tīrthaṅkaras (namely, Ṛṣabha, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara and others), makes no mention of their cognizances or their attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs. Amongst the Digambaras, earlier works like the *Varāṅgacarita* of Jaṭāsiṁhanandi (c. sixth cent. A.D.), or the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Jinasena (c. 750-840 A.D.) and his pupil Guṇabhadra (c. 830 A.D.) respectively, or the *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa (676 A.D.), or the *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena (783 A.D) do not give lists of *lāñchanas*. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* does give a list, but the text, as it is available today, seems to have later interpolations as is evident from the fact that it refers to Bālacandra Saiddhāntika at one place. Hence the evidence of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti is to be treated with caution, even though A.N. Upadhye, the editor of the text, assigned the present text to c. sixth century A.D.

Cognizances are not mentioned in the ancient lists of *atiśayas* (supernatural elements and beings) attending upon and accompanying a Tīrthaṅkara. The canonical list of thirty-four *atiśayas* (mainly supernatural qualities) of a Jina includes some which are later separately described as *aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas*, i.e., eight chief accompanying attendants, including the *Aśoka* tree, the *deva-dundubhi* (celestial drum), the heavens scattering flowers (symbolised in art by flying garland-bearers), the triple-umbrella, the fly-whisks, the (lion-)seat, the *divya-dhvani* (supernatural or celestial voice or music) and the *bhā-maṇḍala*, radiating lustre or aura behind the head.[27] The earliest known text describing the *atiśayas* of a Jina is the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra, sū. 34. The Vasudevahiṇḍi (pp. 343f), the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (4.896ff; 4.915-927), Adhidhāna Cintāmaṇi (1.57-64) and several other Jaina works describe these. There are a few variations in the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara lists, which are of minor importance. But especially noteworthy is the fact that the group of eight *Prātihāryas* so familiar in the evolved iconography of Tīrthankara images of both the sects is not separated in the Samavāyāṅga list. The emphasis on eight *atiśayas* (out of the list of 34 *atiśayas*) as *Mahā-Prātihāryas* came with the emergence of the full-fledged *parikara* of Tīrthaṅkara images of both the sects. Those *atiśayas* which came to be utilised in representations were grouped together as *Mahā-Prātihāryas*. But the evolution was gradual as is evident from the sculptures obtained from Mathurā, Vārāṇasī, Rājgir, etc. of the Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta periods.[28]

Tīrthaṅkaras of this Age—Complexions and Cognizances

No.	*Tīrthaṅkara*	*Complexion*[1]	*Cognizance*[2]
1.	Ṛṣabha	Golden	Bull
2.	Ajita	Golden	Elephant
3.	Sambhava	Golden	Horse
4.	Abhinandana	Golden	Monkey
5.	Sumati	Golden	Krauñca (Śve.) Koka (Dig.)
6.	Padmaprabha	Red	Lotus
7.	Supārśva	Golden (Śve.) *Harita* (Dig.) Greenish	*Svastika* (Śve.) *Nandyāvarta* (Dig. TP)[3]
8.	Candraprabha	White	Crescent Moon
9.	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhi)	White	Crocodile (Śve.) Crab (Dig.)
10.	Śītala	Golden	*Śrīvatsa* (Śve.) *Svastika* (Dig. TP)[4]
11.	Śreyāṃsa	Golden	*Khaḍgi* (Śve.) *Gaṇḍa* (Dig.)
12.	Vāsupūjya	Red	Buffalo
13.	Vimala	Golden	Boar
14.	Ananta	Golden	*Śyena*, falcon (Śve.) *Sahi* (TP) Bear (Dig.)[5]
15.	Dharma	Golden	*Vajra*
16.	Śānti	Golden	Deer
17.	Kunthu	Golden	Goat
18.	Ara	Golden	*Nandyāvarta* (Śve.) *Tagara kusuma* (TP)[6] Fish (other Dig.)
19.	Malli	Dark blue Nila	Water-jar
20.	Munisuvrata	Black (Śve.) *Nīla* (Dig.)	Tortoise
21.	Nami	Golden	Blue-lotus
22.	Nemi	Black (Śve.) *Nīla* (Dig.)	Conch
23.	Pārsva	*Nīla* (Śve.) *Harita* (Dig.)	Snake
24.	Mahāvīra	Golden	Lion

1. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, I.49 and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (TP), 4.588-89, p. 217.
2. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, I 47-48 and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (TP), 4.604-05, p. 209.
3. *Svastika* according to *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 9, v. 78.
4. *Śrīdruma* according to *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 9, v. 78.
5. *Sedhikā* according to *ibid.*, p. 9, v. 78.
6. *Tagaram* according to *ibid.*, p. 9, v. 79.

Under such circumstances it is necessary to compare the lists of *lāñchanas* given by the two sects. The list, given here, will show that the points of difference are with regard to the cognizance of the fourteenth Jina Anantanātha whose *lāñchana* is the falcon according to Hemacandra, but the bear according to the Digambaras, regarding that of the tenth Jina Śītalanātha whose *lāñchana* is *śrī-vatsa* according to Hemacandra but *svastika* (Tiloyapaṇṇatti) or the *śrīdruma* (Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra) according to the Digambaras, and regarding the cognizance of Aranātha the eighteenth Jina whose cognizance is the fish according to the Digambara tradition[29] and the *nandyāvarta* according to the Śvetāmbara sect. Amongst the Digambara writers there are a few differences—the Tiloyapaṇṇatti gives *nandyāvarta* for the seventh Jina while the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* gives the *svastika* (thus agreeing with the Śve. tradition of Hemacandra); according to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, the tenth Jina has the *svastika lāñchana*, but it is *śrīdruma* according to the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra.

Since the earliest available literary source for *lāñchanas* in any of the two Jaina sects is later than their origin and since there are a few differences in their lists, we must also seek archaeological evidence to arrive at a correct solution regarding the age of origin of the cognizances. So far as the analysis of the literary evidence is concerned, this age must be at least contemporaneous with *the age of final separation of the two sects regarding image worship*, which age, as we have shown elsewhere,[30] is about the latter half of the fifth century A.D., somewhere near the age of the second Valabhi Council, for otherwise the general concordance between lists of the two sects cannot be satisfactorily explained. This would be the age of finalization of the two different lists and their appearance on pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara-images, but not necessarily the date of the *origin of the conception of the lāñchana*. In art they begin to appear by the fifth century A.D. but is that the age of the origin of the *conception* of the cognizance?

The earliest sculpture, known hitherto, showing a cognizance on the pedestal is the sculpture of Neminātha from Rajgir, first published by Ramaprasad Chanda.[30a] The head is separated and badly defaced, but the rest of the sculpture is well-preserved (*Fig. 26*). The pedestal shows, in the centre, a young person standing in front of an oblong *cakra* both beautifully carved, in the unmistakable style of the Gupta age. This is the *Cakrapurusa*, a typical Gupta period conception in art. The *dharmacakra* in the centre of the pedestal is here personified. On each side of the *dharmacakra* is a conch which is the cognizance of Neminātha according to both the sects. A partly preserved line of an inscription on the edge of the pedestal, as read by Chanda, refers to Candragupta, whom he has identified with Chandragupta II on the evidence of the script of the inscription.

Cognizances of Tīrthaṅkaras are not found on sculptures of the Kuṣāna period, but they do appear on sculptures of the Gupta period at Rajgir, Sira Pahari, Varanasi, etc. However, their postion on the pedestal, or in the parikara of a Jina was not finally fixed.

A post-Gupta sculpture on the Vaibhāra hill, Rajgir, dating from c. seventh-eighth century A.D., representing Ādinātha, shows, on the pedestal, the *dharmacakra* flanked by a bull on either side (vide *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, ed. by A. Ghosh, pl. 90). The bull is the cognizance of Ādinātha who is here further recognised by the hair-locks falling on his shoulders. Later we find two deer flanking the two sides of the *dharmacakra* while the cognizance is either above the *dharmacakra* or below it, on the pedestal. This practice of showing the dharmacakra flanked by two deer on pedestals of all Tīrthaṅkara images was in imitation of Buddha images.

Two sculptures from Sira Pahari near Nachna Kuthara in Central India, one of standing Ṛṣabhanātha and the other of sitting Mahāvīra, published as plates 63 and 62 respectively in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, show the cognizance on each of the two ends of the pedestal while the *dharmacakra* is in the centre as usual. The two sculptures seem to represent a stage of transition from the Kuṣāṇa to the Gupta art and seem to date from c. fourth century A.D. Fig. 61 in the same book, from Vidiśā, of an unidentified Tīrthaṅkara, and having no cognizance, also dates from the fourth century A.D. (also see *Fig. 27 in this book*). On a bronze image of Ṛṣabhanātha from the Vasantagadh hoard, now in worship in a Jaina temple in Pindawada, we find the bull cognizance on each end of the pedestal while the *dharmacakra* is in the centre (*Fig. 34*).

Amongst the Rajgir sculptures a very curious specimen is discovered. Here whereas the Tīrthaṅkara sitting in the *padmāsana* has seven snake-hoods overhead—and hence he must be Pārśvanātha, or at the most Supārśvanātha, since no other Tīrthaṅkara has snake-hoods overhead—the *lāñchana* on each side of the *dharmacakra* is a conch which is the cognizance of Neminātha. Either there was a mistake of the sculptor or the cognizances were not yet finalised. *Fig. 24* illustrated here again is from Rajgir and represents Pārśvanātha in *padmāsana*, with seven snake-hoods overhead. On two sides of the Jina are miniature figures of the eight planets, four on each side, below the celestial *mālā-dharas*, above them are the drums. Below the planets on each side is an attendant flywhisk-bearer. The Jina sits on a *viśva-padma*, a double-lotus, placed on a pedestal The right side of the pedestal is much defaced so also the central portion which probably had the *dharmacakra*. To the left is an elephant facing what possibly was the *dharmacakra* If this was the cognizance then again we have another proof that in art either the sculptor made a mistake or that in their early stage the cognizances were not universally fixed. This sculpture is an example of Pala art of about the eighth century A.D.

Even though images of not even one of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras are described in the Jaina canonical *Aṅga* works, we are able to obtain some conception of the Jina-image from the stock description of the *Śāśvata-Jina pratimās* in the *Śāśvata-Caityas* also called the *Siddhāyatanas*. Jaina traditions of both the sects refer to the *Siddhāyatanas*, discussed in Chapter One. These *Siddhāyatanas* contain images of the *Śāśvata Jinas*, four in number, namely, *Candrānana, Vāriṣeṇa, Ṛṣabha* and *Varddhamāna*.[31] They are called *Śāśvata Jinas* because in every *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī* age names of these four are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen karmabhūmis. A long description of *Siddhāyatanas* and *Śāśvata Jinas* is found in the *Upāṅga* text called the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra.[32] These eternal shrines are found in various heavens and on mountain peaks. The *Nandīśvara dvīpa*, for example, is reported to have fifty-two *Siddhāyatanas* in all (*Fig. 179*).

These descriptions again make no reference to the *lāñchanas* of the various Tīrthaṅkaras. Varāhamihira who described the Jina image did not refer to the cognizance. There was enough scope for introducing the *lāñchanas* in the Samavāyāṅga-sūtra, the Kalpa-sūtra and the Sthānāṅga-sūtra in the age of the *vācanā* (edition of the canon) under Ārya Skandila in the Mathura Council of c. 300-315 A.D. or even in the Valabhi *vācanā* of c. 453 A.D., but we do not find any mention of them. But still we find the *lāñchanas* being introduced from late fourth or early fifth century A.D. as at Sira Pahari, Rajgir etc. But their position on the pedestal of a Jina image was not fixed nor was the cognizance universally popular in art. What was the basis or the source from which the list of *lāñchanas* was prepared?

In the State Museum, Lucknow, there is a small square pillar, Mu. No. J 268, with low relief carvings on two sides only. It hails from the Kankali Tila, Mathura. A relief on one side shows a male and a female circumambulating a pillar sumounted by a lion. The style of carvings (*Fig. 164*) suggests an age c. second or first century B.C. Circumambulation of the pillar in this relief shows that this lion-pillar was regarded as a sacred object. We are here reminded of the *garuḍa-dhvaja* set up by Heliodorus at Vidiśā in front of a Viṣṇu-temple. We also know of *tāla-dhvaja* capital (which must have been set up in front of a shrine of Balarāma) and a Banyan-tree capital probably from a pillar in front of a shrine of Kubera; a *makara-dhvaja* capital probably came from a pillar in front of a shrine of Kāmadeva or Pradyumna, one of the Vṛṣṇi Vīras, of Pāñcarātra worship.

This *Simha-dhvaja* (lion-pillar) held sacred by the Jainas of Mathura is a miniature representation in relief of a bigger *Simha-dhvaja* which might have been erected in front of a shrine dedicated to Varddhamāna Mahāvīra, since the lion is known to have been the cognizance (*lāñchana*) of Mahāvīra. Ācārya Hemacandra while listing the *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four Jinas in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi kośa calls them *Arhatām dhvajāḥ* (the dhvajas or heralds of the Arhats, the signs on the banners of the Tīrthankaras).[33] This is also the view of the Digambara writer Paṇḍit Āśādhara that *the herald of the Ksatriya family of each Jina became his lāñchana*.[34] We know from an Ahicchatra terracotta plaque, published by V.S. Agrawala, showing two Mahābhārata heroes fighting, that they had two different emblems (boar and the crescent) on their banners (*dhvajas*).[35] According to Jaina traditions, all the Tīrthaṅkaras were born in Kṣatriya families. So, the emblems or crests on their banners were regarded as their cognizances

which begin to appear from c. fourth or fifth century onwards on pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara images in order to facilitate their identification. This became necessary because all sculptures of various Tīranthaṅkaras, whether standing or sitting, are of a set form and are not portrait sculptures or copies of old portraits. In the Kuṣāṇa period the cognizances were not carved on images of the Tīrthaṅkaras and they could be recognised only when their names were mentioned in the votive inscriptions on their pedestals. It was therefore concluded that *lāñchanas* were not known in the Kuṣāṇa period and were introduced afterwards. But now that we have a *siṁha-dhvaja* as an object of veneration amongst the Jainas at Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period, it is reasonable to conclude that in the Kuṣāṇa age, and in at least c. first or second century B.C., there existed *dhvaja-emblems* on different *dhvaja-stambhas* for shrines of different Tīrthaṅkaras.

On the *Āyāgapaṭa* illustrated in *Fig. 11*, dedicated by Sīhanādika, discovered from Kankali Tila, Mathura (now no. J.249, State Museum, Lucknow), we find the Jina seated in the centre, and on the two sides, towards the ends of the paṭa, two pillars, one surmounted by the *dharmacakra* and the other by an *elephant*. Elephant is the *dhvaja* or crest or emblem of Ajitanātha, the second Tīrthaṅkara. Hence the Jina in the centre is Ajitanātha. On the *Āyāgapaṭa* set up by Acalā, illustrated here in *Fig. 10* (no. J.252, State Museum, Lucknow), we find one pillar surmouted by the *dharmacakra* and the other by a *lion*. The Jina in the centre of this *Āyāgapaṭa* must, therefore, be identified as Mahāvīra, whose *dhvaja-emblem* is the lion. Such *dhvaja-crests* later came to be recognised as cognizances or the *lāñchanas*, on images of the respective Tīrthaṅkaras.

Tīrthankaras are said to be of different complexions. According to the Śve. tradition represented by Hemacandra in his Abhidāna-Cintāmaṇi kośa (I.49), Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are red in complexion, Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white, Munisuvrata and Neminātha are black, Mallinātha and Pārśva are of *nīla* complexion (indigo colour), while the rest, namely, Ṛṣabha, Ajita, Sambhava, Abhinandana, Sumati, Supārśva, Śītala, Śreyāmsa, Vimala, Ananta, Dharma, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara, and Varddhamāna Mahāvīra are golden in complexion. According to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (4.588-89) representing the Digambara tradition, Supārśva and Pārśva are of *harita-varṇa* (greenish complexion) while Munisuvrata and Nemi are of *nīla-varṇa* (indigo colour, dark-blue in complexion), Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta are white and Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya are red as in the Śve. tradition while all the remaining Tīrthankaras are of golden complexion. Āśādhara practically agrees with the Tiloyapaṇṇatti. Vasunandi in his Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra (in mss.) says that Munisuvrata and Nemi have complexions like the *marakata gem* (emerald, i.e , greenish complexion) while the other Digambara texts mentioned above say that they are of *nīla varṇa*. The complexions and the *lāñchanas* help us to identify the various Jinas in images or paintings.

Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādinātha, the first Lord, the first Tīrthankara) is further identified on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders. At the time of *dīkṣā*, i.e., while renouncing the world and becoming a Jaina monk, every Tīrthankara plucks out all the hair on his head in five fist-fulls (*pañca-muṣṭi-loca*) and Indra, who comes to celebrate the *dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka*, collects them in the hollow of palms of his hands. Ṛṣabhadeva's hair were very beautiful and when Ṛṣabha became a monk and pluked out most of the hair in four fist-fulls, Indra specially requested the Lord to allow the back-hair, falling on the shoulders, to remain as they looked very charming.[86] All the other Tīrthankaras are reported to have removed all the hair on their heads. Raviṣeṇa in his Padmacarita[87] praises the *jaṭā* on the head of Ṛṣabha. In art, one finds big *jaṭā* on the head of Ṛṣabha (see *Figs. 25, 32, 57*). Ṛṣabha thus obtains close comparison with the form of Śiva, who is known to wear *jaṭā* on his head. Śiva's association with his bull *vāhana* is well-known in both art and literature. In Jaina iconography we find that the attendant yakṣa of Ṛṣabhanātha is a cow or bull-faced yakṣa called *Go-mukha* yakṣa. Again the bull or *Nandi* is the cognizance of first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. Śiva is well-known as *Nandikeśvara*.

Every Tīrthaṅkara obtained *Kevalajñāna* (Supreme Knowledge) while meditating under a tree. Such a tree, called *Caitya-vṛkṣa*, being associated with the Kevalajñāna of each Tīrthaṅkara, is specified in the texts of both the Jaina sects, and in representation, each Tīrthaṅkara is shown sitting under a *Caitya-vṛkṣa*. In iconography, one would, therefore, expect each Tīrthaṅkara sitting under the particular tree associated

with his Kevalajñāna. But it seems that, when the *aṣṭa-mahāprātihāryas* common to all Tīrthaṅkaras were fixed, it was the *Aśoka-tree* which came to be represented as the *Caitya-vṛkṣa* over the heads of all the Jinas, so far as image worship is concerned. We must confess, however, that we have not tried to verify in cases of several old Tīrthaṅkara sculptures from north and south whether specific *Caitya-vṛkṣas* were ever carved associated with different Jinas.

Tree-worship, popular in ancient times, noticed in the Vedas, found to have existed in the Chalcolithic period (as can be seen from representations on some of the Indus-Valley seals), formed an important part of the religious beliefs and practices of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahāvīra were mainly concerned in their opposition to the Vedic priestly class and its rituals involving animal-slaughter. The spirits dwelling in the trees were Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Bhūtas etc.,[38] easily approachable without undertaking complex sacrificial rituals. It is the *Caityas*, with *udyānas* (parks and forest-groves) having *Caitya-vṛkṣas* in them, that Mahāvīra is generally reported to have visited and stayed in during his wanderings. People used to sit in meditation under such trees and in such moments Buddha and Mahāvīra are said to have obtained enlightenment.[39]

Since the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist worship, the Bodhi-Tree attained greater importance in Buddhist art, while the Jainas were more or less satisfied with recording of the *Caitya*-trees of different Tīrthankaras and giving them only a secondary importance in art. Possibly on account of its age-long existence as an object of worship (not only in India but even amongst other countries and cultures—cf., for example, the tradition of the Christmas Tree), the *Caitya-vṛkṣa* was introduced in relief sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras, sometimes by showing well spread full foliage and at other times by showing a couple of twigs or branches with a few leaves. Also perhaps because of the intimate association of Yakṣas etc. with trees and because the followers of Mahāvīra were mainly from his audience of masses worshipping the *Yakṣa-Caityas* or *Yakṣa-āyatanas*, *Caitya-vṛkṣas* were introduced in sculptures of the *Devādhideva-Tīrthaṅkara*. But the Jainas and the Buddhists gave a new meaning to the Tree-Worship. Trees were worshipped, not because they were haunted by spirits, but specially because their patriarchs obtained enlightenment under shades of such trees.

That the *Caitya*-tree was given importance due to the ancient and primitive Tree-Cult of the masses is proved by the fact that even now, in the villages and towns of India, trees like the *Aśvattha* tree or the *Vaṭa* tree are held very sacred and worshipped. Often, as of old, there is a wide big platform constructed around it which is used by villagers as a meeting place. Also, in both north and south of India one finds small idols or figures of horses etc. placed under such trees near the trunks. As already noted, in some relief sculptures of Tīrthankaras, *Caitya*-trees under which they sit are prominently depicted. Compare, for example, the beautiful rock-cut relief of a Jina sitting under a big *Caitya-vṛkṣa*, at Kalugumalai, illustrated by this writer in his *Studies in Jaina Art*, figure 72; figure 73 (in the same book) is another similar example, from Patan, North Gujarat, of a big *Caitya*-tree, while figure 75 is another such evidence from Surat.

With the introduction of the *lāñchanas* on pedestals of sculptures of different Jinas the *Caitya-vṛkṣas* have lost much of their value in identifying images of different Tīrthaṅkaras. A list of *Caitya*-trees of the 24 Tīrthankaras of this *avasarpiṇī ārā* in the Bharata Ksetra is given below.

The *parikara* or the paraphernalia of a Jina or the group of attendant figures on a Jina image was evolved gradually No J.60 in the Lucknow Museum, originally from Kankali Tila, Mathura, shows on each side of the Jina an attendant with folded hands and not a flywhisk-bearer (*cāmaradhara*) yakṣa. No. J.7, Lucknow Museum, representing a standing Jina from Kankali Tila, Mathura, and dating from the Kuṣāna period, has a big tree carved on the back and, on four sides below, near the legs, we find figures of a monk, a nun, a male worshipper (*śrāvaka*) and a female worshipper (*śrāvikā*) with a child. No. 161 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, representing Mahāvīra, from Varanasi, is a beautiful Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, which again does not show the triple umbrella, or the heavenly music, the *devadundubhi*, etc. Such examples demonstrate the gradual introduction of the various members of the *parikara* on a Jina image. Perhaps the *parikara* with *aṣṭamahāprātihāryas* was evolved in about sixth century A.D., as is suggested by a beautiful sculpture of Pārśvanātha from Gyaraspur in Madhya Pradesh, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[40]

Caitya-Vṛkṣas of 24 Jinas of this Age

No.	Tīrthaṅkara	Śvetāmbara	Digambara*
1.	Ṛṣabhanātha	Nyagrodha	Same as in Śve.
2.	Ajitanātha	Saptaparṇa	Same or Śāla
3.	Sambhavanātha	Sāla (Shorea Robusta)	Same or Prayāla
4.	Abhinandana	Piyaka or Priyaka	Sarala or Priyaṅgu
5.	Sumatinātha	Priyaṅgu (Panicum italicum)	Same or Śāla
6.	Padmaprabha	Caturābha (Anethum sowa)	Priyaṅgu or Chatrā
7.	Supārśvanātha	Śirīṣa (Acacia sirisha)	Same as in Śve.
8.	Candraprabha	Nāga	Same as in Śve.
9.	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhi)	Māli	Akṣa or Śāli
10.	Śītalanātha	Pilaṅkhu	Dhūli or Priyaṅgu
11.	Śreyāṃsanātha	Tinduga	Palāśa or Tanḍuka
12.	Vāsupūjya	Pāṭala (Bignonia Suaveolens)	Tenduva or Pāṭala
13.	Vimalanātha	Jambū (Eugenia jambolana)	Pātala or Jambū
14.	Anantanātha	Aśvattha	Same or Aśoka
15.	Dharmanātha	Dadhiparṇa (Cletoria ternatia)	Same as in Śve.
16.	Śāntinātha	Nandi (Cedrela toona)	Same ,,
17.	Kunthunātha	Tilaka	Same ,,
18.	Aranātha	Āmra	Same ,,
19.	Mallinātha	Aśoka	Same ,,
20.	Munisuvrata	Campaka (Michelia Campaka)	Same ,,
21.	Naminātha	Bakula (Mimusops elengi)	Same ,,
22.	Neminātha	Vetasa	Meṣaśṛnga or Vetasa
23.	Pārśvanātha	Dhātakī (Grislea tomentosa)	Dhava or Dhātakī
24.	Mahāvira	Sāla	Same as in Śve.

*The alternative names in Digambara list are from *Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and Its Temples*, pp. 195-196.

Several experiments were made in the evolution of the *parīkara* from about the late Gupta period. In the post-Gupta age, especially in Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar, Orissa), when belief in astrology and planetary influence might have been very popular, an attempt was made to represent the eight planets on two sides of the Tīrthaṅkara, as we find in *Figs. 24* and *25*, even though planets have no place amongst the *aṣṭa-mahāprātihāryas* or amongst the *atiśayas.*

The Samavāyāṅga sūtra, referred to before, giving a list of the various *atiśayas*, includes seven of the eight *mahāprātihāryas* (except devadundubhi the eighth), but does not separately specify them

The Āvaśyaka Niryukti[41] says that, in the Samavasaraṇa of a Jina, the Vānamantara gods create (1) the *caitya*-tree, (2) the *siṃhāsana* with *pīṭha* (pedestal), (3) the *chatra-traya* (triple umbrella), (4) the *cāmaradharas* (flywhisk-bearers), and (5) other necessary things. The last item, as explained by Haribhadra sūri in his comm., is the *dharmacakra* resting on a lotus. It should be remembered that while the Āvaśyaka Niryukti gives only five, later traditions describe all the eight *mahāprātihāryas* as originating in the Samavasaraṇa.

Paumacariyam (c. 473 A.D.),[42] describing the various *atiśayas* created by gods when Mahāvīra obtained Kevalajñāna, says that lotuses were placed before the Jina to place his footsteps on. Mahāvīra

used the Ardhamagadhi speech, a *simhāsana* was created for him, heavenly drums (*devadundubhi*) were beaten, and celestial flowers were scattered over him, a beautiful sound arose (*divyadhvani*) for a yojana on all sides. The text further says that Mahāvīra was attended upon by eight *prātihāryas*. While describing the Samavasarana of Ṛṣabha, the same text specifies, amongst other *atiśayas*, the triple-umbrella, the nimbus, the *kalpa* (*aśoka*) tree, the heavenly drum, the shower of flowers.

The Āvaśyaka cūrṇi of Jinadāsa (676 A.D.),[43] describing the Samavasarana of Mahāvīra, refers to the following only: Aśoka-tree, triple-umbrella, *cāmaradharas*, *simhāsana* with *pīṭha*, and *dharmacakra* placed on the lotus. Mahāvīra faces the east while on the three sides gods install his likenesses. This fact is referred to by the Avaśyka Niryukti as well.

The Harivamśa-purāṇa of Jinasena (783 A.D.)[44] refers to 8 *prātihāryas* and 34 *atiśayas*. According to this Digambara text, the eight celestial accompaniments (*prātihāryas—lit.* gate-keepers, here attendants) of Neminātha are: *sura-puṣpa-vṛṣṭi*, *divya-dundubhi*, *Aśoka-vṛkṣa*, *chatra-traya*, *cāmaradharāṇām samūhaḥ* (host of flywhisk-bearers), *bhāmaṇḍala*, *simhāsana* and *bhāṣā* (speech) of the Jina understandable to all creatures.

The Ādipurāṇa[45] refers to these eight *prātihāryas* in the Samavasarana of Ṛṣabha, the last one is called *divya-dhvani*. Both the Harivamśa and the Ādipurāna differ from the Tiloyapaṇṇatti list in only one point, that is, the last one—*divya-dhvani*. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti says that Gaṇas (ganadharas or the different followers of ganadharas) attend upon the Jina with folded hands, and omits the *divya-dhvani*.[46] These early Digambara traditions omit the *dharmacakra* in the list of the eight *prātihāryas* though of course it is not omitted in the description of the congregation (samavasaraṇa) of the Jina or in the separate list of 34 *atiśayas* as shown above.

The Vasudevahindi[47] (c. fifth century A.D.) while describing the Samavasarana of Śāntinātha, includes all these elements and adds that a *dharmacakra* was placed near the feet of the Jina. The *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo) is however not mentioned while the *divya-dhvani* seems to have been understood when the author says that the Gandharvas began singing and the Bhūtas issued a cry (of victory) resembling *simhanāda* (lion's roar). These have not been specified as *aṣṭa-mahāprātihāryas*.

It is thus obvious that the conception of the eight *mahā-prātihāryas* took its final form at the end of the Gupta period, probably in the post-Gupta age. Though earliest lists of *atiśayas* included almost all these elements, they were not classified as such upto c. fifth century A.D. According to the Samavāyānga sūtra list, the *dharmacakra* moved in the sky in front of the Jina. This early tradition is followed by Hemacandra in his list of *atiśayas*. In representations, the Wheel of Law is always placed in the centre of the *simhāsana* or the pedestal It is not included in the stock list of the *aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas*.[48]

The Ācāra-Dinakara[49] describes the *parikara* (lit. paraphernalia, attendant elements) of a Jina image as follows.

Below the figure of a Jina is the *simhāsana*, with figures of elephants and lions; on two sides of the Jina (in the centre, sitting in *padmāsana* or standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture) are two chowrie-bearers (*cāmaradharas*) and two attendants with folded hands (*añjali-kara*). Over the head of the Jina are, in order, the triple-umbrella having on two sides two elephants carrying golden pitchers in trunks and surmounted by beaters of *Zarzara*, a kind of cymbals (evidently representing the *sura-dundubhi* ?); over these are the garland-bearers (*sura-puṣpa-vṛṣṭi*), over them the conch-blowers (representing *divya-dhvani* ?) and on top of the whole sculpture, the *kalaśa* (water-pot) finial.

The *bhāmaṇḍala*, though not mentioned here in the *parikara* of a Jina, was presumed by the author since the practice of representing a halo behind the head of a deity is both ancient and common to all sects in India, and since it is found behind Tirthankaras from ancient times The two attendants with folded hands (*añjalikaras*) remind one of the Tiloyapannati tradition of *aṣṭaprātihāryas* which included *ganas* with folded hands. Some Tirthankara images from Mathura, dating from the Kuṣāṇa age, have shown Nāga figures standing with folded hands on two sides of the Jina. And in the case of the standing Jina-image, no J 7 in the Lucknow Museum, one each of the four members of the Jaina samgha (*śrāvaka*, *śrāvikā*, *sādhu*, *sādhvī*) stands near the legs with folded hands on each end of the pedestal.[50]

The Ācāra-Dinakara further adds that, according to another tradition, the *dharma-caka*, flanked by two deer, and the planets on its two sides, was to be carved in the centre of the *simhāsana*. This would

also suggest that the *dharma-cakra* etc. were sometimes carved either on top of the *simhāsana* or at base (i.e., on the *pīṭha* on which the lion-throne is placed). In the Kuṣāṇa period, the *dharma-cakra* was placed in the centre of the lion-throne and on two sides were shown the monks, nuns, śrāvakas and śrāvikās constituting the *tirtha* or the four-fold Jaina Samgha.

No early texts refer to the deer on each side of the Wheel. It may therefore be safely concluded that the motif of the two deer flanking the sides of the *dharma-cakra* on pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara images is a later innovation in Jaina iconography. Archaeological evidence from all over India has shown that this deer-motif in Jainism was started somewhere near the beginning of the mediaeval period, probably towards the end of the transitional post-Gupta age in Indian art-history. This motif is in imitation of the Buddhist one symbolising Buddha's first sermon in the Deer-park. Its presence in Jaina iconography cannot be explained.

Figure 27 installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, dating from fourth century A.D., shows the Wheel in the centre of the *simhāsana* but no lāñchanas nor the deer-motif are shown. *Figure 26* from Vaibhara giri, Rajgir, shows the *dharmacakra* with the *cakrapuruṣa* in the centre of the *simhāsana*. The Wheel of Law is flanked by conches, the cognizance (*lāñchana*) of Jina Neminātha. The sculpture dates from the fifth century A.D. *Figure 25* from Musee Guimet, originally perhaps from Orissa, shows the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal, four planets seated on each side of the standing Jina, a halo, the triple-umbrella, two heavenly garland-bearers (*surapuṣpavṛṣṭi*), a pair of hands beating the drum and a pair of hands playing the cymbals (*divyadhvani*), lotus below the feet of the Jina, two attendant standing *cāmaradharas* but no *simhāsana* and no *dharmacakra*. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D.

Figure 49 from the ceiling of a shrine in Kambadahalli, Karnataka, shows Mahāvīra sitting on a *simhāsana* with two lions at two ends and one in the centre. This central lion figure represents the cognizance of Mahāvīra. This relief sculpture shows a fully evolved *parikara* from south Karnataka. The Jina has a halo, a triple-umbrella over his head, and over it the Aśoka tree, and two heavenly beings on each side in the sky. Of the four *cāmaradaras*, two are Nāgas and two others are Yakṣas. To the right of the lion-throne is the two-armed pot-bellied Śāsana-Yakṣa and on the corresponding left is the Śāsana-Yakṣī.

Figure 55 probably from Mathura, illustrated by Smith in his book on the Jaina Stūpa, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, dates from c. eighth century A.D. It is an interesting specimen as the *simhāsana* shows the *dharmacakra* in the centre with a devotee on each side of the Wheel, also there is the bull cognizance on the right side of the Wheel while on the left is a figure of a deer. The deer is in imitation of the Buddhist motif while the bull would suggest that the Jina sitting on the throne represented Ṛṣabhanātha The head is mutilated and lost. On each side of the Jina is a *cāmaradhara* standing on a lotus. To the right of the Jina is a four-armed Balarāma with snake-hoods overhead and a standing attendant (female ?). To the corresponding left of the Jina is Kṛṣṇa four-armed and a two-armed female attendant. The presence of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa would have suggested that the Jina figure represented Neminātha, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa according to Jaina Purāṇas but the bull cognizance and traces of hair-lock on the shoulder of the Jina show that the Jina is Rsabhanātha. The introduction of Kṛṣna and Balarāma is here due to the influence of Vaiṣṇavism.

Equally interesting is no. J.776 in Lucknow Museum, illustrated here as *Fig. 72*, which shows *dharmacakra* in the centre of the lion-throne below which in the centre of the inscribed pedestal is the tortoise (*kūrma*) the cognizance of Munisuvrata. Above the triple-umbrella is a small sitting Jina flanked by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The sculpture shows a very evolved *parikara* and two Jīvantasvāmī figures.

In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh the Planets are shown below the lion-throne, either on top of the pedestal or on the face of the pedestal or on the lower end of the same, see *Figs. 87, 189*; also *Fig. 74* in *Studies in Jaina Art*.

That the *dharmacakra* is an ancient motif or symbol worshipped by the Jainas is supported by archaeological evidence from Kankali Tila, Mathura, etc. and by the Āvaśyaka Niryukti[51] tradition that Bahubali established, at Takṣaśilā, the *dharmacakra*, on the spot where Ṛṣabhanātha had stayed for one night.

Images of Tīrthaṅkaras are worshipped in only two principal varieties, namely, standing or sitting.[52]

Both these varieties show the Tīrthaṅkara either with *parikara* or without it. The Ceiyavandaṇa-Mahābhāsa of Śānti sūri tried to account for the *parikara*. The Jinas were liberated souls, where was the propriety for a *parivāra* (paraphernalia) accompanying them? According to some, this form of the image, showing the *parivāra*, represented the form of a Jina giving his Sermon (sitting on the *siṁhāsana* in the dhyāna mudrā) in a *samavasarana* According to the author of the Ceiyavandaṇa-Mahābhāsa[53] this was the popular explantation (*vyavahāra*) but the real significance (*paramārtha*) was that the three stages (*avasthā-traya*) in a Jina's life, namely, *Chadmastha*, *Kevalī* and *Siddha avasthās* were suggested by such a representation. The explanation is not convincing but an explanation became necessary firstly because a liberated soul, a *siddha* or *mukta*, needed no attendants and secondly because the *parikara* was being shown around standing figures as well. It seems that originally the introduction of *parikara* was based on the conception of the *atiśayas* rather than on anything else.

The Vāstusāra of Thakkara Feru, composed in V.S. 1372 (1316 A.D.), describes the *parikara* of a Jina image.[54] According to it, the *siṁhāsana* has a yakṣi and a yakṣa on its two extreme ends while between the two are two lions, two elephants and two chowrie-bearers,[55] one on each side, and in the centre of the seat is the goddess Cakreśvari, riding on the eagle. Below her figure is the *dharmacakra* with a deer on each side. The *lāñchana* of the Jina is carved in the centre of the *gādī* (Gujarati, cushion) placed upon the *siṁhāsana*. The back-slab in front of which the Jina-figure is placed shows (in high relief) chowrie-bearers and other standing Jina figures on both the sides. Over the standing Jinas are two (smaller figures of) Jinas in the sitting posture, above which is a *toraṇa* motif. The Jina in the centre (the chief deity in such a sculpture) has a triple umbrella overhead, an aureole behind, and on two sides of the *chatra* are two garland-bearers, two conch-bearers, two elephants surmounted by Hariṇegameṣin and the drum-beaters. The *parikara* described by Thakkara Feru is of a *Pañca-Tīrthika* sculpture, that is, a sculpture which represents five Tīrthankaras in all (cf. *Fig 69*). If the two sitting Tīrthankaras are omitted then it would be a *Tri-Tīrthika sculpture*, i.e., a sculpture which has images of three Tīrthankaras (they may be sitting and/ or standing, cf. *Fig. 26*) while a sculpture with 24 images of Jinas will be a *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* (or a *Covīsī* in modern usage). The sculpture would be a *Pañcatīrthī* or *Tri-Tīrthī* or *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabhanātha if the central Jina is Ṛṣabhanātha. In all such groupings usually the *lāñchana* of the main Jina alone is carved on the pedestal.

A noteworthy feature of Thakkara Feru's description is the presence of goddess Cakreśvarī in the centre of the *āsana*.[56] This is a late feature in Jaina iconography. Formerly the place was reserved for the *dharmacakra*. Again, in a majority of sculptures known hitherto, another goddess, four-armed and riding on the elephant, is seen on the lion-thrones of Śvetāmbara sculptures from about twelfth century onwards. The goddess shows the lotus in each of her two upper hands, the rosary and/or the *varada mudrā* in the right lower hand and the water-pot in the left lower. She may be identified as the *Śānti-devī*[57] (see *Fig 168*).

But the practice of adding some such figure started about a couple of centuries earlier, though its position was in the centre of the lowermost edge of the pedestal, see *Fig. 87*. Besides the figure was not the four-armed goddess described above but a two-armed figure,[58] either a pot-bellied male figure with a beard, or a two-armed female figure (see Figure 27 in Paper no. 6, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*). This female figure shows the water-pot in one hand. Perhaps the male figure was intended to be Sarvānubhūti. The figure of four-armed Śānti-devī represents a later stage.

The Nirvāṇakalikā (Śve. c. 11th century A.D.) refers to eight *prātihāryas*, the Yakṣa, the Śāsana-devī (Yakṣī), the motif of *dharmacakra* with two deer and the *ratna-dhvaja* (jewelled banner possibly signifying the Indradhvaja).[59] It omits any reference to the devi noted above and the introduction of this goddess cannot be assigned to a period much earlier than that of the Nirvāṇakalikā.

Vasunandi (c. 12th cent. A.D.), author of the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhā-sārasaṁgraha, describing the *parikara*, refers to the *prātihāryas*, the Yakṣa on the right of the seat and the Yakṣī on the corresponding left. The *lāñchana* is to be placed below the *pāda-pīṭha* (foot-stool or the pedestal ?).[60] Pandit Āśādhara (V.S. 1285 = A.D. 1228) follows the above tradition in his Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra.[61]

Jaina Bhaṇḍāras at Patan and Baroda contain copies of relevant Jaina portions of the Śilpa text

Aparājitapṛcchā, whose printed text has some missing portions. The editors of the Kumārapālacarita of Jayasimha sūri printed as Appendix 3 some portion from this work which is not available in the printed text. This portion is published here as Appendix I at the end of this chapter. Verse 12 from it refers to the goddess in the centre of the *āsana*, lotus in hand and described as the *Ādi-śakti* of Jina Ṛṣabhanātha. She is said to be *sahajā* and *kulajā* possibly because she is the *Gotra-devatā* or the tutelary mother-goddess of the family (*kula*) of Ṛṣabhanātha. The description in this portion shows that the elephant and the lion (on the *simhāsana* or the *gajasimha* motif of the back-seat ?) stand for the eight quarter-elephants. The *dharmacakra*, the nine planets, the Indra and Upendra holding the fly-whisks, the garland-bearers, the *Bharatendras* carrying pitchers, the lute and pipe players, the drum-beaters, the triple umbrella, the *bhāmaṇḍala*, the Yakṣa and the Yakṣī are also described. It is said that of the two deer flanking the *dharmacakra*, one, a male, represents *Sattva* and the other, a female, stands for *Karuṇā*.[62]

The *cāmaradharas* amongst the *prātihāryas* of a Jina, referred to above, are two yakṣas carrying white chowries, according to Hemacandra[63] and all other Śvetāmbara writers. According to the Digambara tradition represented by Ādipurāṇa[64] and other texts, sixty-four yakṣas attend upon a Jina with flywhisks in hand, in every samavasarana. In representations both the traditions represent only two male *cāmaradharas*, who must be regarded as yakṣas. The view of B.C. Bhattacharya[65] that these represent attendant *Ganadharas* holding chowries is not supported by any text known to us nor has he cited any text in support of his view. He has further given name of one chowrie-bearer at least for every Tīrthaṅkara which again is left unsupported by any reference to texts.[66] Then, going against his own theory he says that the chowrie-bearer of Ajitanātha is Sagara-Cakravarti, and thus not a Gaṇadhara of Ajitanātha.

The earliest known tradition regarding the iconography of a Tīrthaṅkara image is however obtained from Jaina canonical texts. True it is that references to images and temples of Tīrthankaras on this earth are extremely rare and their genuineness is sometimes suspected. Even though images of not even one of the twenty-four Tirthankaras are described in the Jaina Āgamas, we are able to obtain an early conception of the Jina-Image from the stock description of the *Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimā*.

Both the Jaina sects refer to *Siddhāyatanas* (lit. shrines of the Siddhas, also called *Śāśvata-Caityas* or Eternal shrines) containing images of Tirthaṅkaras known as *Śāśvata-Jinas*. These images are of four Tīrthaṅkaras known as Candrānana, Vāriṣeṇa, Ṛṣabha and Varddhamāna.[67] The Nandīśvara-dvīpa, for example, is known to have fifty-two such Siddhāyatanas in all.

Description of the Siddhāyatana in the N.E. of the Sudharmā-Sabhā of Saudharma Indra, as given in the Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra,[68] is as follows:

Like the Sudharmā Sabhā, it has three gates (entrances) in the east, south and north. Situated in front of these gates are the *mukhamaṇḍapas* while the *prekṣāmaṇḍapas* are erected in front of the latter. In front of *prekṣāmaṇḍapas* are *Caitya-stūpas* with images (*pratimā*), then are situated the *Caitya-vṛkṣas*, then the *Mahendra-dhvajas* (shafts in honour of Indra), then the *Nandā-puṣkariṇīs* (extensive reservoirs of water, tanks, with flights of steps) and so on.

In the centre of the extremely beautiful *Siddhāyatana* is a very big *maṇipīṭhikā* (jewelled platform). A *Devacchandaka* of jewels is erected on the *maṇipīṭhikā*. This sanctum of the gods has 108 life-size images of the Tīrthaṅkaras installed therein.

The traditional description of these images is the same in all Āgama texts. These *Śāśvata-pratimās* are described as having the palms of hands and soles of feet made of gold, nails of Aṅka jewels and lohitākṣa jewels; the shanks, the knees, the thighs, limbs of the body, navels, nipples, and the Śrīvatsa mark on the chest all made of gold. The line of hair on the body, the retina of the eyes, eye-lashes and eye-brows are said to have been made of the Riṣṭa-jewel while the lips are of coral and the teeth of crystals. The tongue, ears, forehead, cheek etc. are made of gold.

At the back of these idols of the Jinas are figures of *umbrella-bearers* gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of koraṇṭa flowers, extremely white and lustrous like the snow, silver, jasmine and the moon. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the *cāmaradharas*, holding in their hands chowries having golden handles. *In front of the Jina* is a pair (one on each side) of *nāga-figures*, of *yakṣas*, *bhūtas* and of the *kuṇḍadharas* bowing and falling at the feet of the Lord. In front

of the images of the Lord are placed bells, *candanakalaśas* (the same as maṅgalakalaśas ?), auspicious pots made of sandal-wood, *bhṛṅgāras* (jars), mirrors, dishes, vessels, seats, empty jars, boxes of jewels, necks of horses, elephants, men, kinnaras, kimpuruṣas, mahoragas, gandharvas, bulls, caskets (*cangeri*) of flowers, garlands, flowers, unguents, etc. or mops of peacock-feathers, baskets of flowers, garlands, powders (*cūrṇa*), etc., 108 each of the lion-thrones, umbrellas, fly-whisks, oil-pots (*samudgaka*), and pots of *koṣṭha*, *coyaka, tagara, haritāla, hiṅgula, manahśila*, collyrium and 108 banners.[69]

On tops of the Siddhāyatanas were placed numerous figures of the auspicious eight symbols (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*).[70]

Though the set of *aṣṭamahāprātihāryas* is not given (the term *aṣṭamahāprātihārya* is not known to the Āgamas), some of them do figure in the above description. The conception of *aṣṭamaṅgalas* is however an ancient one since it is already known to the Āgamas.

But the above description obtains interesting comparison with Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa age obtained from Mathura (nos. J.7, J.60, J.117, Lucknow Museum, J.268, B 63, Mathura Museum, no. 161, Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, illustrated by us in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper no. 6, figures 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-12). We find here, on each side of Jina, a chowrie-bearer or a Nāga standing with folded hands, and occasionally a *mālādhara* on each side at top of the sculpture; *kuṇḍadharas*, according to commentators, are minor gods who are issued orders (*ājñādhārins*), but if *kuṇḍa* was understood as a type of water-vessel in those times, then we have a parallel in Mathura where sometimes an attendant figure on one side carries a water-pot as in the well-known inscribed headless image of Sarasvatī from Kankali Tila, Mathura. The triple-umbrella is also shown on Mathura sculptures, as also the Caitya-tree, and in rare cases, an umbrella-bearer or the Caitya-tree on the back of the Jina images.

The above description makes no mention of the *lāñchanas* or the attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs (Śāsanadevatās). These motifs are absent in Mathura sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period. Especially noteworthy is the Śrī-vatsa mark on the chest mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa age. It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and Śrī-vatsa mark on the chest—which are amongst *lakṣaṇas* of a Mahāpuruṣa—were regarded amongst the chief characteristics of a Tīrthaṅkara image. The canonical description does not refer to any garment on the *Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimā* which is also the case with all the Jaina images in India, of the Kuṣāṇa or earlier periods, known hitherto.

But nowhere in the above references from Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara texts do we come across a reference to those figures on the *simhāsana* (or pedestal) of a Jina which we find in a number of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from Kankali Tila, Mathura.

Firstly, the *dharmacakra*, shown in the centre of the lion-throne, is often placed on top of a pillar, sometimes with the rim facing us and sometimes with the broader side with the spokes shown. In a rare case we have a dwarf holding the Wheel of Law above his head. In a few cases the Wheel is placed on a tri-ratna symbol.

Secondly, to the right of the Wheel of Law we have a monk with a *rajoharana* (broom with a handle, a broom-stick) held in his right hand and a broad piece of cloth on the wrist of the left hand held in such a way that the privies are shielded from view. All the Jaina monks on these pedestals and even in the Tablet of Ascetic Kanha (*Fig. 21*) hold this piece of cloth in this fashion and are otherwise naked. To the right of the monks are found in order figures of one or more monks and/or figures of lay Jaina male devotees in full attire. To the left of the *dharmacakra* is usually a Jaina nun with a long coat-like garment and an under-garment, and carrying a *rajoharana* in one of her hands.[71] Next to her are either one or more nuns and/or standing female lay worshippers carrying long objects which are either garlands or purses. Sometimes some dwarfish figures accompany the śrāvikās. They may be children or attendant servants.

Obviously, the earliest known tradition showed, in the *parikara* (or *parivāra* ?) of a Jina, the four-fold Jaina Samgha (constituted by the sādhu, the sādhvī, the śrāvaka and the śrāvikā) on two sides of the *dharmacakra*. In the case of the standing figure of Ariṣṭanemi (no. J.18, Lucknow Museum, and Fig. 19 in *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper 6), there is a

śrāvaka standing near the right leg, a śrāvikā near the left leg and on the pedestal a gaṇadhara to the right of the wheel and a nun to the left. No. J.20 in the Lucknow Museum[72] is the pedestal of the image of *Arhato Munirsurvrata* (Arhat Munisuvrata) as correctly read by K.D. Bajpai and not of Arhat Nandyāvarta as read formerly. The pedestal shows the Wheel on a Triratna symbol to the left of which all the standing females seem to be Jaina śrāvikās.

It appears that traditions about the *parikara* of the Jina-image were crystallised after the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. Perhaps the tradition of *aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas* was also finalised later and its application to the image was certainly not finally settled till the end of the Gupta period as suggested by a study of images in the Mathura Museum, Lucknow Museum, at Sira Pahari near Nachana in Madhya Pradesh, the famous sculpture of Neminātha at Rajgir mentioning Candragupta, and the three images installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, obtained from a place near Vidiśā.

The description of the *Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimās* makes no mention of the *lāñchanas* of the Jinas nor do we find any reference to the Śāsana-devatās or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures. These motifs are absent on Jina images in Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period. Especially noteworthy is the *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa period. But the canonical reference also cannot be certainly regarded as older than the age of the Mathura Council of the early fourth century A.D. The *śrī-vatsa* mark is not seen on the polished Mauryan torso of a Jina image from Lohanipur near Patna nor is it seen on the standing Pārśvanātha bronze in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which we have assigned to a period c. 1st cent. B.C. or earlier. It seems certain that like the motif of the two deer on the sides of the *dharmacakra* borrowed from the Buddhists, the *śrī-vatsa* motif was introduced under Vaisnava Pāñcarātra influence at Mathura. This motif is absent on early Jaina sculptures in the South where the Jainas seem to have penetrated from about the third cent. B.C. In the South even in later periods the *śrī-vatsa* motif is only occasionally seen. This very fact suggests that originally the motif was absent on Jaina images and was introduced under strong Vaiṣṇava influence probably at Mathura.[73]

It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and the *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest, etc. taken from the ancient tradition of *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* came to be regarded as chief characteristics of a Jina image. The texts describing the *śāśvata-Jina-pratimās* do not refer to garments on the figure of the *śāśvata-Jina*. No early Jaina text refers to the lists of (thirty-two) *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanas* so common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts and other Buddhist works. However, the *Aupapātika sūtra*, an upāṅga Jaina Āgama text (assignable to c. third or fourth century A.D.), giving the stock description (*varṇaka*) of Mahāvīra's body, gives a very interesting account, which agrees, often in similar phraseology, with the *Mahāpurusa-laksanas* of early Buddhist texts.

According to the Aupapātika sūtra description of Mahāvīra's body,[74] Mahāvīra's height was seven cubits and the frame of his body as strong as the *vajra*, his breath fragrant like the lotus and he was handsome to look at. The body was free from sweating and such other defects. The front of his head (*agraśiras*) was strong and high like the peak (*kūṭākāra*), and the hair on the head being dark and of thick growth, lying in schematic curls (*pradakṣināvartta*). The scalp of the Lord, resembling a bunch of pomegranate flowers, was pure and smooth like gold; his head was shaped like an umbrella (*chatrākāra*); his unsullied forehead (*lalāṭa*) possessed the lustre of the new-moon, ears lovely, proportionate and good, the cheeks healthy and full His eye-lashes thin, dark and smooth, looked beautiful like a bent bow, the wide eyes resembled the full-blown white-lotus, each eye-lash having a white hair; his nose was long, straight and uplifted like that of an eagle; his lower lip looked lovely and red like the coral, the cherry or the bimba-fruit; the rows of teeth, lustrous like the white moon, conch, milk, etc., were complete, indistinct, unbroken and smooth; his palate and tongue shone like the red-hot gold; his beard and moustache were well-dressed and grown in proportion to his age. His chin was well-set and well-developed like that of a lion; his neck, four *aṅgulas* in length, looked like the conch (*kambū-grīvā*). His shoulder was broad and rounded (*pratipūrna*) like that of a buffalo, the bull, the lion, the boar and the elephant; his round, well-developed, muscular arms, with steady joints, were long like the latch of a city-gate; his hands, big and strong, looked like a cobra with expanded hood; his palms were soft and muscular, red and

endowed with auspicious marks and had webbed-fingers with no intervening space in between (*acchidra-jāla-pāṇi*); the fingers again were both thick and soft with nails red and shining like copper. His palms showed marks of the moon, the sun, the conch, the *cakra* and the *svastika*, etc. He had a broad chest, well-developed and even, shining like a bar of gold, and having the mark of the *śrī-vatsa*; his back was strong with bones invisible under the muscles. He had a beautiful healthy body shining like gold.

His sides were well-developed, beautiful and symmetrical; the hair on his body was pure, soft, slight, oily, delicate and charming. His abdomen was strong and well-developed (*pīna*) like that of the fish and the bird, his belly like that of the fish, all the organs of his body pure and defectless; his navel, deep and developed like the newly-blossomed lotus, was spiral inside like the whirling wave of the Gaṅgā. The torso or the middle of his body was like the tripod, the pestle, the mirror or the thunderbolt, broad at the ends and narrow in the middle his hips were like those of the best horse or the lion; his privies like those of a horse, clean and well-formed. He had the gait of the best of elephants; his thighs were shaped like the trunk of an elephant; his knee-joints were invisible as if under the lid of a spherical box; his shanks were like those of a deer; his ankles were well-set and invisible under muscles; his feet, beautiful and good-looking and well-built like those of the tortoise, looked beautiful with close-set fingers having copper-red nails. The soles of his feet, soft and red like the lotus-leaf, showed marks of a mountain, a city, crocodile, ocean, disc, etc Brilliant like a glowing fire, the lightning flash or the rising sun, Mahāvīra possessed all the one thousand and eight marks of the best of human beings.

All the Tīrthaṅkara or the Buddha images are based on the fundamental conception of the *Mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas* The Jaina account given above seems to suggest the *uṣṇīṣa* (though not clearly stated) but not the *ūrṇā*. Hardly half a dozen Tīrthaṅkara images so far known or published would show the *ūrṇā*, but we do get the circular *tilaka* mark in a few cases.[75] The *uṣṇīṣa* is often seen but images without it are also known from Mathura and other sites.

The Jaina description of *Mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas* wonderfully agrees with the conception of the Buddha figure in the *Ratna-gotra-vibhāga* of Sthiramati.[76] An ideal abridged description of the Jina-body is also obtained in the Vasudevahiṇḍi which is also a work of the early Gupta period.

In Jaina worship perhaps more common are single images of each of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras, installed either as chief deity in the sanctum or as additional images for worship in the sanctum or in the adjoining cells and devakulikās. Such images are either with or without the *parikara* carved in relief around them But Tīrthankaras are also worshipped in groups of two (*Fig. 79*), three (*Fig. 26*), four (*Figs. 14, 21*), five (*Fig. 69*), six (*Fig. 87*), seven, eight, nine, eleven, twenty-four (*Figs 57, 86*), fifty-two seventy-two, one hundred and eight, one thousand and eight (*sahasrakūṭa sculptures*),[77] and so on. But the more common are groups of two, three, five, four, and twenty-four Jinas. Śāntyācārya in c. 11th century A.D. has referred to such practices and has attempted to explain the significance of such groupings.[78] According to him, a *Tri-Tīrthika* image (three Jinas in one sculpture) signifies the worship of *Jñāna, Darśana and Cāritra*[79] A *Pañca-Tīrthika* image symbolises the worship of the Five Parameṣṭhins; *Covīsīs* or *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭas* are carved out of respect for the Jinas of the Bhāratavarṣa, of this *ārā*, at the end of the *Kalyāṇaka-tapa* in honour of *Kalyāṇakas* (chief auspicious events) in the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras celebrated in the Bhāratavarṣa. A person desirous of wealth installs a plaque of 170 Jinas, which is the maximum number of Jinas born in any age amongst human beings.[80]

Tīrthankaras in groups of two are found only amongst the Digambaras, often they are the first and last Tīrthankaras standing near each other with their cognizances on the pedestals, all in one slab of stone.[81] *Tri-Tīrthika* images and *Pañca-Tīrthika* images are found in temples of both the sects, but the former grouping is very popular Four Tīrthaṅkaras are represented on four sides of a *Caumukha* (*Caturmukha*, the *Pratimā Sarvatobhadrikā* of Mathura inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa age) sculpture and might have suggested the Samavasaraṇa in such cases. *Caumukhas* are very common in temples of both the sects. A deviation however from the main concept of a *Caumukha* is seen from very early times.[81a] Even amongst finds from Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find, not one and the same Jina on each of the four sides of a Caumukha but a different Jina on each side (*Fig. 14*). Groups of six and eight seem to be rare. Groups of seven and nine are very rare but groups of seven or eleven are available amongst the

Digambaras, though of course rarely. Groups of twenty are popular amongst the Śvetāmbaras but such a group represents, not 20 Jinas out of the 24 Jinas of this age, but the twenty *Viharamāṇa Tīrthaṅkaras*, a conception which will be explained later on. *Covīsīs*, groups of 170 Jinas, or 1008 Jinas are known to both the sects but the group of 24 Jinas is the most popular amongst both the sects. Such groupings are not known from early sculptures discovered hitherto, and may be said to date from post-Gupta period onwards. Only four-fold images (*Caumukhas*) and single Tīrthaṅkaras are known to the Kuṣāṇa age. In the Tablet depicting Kaṇha Śramaṇa (*Fig. 21*) we have two Jinas sitting on each side of the Stūpa in the upper panel. In the Neminātha sculpture from Rajgir (*Fig. 26*) we find two more Jina figures in padmāsana on the pedestal, thus making a group of three Jinas (including the main figure of Neminātha). The sculpture is assigned to early fifth century A.D. Grouping of different Tīrthaṅkaras in one sculpture was known as a *Paṭa* or *Paṭṭa* in inscriptions, thus a *Tri-Tīrthika-paṭa*, a *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* and so on.

A *Paṭa* of 96 Jinas, installed in V.S. 1503 (A.D. 1446) is preserved in the Pārśvanātha temple at Delvāḍā near Eklingji and Udaipur. It comprises images of 24 Past (*atīta*) plus 24 Present (*vartamāna*) plus 24 Future (*anāgata*) plus 20 Contemporary (*viharamāṇa*) plus Four Eternal or Ever Repeating (*śāśvata*) equal to 96 Jinas. The *Paṭa* was installed by Somasundara sūri of Tapāgaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect.[81] A *Pāṭa* of 72 Jinas, of c. fifteenth century A.D. is installed in the Lūṇavasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. A *Paṭa* of metal, illustrated in *Fig. 183*, is in worship in a Jaina shrine in Surat. In the centre is a *Pañcatīrthika* image with *parikara* and all around in thirteen horizontal rows are miniature figures of 180 Jinas sitting in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā. Thus in all there are 185 Tīrthaṅkaras on this metal plaque. *Figure 85* illustrates a sculpture, cylindrical in shape, showing in the uppermost row a Jina with two attendant cāmaradharas. In the seven rows below are miniature figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras Perhaps on account of the eight rows in all, the sculpture is regarded as a representation of the Jaina mythical mountain *aṣṭāpada*. Obtained from Sat Deulia, Burdwan district, West Bengal, the stela is curvilinear at top (height 43 cms, breadth 23 cms). The total number of Jinas standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā in the seven rows is 148. If the standing Jinas represent 72 Jinas of the Past, Present and Future Ārās plus 20 Viharamāna Jinas plus 4 Śāśvata Jinas plus 52 Jina images from the 52 shrines of the Nandīśvara dvīpa, then the total would be 148 Jina figures. P.C. Das Gupta, who first published it, suggested that this interesting stela, assigned to c. 10th century by him, was a symbolic representation of the eight-terraced *Aṣṭāpada-giri*.[82]

After the Nirvāṇa of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina, on Mt. Kailash, his son Cakravartī Bharata erected on this mountain a shrine called *Siṁhaniṣadyā Caitya* and installed therein images of 24 Jinas of this age. The belief seems to be old since the Ācārāṅga Niryukti, the Jambudvīpaprajñapti and the Vasudeva-hiṇḍi refer to Aṣṭāpada as a place of pilgrimage. Identification of Aṣṭāpada is not certain and it is also identified with Mt. Śatruñjaya in Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat. Hemacandra ācārya tells us that Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who had also obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain along with Ṛṣabhanātha. He also raised a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee. In order to save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen and cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (*aṣṭa*) steps (*pada*) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross, each step being one yojana apart from the next one. From that time the mountain was called *Aṣṭāpada*.

Gautama the first Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon obtains emancipation. Gautama, therefore, with his supernatural powers, climbed it like a flash of light. Some *tāpasas* (Brahmanical monks) were attempting to do so but could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama they obtained enlightenment and liberation. Reaching the top and entering the *Siṁhaniṣadyā Caitya* by the South Gate, Gautama first saw the four Jinas beginning with Sambhava and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped eight Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the North gate the could worship the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern doorway of the shrine he worshipped the first two Tīrthaṅkaras, Ṛṣabha and Ajitanātha.[83]

Thus it will be seen that the *Simhaniṣadvā Caitya* is a Caumukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jinas are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina shrines sometimes a cell is dedicated to *Aṣṭāpada* represented in the way shown above. A representation of *Aṣṭāpada* of this type, with Gautama shown climbing and the tāpasas on the way is in worship in a shrine on Mt. Śatruñjaya in Saurāṣṭra. A simple representation of the Jinas on the four sides of a pīṭha in above order is in worship in a Śvetāmbara shrine in Surat. *Figure 180* illustrates an elaborate sculpture of *Aṣṭāpada*, showing eight horizontal rows of Tīrthaṅkaras, installed on the second storey of the Valānaka north, Dharaṇavihāra shrine, Ranakpur, Pali district, Rajasthan. The sculpture was installed in v.s. 1551 = A.D. 1495. Vastupāla and Tejapāla are said to have built an *aṣṭāpadaprāsāda* and a temple of Ādinātha at Prabhāsa-pāṭaṇa.[84] The Vastupālavihāra at Girnar in Saurāṣṭra is a triple shrine built by minister Vastupāla. An inscription on a stone slab behind the temple shows that Vastupāla built in v.s. 1288 (A.D. 1231) a temple of Ādinātha adorned with a temple of Kapardī Yakṣa at the back. In front of this to the north-west he built a temple of Sammeta-Śikhara adorned with images of 20 Jinas and to the south he constructed an Aṣṭāpadaprāsāda with images of 24 Jinas. The Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia also has a sculpture of Aṣṭāpada in a chapel with entrances on all the four sides. There is an inscription dated v.s. 1266 (A.D. 1209).[85]

Representations of Sammeta-Śikhara, obtained sometimes in Jaina shrines, depict 20 Jina figures because in all twenty out of twenty-four Tīrthankaras of the present age obtained Nirvāna on this mountain. Such representations are known as *avatāra* or *uddhāra* of a particular tīrtha. A stone plaque representing *avatāra* of the two Tīrthas of Śatruñjaya and Girnar now in worship in a Jaina shrine at Varakhānā in Rajasthan is illustrated in *Fig. 186*. Representations of the five (*Pañca*) Meru mountains of five different dvīpas, showing a Siddhāyatana (suggested by a *Caturmukha* Jina image) on each tier, one above the other in five tiers and surmounted by a finial, are very popular with the Digambara sect. One such *Pañca-Meru* is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastiśālā of the Lūṇavasahi, Mt. Abu. The five Meru mountains are Sudarśana in the midst of Jambūdvīpa, Vijaya in eastern Dhātakī-khaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in western Dhātakīkhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa and Vidyunmālī in the western Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa. According to Digambara belief there are in all 80 Siddhāyatanas on the five Merus. A Digambara Pañca-Meru bronze, installed in v.s. 1513 (A.D. 1456), is illustrated in *Fig. 180*, from a Digambara Jaina shrine in Surat, Gujarat.

Certain common facts about the lives of each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras have to be borne in mind for a proper understanding of Jaina Jātaka scences and paintings.

A soul after passing through various births as animals and human beings ultimately becomes fit for being born as a would be Tīrthaṅkara. He is then said to have acquired Tīrthankara-nāma-karma.[86] His last birth is in one of the heavens from which he descends into the Mother's womb and becomes a Tīrthaṅkara in that birth. This descent from heaven is a subject of Jaina miniatures when he is usually represented as sitting in one of the heavens.[87] All the Tīrthaṅkaras are born in Kṣatriya royal families. Munisuvrata and Neminātha were born in the Harivamśa, Dharma, Ara and Kunthu in the Kuru-vamśa, Pārśva and Mahāvīra in the Ugra-vamśa, and the rest in the Īkṣvāku-vamśa.[88] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Munisuvrata and Neminātha were born in the Harivamśa while the rest descended in the Īkṣvāku families.[89]

At the time of descent from heavens into the Mother's womb, the Mother of every Jina sees fourteen dreams according to Śvetāmbara traditions and sixteen according to the Digambaras. The dreams are represented on stone and in metals as well as paintings (*Fig. 187*).[90] The Mother immediately gets up from bed and breaks the news to her husband. Next morning the dreams are interpreted by astrologers (*svapnapāṭhakas* or *nimitta-pāṭhakas*) as shown in miniatures of the Kalpa-sūtra. Jaina texts always note the nakṣatras of the birth (and other chief events) in the life of a Jina. This is because when the birth dates of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha were first recorded the rāśis or zodiacal signs were not known.

Several extraordinary events take place when a Jina is born. The 56 *Dik-kumārīs* come from various regions and perform the duties of a nurse (*sutikā-kārma*) and attend upon the Mother and the Child with

mirrors, fans, music etc. Meanwhile the throne of Śakra (Indra) shakes and he comes in a heavenly car with a host of gods to celebrate the birth-bath ceremony (*janma-kalyāṇaka*) of the newly born Jina. With his magic (*avasvāpinīvidyā*) the Saudharma Indra induces the Mother into deep sleep when the baby-Jina is carried by gods to the top of the Meru mountain where an elaborate bathing ceremony is performed by gods with the Jina seated on the lap of the Indra who assumes more forms and in paintings we find him doing the lustration (*abhiṣeka*) in the form of two bulls.[91] Then the Indra performs thirty-two types of dances before the Lord and ultimately brings the Jina back to his mother's side. This and the descent are the first two auspicious events known as the *Cyavana* and the *Janma Kalyāṇakas*, in the life of a Tīrthaṅkara.

The Jina grows up and obtains training in various arts and sciences and is sometimes said to marry a princess. Some Tīrthaṅkaras do not marry at all. According to the Digambara sect, Mahāvīra did not marry while the Śvetāmbaras hold a contrary belief.

As in the life of the Buddha, Jaina traditions often describe some incidents in the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras which precipitate their decision to renounce the worldly life. The Digambaras, for example, say that while Ṛṣabha was seeing the dance of Nīlāñjanā (sent by Indra for the purpose) she suddenly disappeared and Ṛṣabha realised the transitoriness of human life (*Fig. 18*). In the case of Pārśvanātha, it is said that he saw a *paṭa* depicting the life of the preceding Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha which roused in him the desire to turn a Jaina monk. The Lokāntika gods appear before the Jina to-be and respectfully inform him that the time for taking *dīkṣā* had approached and pray to him to save the afflicted humanity by founding the Jaina 'tīrtha'.

Then for full one year the would-be Jina gives handsome charities (called *vārṣika* or *varṣī-dāna* in Kalpa-sūtra miniatures) at the end of which period, he is carried in a palanquin to a park outside his city-gates where he plucks out his hair in five fistfuls (*pañca-muṣṭi-lonca*), removes all ornaments, garments, etc., and turns a Jaina monk. Indra and other gods attend and perform the cermony, Indra catches the plucked out hair in a costly piece of cloth and throws them in the milk-ocean. This is the *Dīksā-kalyāṇaka* in the life of every Jina.[92]

The Jina then begins his austerities, sometimes he fasts, and for all times he bears all hardships. Jaina texts always mention the name of the fortunate donor who was the first person to give alms to the Jina (for breaking his first long fast). At the end of wanderings and austerities for some years the Jina obtains *Kevalajñāna* while he is standing or sitting in meditation under a tree. Such trees become holy trees and are called *caitya-vṛkṣas*.

The Saudharma Indra comes to know that the Jina has obtained kevalajñāna or highest knowledge, omniscience. Again he comes with all the retinue and celebrates this auspicious event known as the *Jñāna-kalyāṇaka*. Gods erect a special extensive structure, a sort of an amphitheatre, big like a city, with three fortifications and a central dias for the Jina to sit on and deliver his first Sermon to the congregation (*Samavasaraṇa*) of celestial and human beings and animals assembled in this structure which is called the Samavasaraṇa (*Fig. 182*).[93]

For several years again the Jina wanders from place to place and preaches the doctrine, organising the Jaina Tīrtha or Saṁgha constituted of sādhus, sādhvīs, śrāvakas and śrāvikās. Ultimately he gives up food and drink, sits or stands in meditation and discards his last bondage, namely, the earthly body and becomes a *Siddha*. The *Siddha* has no physical body (*Fig. 185*). His soul ascends to the Īṣatprāgbhāra world on top of the Loka, where there is a crescent-shaped platform (*siddha-śilā*) whereon stay all such liberated souls.[94] This auspicious event is the *Nirvāṇa-kalyāṇaka* which is generally represented by showing the Jina sitting on the Siddha-śilā. Again Indra and other gods come at the time of Nirvāṇa and celebrate the event. They lay the body of the Jina on a sandal-wood pyre, perform the cremation rite, collect the Jina's bones and return to heavens where they install the bones (*dāḍhā*) in round diamond-boxes on top of *Māṇavaka-Sthambhas* (pillars) and worship them.[95]

Belief in Kalyāṇakas is very old. The Kalpa-sūtra text suggests that its main object was the narration of the various *kalyāṇakas* or chief auspicious events in the lives of Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The conception has its parallel in Buddhism where representations of the main events in the life of

Buddha on one and the same sculpture had become a favourite theme with the artists of Gandhara and elsewhere. Attempts to represent the Kalyānakas in sculptures after the fashion of the Buddhists are not known in Jainism where one sculpture usually represents one idea. But in ceilings at Abu and Kunbharia we have beautiful big long panels depicting all the main events in the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras like Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Śāntinātha, Ṛṣabha, Neminātha and others.[96] In paintings, scrolls, amongst book-illustrations, murals or frescoes and wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts, the practice of depicting scenes from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras is very old.[97] The famous Mathura relief showing Bhagava Nemeso on a throne might have been part of some Jaina mythological story on stone. The partly mutilated relief from Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow Museum and depicting the dance of Nīlāñjanā and renunciation and monkhood of Ṛṣabha (*Fig. 18*) suggests the popularity of such stone reliefs with the Jainas as well in c. first century B.C. since *Fig. 18* dates from first century B.C. It seems that representations of the *kalyānaka* scenes were not unknown to Jainism in the Kuṣāṇa period. Sites associated with the events of the *kalyāṇakas* were regarded holy as can be seen from the Ācārāṅga Niryukti.[98]

The Digambara sect also believes in the celebration of five *kalyāṇakas*, namely, *Garbhāvatarana, Janma, Tapa* (*dīkṣā*), *kevala-jñāna*, and *mokṣa* (*nīrvāna*) *kalyānakas*. The Pratisṭhāsāroddhāra refers to the ritual regarding each of these in the Pratiṣṭhāvidhi of a Jina image.[99]

(B) ŚĀŚVATA JINAS AND THE VIHARAMĀṆA JINAS

We have referred to the *Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimās* in the *Siddhāyatanas* or *Śāśvata-Caityas* mentioned in Jaina canonical works. According to texts like the Pravacanasāroddhāra (11th cent. A.D.) these *Śāśvata-Jina-Pratimās* represent four Tīrthaṅkaras, namely, *Vṛsabhasena, Candrānana, Vāriṣeṇa*, and *Varddhamāna*.[100] They are called *Śāśvata Jinas* because in every *Utsarpiṇī* or *Avasarpiṇī* era names of these four Tīrthaṅkaras are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen karmabhūmis. Belief in *Śāśvata Jinas* and *Siddhāyatanas* is fairly old as a long description of these is available in the upānga canonical text called the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra.[101] These *Siddhāyatanas* are found in various heavens and on several mountain peaks. The Nandīsvara-dvīpa, for example, is reported to have fifty-two such *Siddhāyatanas*.[102]

Since Tīrthaṅkaras are born in the 2½ continents there are even at present Tīrthankaras amongst them. They are therefore called *Viharamāna* or contemporary Tīrthaṅkaras living at present. In this age there are twenty such *Viharamāṇa Jinas*, four in the different Vijayas of the Mahāvideha kṣetra of Jambūdvīpa, eight in the Dhātakī khanḍa, and the remaining in the half Puṣkarāvarta-dvīpa. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, their names are as follows: 1. Sīmandhara, 2. Yugandhara, 3. Śrī Bāhujina, 4. Subāhū. The above four in the Jambūdvīpa. 5. Sujāta swāmī,[103] 6. Svayamprabha, 7. Ṛṣabhanātha, 8. Anantavīrya, 9. Suraprabha, 10. Viśāla, 11. Vajradhara, 12. Candrānana, in the Dhātakī khaṇḍa, 13. Candrabāhu, 14. Bhujaṅga, 15. Īśvara, 16. Namiprabha, 17. Vārisena or Vīrasena, 18. Mahābhadra, 19. Candrayaśā, 20. Ajitavīrya, in the Ardha-Puskarāvarta-dvīpa.[104]

This is the minimum number of *Viharamāna Jinas* while sometimes there flourish a greater number in the different kṣetras, the maximum possible number being 170 Jinas. Patas of 170 Jinas have been referred to above. A Pata of 20 Viharamāna Jinas in a shrine on mount Girnar is also referred to before. The Jagatcintāmaṇi-caityavandana stotra amongst the Pratikramaṇa sūtras of the Śvetāmbara Jainas pays homage to the 20 as well as the 170 Jinas.[105]

The conception of *Viharamāna Jinas* is known to the Digambara sect also, though it is not so popular as amongst the Śvetāmbaras. Amongst both the sects, earlier representations of *Viharamāna Jinas* are not known, but the conception of Viharamāṇa Jinas is certainly pretty old. The Vasudevahiṇḍi, for example, refers to Sīmandhara at present living in the Apara-videha-kṣetra.[106] *Sīmandhara* seems to be the most popular *Viharamāna Jina* with both the sects and images and temples dedicated to his worship are available (*Fig. 175*) though none of them are earlier than the mediaeval period. No cognizances of these Jinas are known in the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Digambara tradition's list of *Viharamāṇa Jinas* is as under:[107]

Digambara Tradition

	Viharamāṇa Jina	*Cognizance*
1.	Sīmandhara	Bull
2.	Yugandhara	Elephant
3.	Bāhu	Deer
4.	Subāhu	Monkey
5.	Samyataka	Sun
6.	Svayamprabha	Moon
7.	Ṛṣabhanātha	Hari or lion
8.	Anantavīrya	Elephant
9.	Suraprabha	Sun
10.	Viśālakīrti	Moon
11.	Vajradhara	Conch
12.	Candrānana	Bull
13.	Candrabāhu	Lotus
14.	Bhujaṅgaprabha	Moon
15.	Īśvara	Sun
16.	Nemīśvara	Bull
17.	Vīrasena or Vāriṣeṇa	Airavata elephant
18.	Mahān	Moon
19.	Devayaśa	Svastika
20.	Ajitavīrya	Lotus

The above list appended by the Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdarnava-kośa is based upon Prakrt, Sanskṛt and Hindi works later than 1500 v.s.[108] The Trilokasāra of Nemicandra[109] however does refer to the belief in the maximum number of 170 Jinas and the minimum number of 20 *Viharamāna Jinas.*[110]

(C) TĪRTHANKARAS OF THE PAST AND FUTURE AGES (ĀRĀS)

Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras believe that twenty-four Tīrthankaras lived in the Utsarpiṇī age preceding our present Avasarpiṇī age and that an equal number will be born in the future Utsarpinī following our present ārā. But the lists given by the two sects differ. The following were the Tīrthankaras of the Past Utsarpinī:

Atīta Jinas

No.	*Śvetāmbara*[111]	*Digambara*[112]
1.	Kevalajñānī	Nirvāṇa
2.	Nirvāṇī	Sāgara
3.	Sāgara	Mahāsādhu
4.	Mahāyaśaḥ	Vimalaprabha
5.	Vimala	Śrīdhara
6.	Sarvānubhūti	Sudatta
7.	Śrīdhara	Amalaprabha
8.	Datta	Uttara
9.	Dāmodara	Angirā
10.	Sutejaḥ	Sanmati
11.	Swāmi	Sindhu

12.	Munisuvrata	Kusumāñjali
13.	Sumati	Śivagaṇa
14.	Śivagati	Utsāha
15.	Stāga	Jñāneśvara
16.	Nimiśvara	Parameśvara
17.	Anila	Vimaleśvara
18.	Yaśodhara	Yaśodhara
19.	Kṛtārtha	Kṛṣṇa
20.	Jineśvara	Jñānamati
21.	Śuddhamati	Śuddhamati
22.	Śivakaraḥ	Śrībhadra
23.	Syandana	Atikrānta
24.	Samprati	Śānta

Anāgata or Bhāvi Jinas

No.	*Śvetāmbara*[113]	*Digambara*[114]
1.	Padmanābha or Mahāpadma	Mahāpadma
2.	Sūradeva	Suradeva
3.	Supārśva(ka)	Supārśva
4.	Svayamprabha	Svayamprabha
5.	Sarvānubhūti	Sarvātmabhūta
6.	Devaśruta or Devagupta	Devaputra or Śrīdeva
7.	Udaya or Udaka	Kulaputra
8.	Peḍhāla or Peḍhālaputra	Udanka
9.	Poṭṭila	Prosṭhila
10.	Śatakīrti[115]	Jayakīrti
11.	Munisuvrata Sarvavid	Munisuvrata
12.	Amama	Aranatha or Araha
13.	Niṣkaṣāya	Niṣpāpa
14.	Niṣpulāka	Niṣkaṣāya
15.	Nirmama	Vipula
16.	Citragupta	Nirmala
17.	Samādhi	Citragupta
18.	Samvara	Samādhigupta
19.	Yaśodhara or Anivṛtti	Svayamvara
20.	Vijaya	Anivṛtti
21.	Malla or Vimala	Jayanātha
22	Deva or Devopapāta	Śrī-Vimala
23	Anantavīrya	Devapāla
24.	Bhadra	Anantavīrya

Both the sects give the names of persons of the present age who are going to be born as Tīrthaṅkaras in the next age. Thus king Śreṇika of our age is going to be the first Future Jina.

Such lists were multiplied. Thus a hymn composed by Devendrasūri[116] (v.s. 1450) gives names of Tīrthankaras of the Past, Present and Future ages in the Bharata and Airavata kṣetras.

The *atīta*, *vartamāna* and *bhāvi* Tīrthaṅkaras of our land are often worshipped in various hymns recited every day. Representations of all the 72 Tīrthaṅkaras were carved on stone slabs and installed for worship in Jaina temples.

In a samatala ceiling of a side aisle of the raṅgamaṇḍapa of the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia are carved four series of panels showing representations of the Past (*atīta*) Tīrthaṅkaras in two rows and the Future (*anāgata*) Tīrthaṅkaras in two more rows. A part of these rows is illustrated in *Fig. 84*. All the rows have labels inscribed below each figure.

An interesting sculpture is preserved in the British Museum, London.[117] Here a male and a female are seated side by side in an architectural design of a niche or vimāna on top of which is placed in the centre a smaller figure of a Tīrthaṅkara sitting in the padmāsana dhyāna mudrā. The male and the female figure are nicely attired and adorned with ornaments etc. Each of them carries a citron in one hand which would suggest their yakṣa character since a number of Jaina yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs carry the citron in one of their hands. Below, on the lower portion of this sculpture, is carved the title "Anantavīryo" in characters of c. 9th cent. A.D. Nowhere in the available Jaina texts of both the sects do we come across a yakṣa Anantavīrya for any Tīrthaṅkara. Hence the label is obviously intended for the Tīrthaṅkara Anantavīrya who is the twenty-fourth Future Tīrthaṅkara according to the Digambara list given above. Anantavīrya is the twenty-third Future Jina in the above Śvetāmbara list but if Sarvavid or Sarvabhāvavid is not taken as an adjective of Munisuvrata in the list given by the Samavāyāṅga sūtra, sutra 158, but the Jina next to Munisuvrata, then in the Śvetāmbara list also Anantavīrya would be the twenty-fourth Future Jina and Bhadra would be his epithet. The Jina to whom the label is referred to is smaller than the figures of the royal pair sitting in the vimāna whose names are not inscribed. In fact the pair reminds us of the type of figures we have identified as Parents of Jinas. And even in the panels at Kumbharia referred to above and illustrated in *Fig. 84*, each Past and Future Jina is shown with his Parents. We might therefore identify this sculpture in the British Museum as representing the Future Jina Anantavīrya, with his Parents.

The Future Jinas belong to the coming Utsarpiṇī, the ascending era, whereas our present era is Avasarpiṇī, the descending one. So, the last Jina of our era and the first Jina of the Future era would be similar in height etc. and the last Jina of the Future Utsarpiṇī will be as great as Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina of our present Avasarpiṇī. We can thus understand why the Future Jina Anantavīrya is represented in the sculpture under consideration.

APPENDIX I

सुमेरशिखरं दृष्ट्वा गौरी पृच्छति शंकरम् ।
कोऽयं पर्वत इत्येष? कस्येद मंदिरं? प्रभो ॥ १ ॥
कोऽयं मध्ये पुनर्देव:? पादान्ता का च नायिका? ।
किमिद चक्रमित्यत्र? तदन्ते को मृगा मृगी? ॥ २ ॥
के वा सिंहा? गजा. के वा? के चामी पुरुषा नव? ।
यक्षो वा यक्षिणी केयं? के वा चामरधारका:? ॥ ३ ॥
के वा मालाधरा एते? गजारूढाश्च के नरा:? ।
एतावपि महादेव! कौ वीणावंशवादकौ? ॥ ४ ॥
दुन्दुभेर्वादक. को वा? को वाऽयं शंखवादक:? ।
छत्रत्रयमिदं कि वा? कि वा भामण्डलं प्रभो! ॥ ५ ॥
ईश्वरो(रउ)वाच—
शृणु देवि! महागौरी! यत्त्वया पृष्टमुत्तमम् ।
कोऽयं पर्वत इत्येष? कस्येद मन्दिरं? प्रभो! ॥ ६ ॥
पर्वतो मेरुरित्येष स्वर्णरत्नविभूषित: ।
सर्वज्ञमन्दिरं चैतद् रत्नतोरणमण्डितम् ॥ ७ ॥

अथ मध्ये पुन: साक्षात् सर्वज्ञो जगदीश्वर ।
त्रयस्त्रिंश कोटिसंख्या, य सेवन्ते सुरा अपि ॥ ८ ॥
इन्द्रियैर्न जितो नित्य केवलज्ञाननिर्मल ।
पारगतो भवाम्भोधे-र्यो लोकान्ते वसत्यलम् ॥ ९ ॥
अनन्तरूपा यस्तत्र, कषायै. परिवर्जित: ।
यस्य चित्ते कृतस्थाना, दोषा अष्टादशापि न ॥ १० ॥
लिङ्गरूपेण यस्तत्र, पुरूपेणात्र वर्तते ।
रागद्वेषव्यतिक्रान्त स एष परमेश्वर ॥ ११ ॥
आदि शक्तिर्जिनेन्द्रस्य आसने गर्भसंस्थिता ।
सहजा कुलजा ध्याने, पद्महस्ता वरप्रदा ॥ १२ ॥
धर्मचक्रमिद देवि! धर्ममार्गप्रवर्तकम् ।
सत्त्व नाम मृगस्सोऽयं मृगी च करुणा मता ॥ १३ ॥
अष्टौ च दिग्गजा एते, गजसिंहस्वरूपत ।
आदित्याद्या ग्रहा एते, नवैव पुरुषा. स्मृता: ॥ १४ ॥
यक्षोऽयं गोमुखो नाम आदिनाथस्य सेवक: ।
यक्षिणी रुचिराकारा नाम्ना चक्रेश्वरी मता ॥ १५ ॥
इन्द्रोपेन्द्रा: स्वयं भर्तु-र्जाताश्चामरधारका ।
पारिजातो वसन्तश्च मालाधरतया स्थितौ ॥ १६ ॥
अन्येपि ऋतुराजा ये, तेऽपि मालाधरा प्रभो: ।
अष्टेन्द्रा गजमारूढा कराग्रे कुम्भधारिण ॥ १७ ॥
स्नात्र कर्तु समायाता: सर्वसतापनाशनम् ।
कर्पूरकुङ्कुमादीना धारयन्तो जल बहु ॥ १८ ॥
यथा लक्ष्मीसमाक्रान्त याचमाना निज पदम् ।
तथा मुक्तिपद कान्त-मनन्तसुखकारणम् ॥ १९ ॥
हूहू-तुम्बरुनामानौ तौ वीणावशवादकौ ।
अनन्तगुणसघात गायन्तौ जगता प्रभो ॥ २० ॥
वाद्यमेकोनपञ्चाश-द्भेदभिन्नमनेकधा ।
चतुर्विधा अमी देवा वादयन्ति स्वभक्तित: ॥ २१ ॥
सोऽयं देवो महादेवि! दैत्यारि: शङ्खवादक ।
नानारूपाणि बिभ्राण एकोऽपि सुरेश्वर ॥ २२ ॥
जगत्त्रयाधिपत्यस्य हेतुश्छत्रत्रय प्रभो ।
अमी च द्वादशादित्या जाता भामण्डल प्रभा ॥ २३ ॥
पृष्ठलग्ना अमी देवा याचन्ते मोक्षमुत्तमम् ।
एव सर्वगुणोपेत: सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायक ॥ २४ ॥
एष एव महादेवि! सर्वदेवनमस्कृत ।
गोप्याद्गोप्यतर श्रेष्ठो व्यक्ताव्यक्ततया स्थित: ॥ २५ ॥
आदित्याद्या भ्रमन्त्येते य नमस्कर्तुमुद्यता ।
काला दिवसरात्रिभ्या यस्य सेवा विधायक ॥ २६ ॥
वर्षाकालोष्णकालादि-शीतकालादिवेषभृत् ।
यत्पूजार्थं कृता धात्रा, आकरा मलयादय ॥ २७ ॥
काश्मीरे कुङ्कुम देवि! यत्पूजार्थं विनिर्मितम् ।
रोहणे सर्वरत्नानि यद्भूषणकृते व्यधात् ॥ २८ ॥

रत्नाकरोऽपि रत्नानि यत्पूजार्थं च धारयेत् ।
तारकाः कुसुमायन्ते भ्रमन्तो यस्य सर्वत ।। २९ ।।
एवं सामर्थ्यमस्यैव नापरस्य प्रकीर्तितम् ।
अनेन सर्वकार्याणि सिध्यन्तीत्यवधारय ।। ३० ।।

जानुद्वयं शिरश्चैव यस्य धृष्ट नमस्यतः ।
जिनस्य पुरतो देवि! स याति परमं पदम् ।। ३४ ।।
इति श्रीविश्वकर्माविरजिताऽपराजितवास्तुशास्त्रमध्ये श्रीजिनमूर्तिश्लोका ।

APPENDIX II

(जिनबिम्बलक्षणम्)

[From Traivarṇikācāra of Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka (A D. 1610), adhyāya 6, verses 25-41, pp. 160-162]

कक्षादिरोमहीनाङ्गश्मश्रुरेखाविवर्जितम् ।
स्थित प्रलम्बितहस्त श्रीवत्साढय दिगम्बरम् ।। २५ ।।
पल्यङ्कासनं वा कुर्याच्छिल्पशास्त्रानुसारत. ।
निरायुध च निःस्त्रीक भ्रूक्षेपादिविवर्जितम ।। २६ ।।
निराभरणक चैव प्रफुल्लवदनाक्षिकम् ।
सौवर्ण राजत वापि पैत्तल कास्यज तथा ।। २७ ।।
प्रावाल मौक्तिक चैव वैडूर्यादिसुरत्नजम् ।
चित्रज च तथा लेप्यं क्वचिच्चन्दनज मतम् ।। २८ ।।
प्रातिहार्याष्टकोपेत सम्पूर्णावयव शुभम् ।
भावानुरूपविद्धाङ्ग कारयेद्बिम्बमर्हत ।। २९ ।।
प्रातिहार्यैविना शुद्ध सिद्धबिम्बमपीदृशम् ।
सूरीणा पाठकानां च साधूना च यथागमम् ।। ३० ।।
वामे च यक्षीं बिभ्राण दक्षिणे यक्षमुत्तमम् ।
नवग्रहानधोभागे मध्ये च क्षेत्रपालकम् ।। ३१ ।।
यक्षाणां देवतानां च सर्वालङ्कारभूषितम् ।
स्ववाहनायुधोपेत कुर्यात्सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरम् ।। ३२ ।।
लक्षणैरपि सयुक्त बिम्ब दृष्टिविवर्जितम् ।
न शोभते यतस्तस्मात्कुर्याद् दृष्टिप्रकाशनम् ।। ३३ ।।
अर्थनाशं विरोध च तिर्यग्दृष्टेर्भय तदा ।
अधस्ताद् पुत्रनाश च भार्यामरणमूर्ध्वदृक् ।। ३४ ।।
शोकमुद्वेगसन्ताप सदा कुर्याद् धनक्षयम् ।
शान्ता सौभाग्यपुत्रार्थं शान्तिवृद्धिप्रदानदृक् ।। ३५ ।।
सदोषा च न कर्तव्या यत. स्यादशुभावहा ।
कुर्याद्रौद्री प्रभोर्नाशं कृशाङ्गी द्रव्यसक्षयम् ।। ३६ ।।
सक्षिप्ताङ्गी क्षयं कुर्याच्चिपिटा दुःखदायिनी ।
विनेत्रा नेत्रविध्वंसी हीनवक्त्रा त्वभोगिनी ।। ३७ ।।

व्याधि महोदरी कुर्याद् हृद्रोग हृदयं कृशा ।
अङ्गहीना सुत हन्याच्छुष्कजङ्घा नरेन्द्रहा ।। ३८ ।।
पादहीना जनं हन्यात्कटिहीना च वाहनम् ।
ज्ञात्वैव पूजयेज्जैनी प्रतिमा दोषवर्जिताम् ।। ३९ ।।
प्रतिष्ठा च यथाशक्ति कुर्याद् गुरूपदेशत· ।
स्थिर चानुचलं बिम्ब स्थापयित्वात्र पूजयेत् ।। ४० ।।
द्वादशाङ्गुलपर्यन्त यवाष्ठाशादित: क्रमात् ।
स्वगृहे पूजयेद्बिम्ब न कदाचित्ततोऽधिकम् ।। ४१ ।।

REFERENCES

1 He is a Tirthankara because he helps to cross the ocean of samsāra or because he establishes the *Tirtha* constituted of the four-fold Samgha made up of the Sādhu, the Sādhvi, the Śrāvaka and the Śrāvikā. Cf.:
तीर्यते संसारसमुद्रोऽनेनेति तीर्थं, तच्च प्रवचनाधारश्चतुर्विध सङ्घ प्रथमगणधरो वा···।
—*Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra with his own commentary, p 218
This explanation of *Tirtha* is based on the following passage.
तित्थ भंते! तित्थ तित्थगरे तित्थ? गोयमा, अरहा ताव नियम तित्थकरे, तित्थ पुण चाउवन्ना इमे समणसघो, त जहा समणा, समणीओ, सावया, साविया ओ ।
—*Bhagavati Sūtra*, 20.8.15
Also see *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp. 58ff.

2. The word Jina was also used for the Buddha It was only later on that the sense of the word was restricted to connote the Jaina Tirthankara. Cf :
सर्वज्ञ. सुगतो बुद्धः धर्मराजस्तथागत· ।
समन्तभद्रो भगवान्मारजिल्लोकजिज्जिन ।।
—*Amarakośa*
The title *Jina* is explained as follows:
रागद्वेषमोहान्जयन्तीति जिना· सर्वज्ञा·, उक्त च, रागद्वेषस्तथा मोहो जितो येन जिनोह्यसौ । अस्त्री शस्त्री क्षमालत्वादर्हन्नेवानुमीयते ।।
--*Abhayadeva's Commentary on the Sthānānga Sūtra*, p. 191

3. Cf :
अर्हंति देवाधिकृतां पूजामित्यर्हंत् अथवा नास्ति रह. प्रच्छन्न येषां प्रत्यक्षज्ञानीत्वात् ते अर्हन्त· ।
Ibid., p. 191
जितकोहमाणमाया जितलोभा ते जिणा होंति ।
अरिहा हना रय हता अरिहता तेण वुच्चति ।।
—*Āvasyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 1087 in *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, II, pp. 8-9
असोगादि पाडिहेरपूजा अर्हन्तीति ते अर्हन्त ··· ।
—*Ibid.*, p. 4
Āvaśyaka Vṛtti of Haribhadra, p 406. Also see *Varāngacarita*, 25.88-91, pp. 252f; *Mūlācāra*, 7.41, p. 394.

4. आजानुलम्बबाहु श्रीवत्साङ्क· प्रशान्तमूर्तिश्च ।
दिग्वासास्तरुणो रूपवांश्च कार्योऽर्हतां देव· ।।
—*Bṛhat-Samhitā* (Biblio. Indica ed.), 58 45, p. 320

5. *Mānasāra*, LV 36-42, 71-85.

6 Cf..
प्रशमरसनिमग्न दृष्टियुग्म प्रसन्न
वदनकमलमङ्क· कामिनीसङ्गशून्य: ।
करयुगमपि यत्ते शस्त्रसम्बन्धवन्ध्यं
तदसि जगति देवो वीतरागस्त्वमेव ।।
—*Dhanapala*

7 शान्तप्रसन्नमध्यस्थनासाग्रस्थाविकारदृक् ।
सम्पूर्णभावारूढानुविद्धाङ्ग लक्षणान्वितम् ।।
रौद्रादिदोषनिर्मुक्त प्रातिहार्याङ्कयक्षयुक् ।
निर्माप्य विधिना पीठे जिनबिंबं निवेशयेत् ।।
—*Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 1.61-62, p 7

8 अथ बिम्ब जिनेन्द्रस्य कर्तव्य लक्षणान्वितम् ।
ऋज्वायतस्तु संस्थान तरुणाङ्ग दिगम्बरम् ।। १
श्रीवृक्ष (श्रीवत्स) भूषितोरस्क जानुप्राप्तकराग्रजम् ।
निजाङ्गुलप्रमाणेन साष्टाङ्गुलशतायुतम् ।। २

कक्षादिरोमहीनाङ्गं श्मश्रुलेखाविवर्जितम् ।। ४
. . . .
पादयुग्म सुसंश्लिष्टं कार्यं निश्छिद्रसुस्थितम् ।
शङ्खचक्राङ्कुशाम्भोजयवच्छत्राद्यलङ्कृतम् ।। ६४

प्रातिहार्याष्टकोपेत सम्पूर्णावयव शुभम् ।
भावरूपानुविद्धाङ्ग कारयेद्बिम्बमर्हत: ।। ६६
—*Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha*, chp. 4 (in ms.)

9. ऋषभोऽरिष्टनेमिर्वीर: पल्यङ्कस्थिता: सिद्धा: ।
अवशेषास्तीर्थंकरा: ऊर्ध्वस्थानेनोपयान्ति ।। ८०
यत्संस्थानं त्विह भव त्यजतश्चरमसमये ।
आसीच्च प्रदेशघनं तत्संस्थानं त्विह तस्य ।। ८१
—(Sanskrit chāyā) *Caiyavandaṇa mahābhāṣa*, vv. 80-81

10. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.1210, p. 302; *Varāngacarita*, 2.7.90, p. 272.

11. बिम्बं मणिमय चन्द्रसूर्यकान्तमणीमयम् ।
सर्वं समगुणं ज्ञेय सर्वामी रत्नजातिभि. ।।

स्वर्णरौप्यताम्रमयं वाच्यं धातुमयं परम् ।
कांस्यसीसवङ्गमयं कदाचिन्नैव कारयेत् ॥
तत्र धातुमये रीतिमयमाद्रियते क्वचित् ।
निषिद्धो मिश्रधातुः स्याद्रीतिः कैश्चिच्च गृह्यते ॥
—*Ācāra-Dinakara*, II, verses 4-6

Also see verses 6-11, p. 143.

12. लोहाश्मकाष्ठमृद्दन्तचित्रगोविड्मयानि च ।
बिम्बानि कुशलाकाङ्क्षी न गृहे पूजयेत् क्वचित् ॥
—*Ibid.*, II. vv. 2-3, p. 142

13 मणि-कणय-रयण-रुप्पय-पित्तल-मुत्ताहलोपलाईहिं ।
पडिमा-लक्खण-विहिणा जिणाइपडिमा घडाविज्जा ॥
—*Vasunandi-Śrāvakācāra* (ed. by Pandit Hiralal Jain, Kashi, 1944), v. 390, p. 123

14. स्वर्णरत्नमणिरौप्यनिर्मितं स्फाटिकामलशिलाभवं तथा ।
उत्थिताम्बुजमहासनाङ्कितं जैनबिम्बमिह शस्यते बुधैः ॥
—*Vasubindu-Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha*, v. 69, p. 17

Also cf.:
सौवर्णं राजतं वापि पैत्तलं कांस्यजं तथा ॥
प्रावाल्यं मौक्तिकं चैव वैडूर्यादिसुरत्नजम् ।
चित्रजं क्वचिच्चन्दनजं··· ॥
—*Jina-Yajña-kalpa*, quoted in *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara*, vol. II, p 12

15. Cf. *Akota Bronzes*, pl. 27b and pl. 40 showing a big lotus seat with a long stalk.

16. धातुलेप्यमयं सर्वं व्यङ्गं संस्कारमर्हति ॥ ५
काष्ठपाषाणनिष्पन्नं संस्कारार्हं पुनर्न हि ।
यच्च वर्षशतातीतं यच्च स्थापितमुत्तमैः ॥ ६
तद् व्यङ्गमपि पूज्यं स्याद् बिम्बं तन्निष्फलं न हि ।
नच्च धार्यं परं चैत्ये गेहे पूज्यं न पण्डितैः ॥ ७
—*Ācāra-Dinakara*, II, p. 142

Also see *Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra* with Bhāṣya, gāthā 2504, p. 708

17 Lal, B.B. and Srivastava, S.K., *Perhaps the Earliest Jaina Terracotta so far excavated in India*, published in *Madhu* (*Recent Researches in Archaeology and Art History*), pp. 329-31 The Lucknow Museum has two terracottas, one the bust of a Jina, no. 67.7 in the Museum, dates from Kuṣāṇa period, the findspot is Śrāvastī. The other, no. 53.69 from Lakhimpur Kheri in U.P., is of a Jina in *padmāsana*, *dhyāna mudrā* and may be of late Gupta age.

18. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra* with Bhāṣya etc., gāthā 1776 and comm., vol. II, p. 524.

19. *Ibid*., gāthās 1774-1779, vol. II, pp 523-24. The comm. refers to *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 1303—वारत्तपुरं अभयसेण वारत्ते etc. in connection with the account of the sage Vārattaka.

20. For a list of Jaina canonical texts, see Jain, Jagdish Chandra, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons* (Bombay, 1947), pp. 1ff; Jaini, Padmanabha, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi, 1979), pp. 47-87; Jaina, Hiralal, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti me Jaina Dharma ka Yogadāna* (in Hindi, Bhopal, 1962), pp. 49-118.

21. *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sūtras 157-158. Also see *Bhagavati sūtra* (*Vyakhyāprajñapti sūtra*), 20.8.58-59, 16.5, *Kalpa sūtra*, 2.18.203; *Paumacariyam*, 1.1-7, 5.145-148.

In *Paumacariyam*, Candraprabha is called Śaśiprabha, and Suvidhi or Puṣpadanta is called Kusumadanta. The practice of translating names or giving their other words is often resorted to in Jaina literature and accounts. Thus Ārya Śyāma became more famous as Ārya Kālaka and his grand-pupil Ārya Samudra later became famous as Ārya Sāgara or Sāgara Śramaṇa.

About the name of the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara of Bharata Kṣetra, it may be noted that perhaps the name was Muni (monk) (called) Suvrata. He seems to have been an ancient great monk, since the Jaina Canon refers to an ancient Stūpa, dedicated to him, existing at Viśālā (*Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, verses 949-51; *Haribhadra*, *Āv. Vṛtti*, p 437; *Āv. Cūrṇi*, p. 567). Suvrata, as an ancient Ṛṣi, is referred to in the Purāṇas, see *Prācīna-Caritra-Kośa* (in Marathi, ed. by Siddheśvara Śāstri Chitrav, Poona, 1932), p. 635. For Ṛṣabha, see *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 115 The attempt of many Digambara writers and B.N. Sharma to read reference to Ṛṣabhanātha in several verses of the Ṛgveda is not at all convincing.

Nemi is a shortened name of Ariṣṭanemi.

For Jambudvipa and Airavata-kṣetra, see Collette Caillat, *The Jaina Cosmology* (Paris, 1981), pp. 142ff and plates.

22. Even though Mallinātha was a male according to the Digambaras and a female according to the Śvetāmbaras, a noteworthy feature in Jaina iconography is the complete agreement in both the sects about the names of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of this age in the Bharata-kṣetra.

The sex difference of the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha is based upon the main point of Śvetāmbara and Digambara difference, namely, the *acelakattva* for Jaina monks later on reflected in the worship of idols of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The real crisis on this point seems to have come in c fifth century A.D. when perhaps some of the texts might have been adjusted to suit the requirements of each sect. According to Digambara belief, Mallinātha as a princess cannot attain Kevalajñāna because females would not discard clothes, and clothes mean *parigraha* The Digambaras do not believe in *Strī-mukti*

However, we must remember that in the Kuṣāna age at Mathura both the sects worshipped Tīrthaṅkara images which are without any garment on their person, and we do find on the pedestals Jaina monks who are nude and who hold only a piece of cloth in front of their privies. But we also find well-dressed Jaina nuns on these pedestals, The question of *acelakattva* had not yet reached its crisis which resulted in a wider schism.

All Śvetāmbara images, from about the middle or end of the fifth century A.D., show a lower garment on the person of every Tirthankara. No mark is shown on the person of Mallinātha image in the Śvetāmbara sect which would immediately help us to recognise Malli as a female. There is only one image so far discovered which represents Mallinātha clearly as a female with somewhat developed breasts and a *veṇī* of hair at the

back. The head of this image, preserved in the State Museum Lucknow (no. J.885 from Unao in U.P.), is lost

The Digambara stand on *strī-mukti* seems to be a later offshoot in the history of the Jaina Church since in the lists of heads list of *Āryikās* (nuns) who were direct disciples of various Tīrthaṅkaras is carefully maintained by both the sects Possibly there was no such bar on the fair sex according to the original doctrine, the discarding of garment being optional even for the male sex (monks).

23. See Luders *List of Early Brahmi Inscriptions in Northern India*, *Epigraphia Indica Vol X, Appendix*
24. The pedestal is preserved in the Lucknow Museum, no. J 20. For different views on the date of the image, see J E. van Lohouizen-de-Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp 281ff For the corrected reading of the inscription, see Bajpai, K D, *New Reading of the Inscription on Jina Image J 20 in the Lucknow Museum*, *J.U P H S., 1958*.
25. For the age etc of different Jaina Councils, see Muni Kalyanavijaya, *Vira Nirvāṇa Samvata aur Jaina Kāla-gaṇanā* (in Hindi). Belief in 24 Jinas is known to *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 16 5, 20 8 58-59 *Rājapraśnīya sūtra* refers to images of Jinas *Paumacariyam*, 11.2-3, 28.38-39, 33 89 refer to images of Jinas, but *Paumacariyam* should date from 530-57=473 A D The text of Rāja praśnīya, as available today, contains art data of the Kuṣāna period. Bhagavatī sūtra text, as available today, also cannot be earlier than the age of the Mathura Council of c early fourth century A.D.
26. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 1080; *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, p. 502 Hemacandra, in his comm on *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1 47-48, writes

    वृषादयः चतुर्विंशति अर्हतां ऋषभादीनां ध्वजाः चिह्नानि । एते च दक्षिणाङ्गविनिवेशिनो लाञ्छनभेदा इति ।

    Also cf:

    सर्व्वोरामकृताकारमर्हतां लाञ्छन भवेत ।
    व्यक्तयापन्नध्यावयव वृषेभतुरगादिकम् ॥

    —*Lokaprakāśa* of Vinayavijaya, III 32.224
27. The current Digambara verse describing the Eight Prātihāryas is:

    अशोकवृक्ष सुरपुष्पवृष्टिर्दिव्यध्वनिश्चामरमासन च ।
    भामण्डल दुन्दुभिरातपत्र सत्प्रातिहार्याणि जिनेश्वराणाम् ॥

    Also, *Harivamsa* of Jinasena, 9 212, 56.115ff, *Ādipurāṇa*, 23.25-73. The Śvetāmbaras give a similar list, see *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, v. 440, p 106.
28. See Shah, U P, *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 52-53 and figs 3-14
29. Tagarakusuma of *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (TP), 4 605 Tagara of *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*. The editors of TP have taken *Tagarakusuma=fish*, which is supported by the Table of T.N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pp. 192-194, based on Digambara Tamil and Kannada sources.
30. Shah, U P, *Age of Differentiation of Śvetambara and Digambara Images*, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1951).

30a. *ASI, AR, 1925-26*, pp 125-126, pl lvi, b. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pl. VII, fig. 18, p. 14.

31. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 4, sū. 307; *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 137, pp 225f.
32. *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 139, pp. 232-33. For *Siddhāyatanas* at various places according to Digambara tradition, see *Harivamśa* (Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamala, Bombay), 5-6, pp. 70-140.
33. Cf.

    वृषो गजोऽश्वः प्लवगः क्रौञ्चोऽब्जं स्वस्तिकः शशी ।
    मकरः श्रीवत्सः खड्गी महिषः सूकरस्तथा ॥
    श्येनो वज्रं मृगश्छागो नन्द्यावर्तो घटोऽपि च ।
    कूर्मो नीलोत्पलं शङ्खः फणी सिंहोऽर्हतां ध्वजाः ॥

    —*Abhidhāna Cintamaṇi*, I.47-48

    For lists see *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 381-82; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 604-605; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 1.78-79.
34. Cf:

    वर्षे जगत्पूज्यतमे प्रतीत पृथग्विध तीर्थकृतां यदत्र ।
    तल्लाञ्छन सद्व्यवहारसिद्ध्यै बिम्बे जिनस्येह निवेशयामि ।

    —*Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 4.214, p. 115
35. Agrawala, V S, *Terracottas from Ahicchatra*, *Ancient India*, no 4, pl LXVI.
36. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, sutra 30, p 135; *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, p 142; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I.3 66-71
37. *Padmacarita*, 3 283; *Harivamśa*, 9 99; *Ādipurāṇa*, 17 200.
38. Also see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 232.
39. Cf *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 3.2, sū. 144 which describes Mahāvīra as meditating under a tree on a *Pṛthvīśilāpaṭa*. Also see Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp 70ff.
40. For illustrations, see Shah, U P., *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 49-74, figs. 5-13
41. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 553 in Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p 232
42. *Paumacariyam*, 2 31ff.
43. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p 235
44. *Harivamśa*, 9 212, 56 115-118.
45. *Ādipurāṇa*, parva 23, 25-73, pp. 542-49 The *Kalyāṇamandira stotra*, ascribed to Siddhasena Divākara, follows this list, see *Mahāprabhāvika Navasmaraṇa*, pp. 460-488. For later Digambara lists following the same tradition, see *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 4.205-213, pp 114-115.
46. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 919-927, p 267. Also see *Padmapurāna* of Raviṣena, 2.149-154, p 21 and p 17, v. 101.
47. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p 341.
48. The stock list is: Aśoka tree, shower of celestial flowers, divine music (*divyadhvani*), flywhisks, lion-throne, nimbus, celestial drum-beating and triple-umbrella.
49. Cf:

    बिम्बाधो गजसिंहकीचकलाञ्छितं सिंहासनं, पार्श्वयो चामरधरौ तथोर्ध्वहिश्च मस्तकोपरि क्रमोपरि तु छत्रत्रय तत्पार्श्वयोरुभयो. काञ्चन-कलशाङ्कितशुण्डाग्र श्वेतगजद्वय गजोपरिझर्झरवादककरा: पुरुषास्तदूर्ध्वयो: मालाकरौ शिखरे शङ्खध्मास्तदुपरि कलशः । मतान्तरे सिंहासनमध्यभागे हरिणद्वयता रेण (?) ङ्कितधर्मचक्रं तत्पार्श्वयो: ग्रहमूर्तय: ॥

    —*Ācāra-Dinakara*, II, p. 205

50. The Āyagapaṭa of Śivaghoṣaka, Smith, *Jaina Stūpa* pl. X, *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 12, shows, in the centre, Pārśva attended by a Gaṇadhara on each side. No. J.19 in the Lucknow Museum, installed in the year 9, obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, shows a monk and a nun attending upon a standing Jina. No. J.117, Lucknow Museum, obtained from Kankali Tila, shows, on one side of the sitting Jina, a Nāga with folded hands.
51. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 322, 335, *Haribhadra's Vṛtti*, pp. 144-148.
52. Cf.:

    ऊर्ध्वस्थानस्थिता अथवा पर्यङ्कसंस्थितास्ताः ।
    मुक्तिगतानां तेषां यत्तृतीयं नास्ति संस्थानम् ॥ ७६ ॥
    यत्संस्थानं त्विह भवं त्यजतश्चरमसमये ।
    आसीच्च प्रदेशघनं तत्संस्थानं त्विह तस्य ॥ ८१ ॥

    —Sanskṛt Chāyā of original PKT. *Ceiyavandana Mahābhāsa*, p 15
53. Cf:

    मुक्तिपदसंस्थितानामपि परिवारं प्रातिहार्यप्रमुखं ।
    प्रतिमानां निर्मापयन्त्यन्यथार्थिकभावनानिमित्तम् ॥ ८२
    यत्पुनर्भणन्ति केऽपि अवसरणजिनस्य रूपमेतत् ।
    जनव्यवहार एष यस्मादर्थं ईदृशोऽत्र ॥ ८३
    सिंहासनं निषण्णः पादौ स्थापयित्वा पादपीठे ।
    करधृतयोगमुद्रो जिननाथो देशनां करोति ॥ ८४

    —*Ibid.*, p. 15

    Also see *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, v 70, p 12 and comm, p 14 describing the three *avasthās*, namely, *Chadmastha*, *Kevali* and *Siddha*. These correspond to the Pindastha, Padastha and Rūpātīta dhyānas of the Jaina system of Yoga
54. *Vāstusara*, pp 93ff
55. This is an uncommon feature on the simhāsana of Jaina images hardly obtained in sculptures discovered hitherto. Possibly it was a local tradition of the age of Thakkar Feru and soon died out as there were already two bigger *cāmaradharas* in a *parikara*
56. See the drawing by Pandit Bhagawandas, the editor, in *Vāstusāra*, opposite p. 96.
57. For Śānti-Devī, see Shah, U P, *Minor Jaina Deities, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (JOI)*, vol XXXI, no 3, pp 281-286, figs. B, C, D.
58. Obtained on Śvetāmbara Jaina bronzes of c 9th-10th cent A.D.
59. Cf.

    ॐ नमो भगवते अर्हते सुरकृतातिशयान् शरीरे स्थापयामि स्वाहा ।
    ॐ यक्षेश्वराय स्वाहा । ॐ ह्रीं ह्रूं ह्रीं शासनदेव्यै स्वाहा ।
    ॐ धर्मचक्राय स्वाहा । ॐ मृगद्वयाय स्वाहा । ॐ रत्नध्वजाय स्वाहा ।
    ॐ नमो भगवते अर्हते जिनप्राकारत्रितयं स्थापयामि स्वाहा ॥
    इति अतिशयानां मन्त्राः ।

    —*Nirvāṇakalikā*, pp. 23-24

    The *ratna-dhvaja* and the *prākāra-traya* are obviously meant for a representation of the *samavasaraṇa*.
60. Cf.:

    छत्रत्रयमशोकं च प्रभामण्डलदुन्दुभी ॥ ७४
    आसनं पुष्पवृष्टिं च चामरेन्द्रध्वजं तथा ।
    यथाशोभं यथोक्तेषु सर्वस्थानेषु योजयेत् ॥ ७५
    यक्षं च दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे शासनदेवताम् ।
    लाञ्छनं पादपीठाधः स्थापयेद्यस्य यद्भवेत् ॥ ७६

    —*Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha* (in mss.), chp. 5, 74-76
61. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, adh. 1, vv. 76-79, p. 9.
62. This description of the *parikara* of a Jina image seems to apply to images of c. 11th cent. A.D. or later. The *parikara* was not so elaborate before 9th-10th cent. A.D. nor was the *ādyaśakti* introduced so early. See *Kumārapālacaritam*, published by Godiji Jaina Upāśraya, Bombay, 1926, app. 3, p. 221a. This is attached here as an appendix. The passage is from *Aparājitapṛcchā*.
63. *Triṣaṣṭi*, I (transl. in GOS, vol. LI), p 192 for description of *samavasaraṇa* of Ṛṣabhanātha.
64. *Ādipurāṇa*, 23.50-59 (Jnanapitha ed.), pp. 546-547.
65. Bhattacharya, Brindavan C, *Jaina Iconography* (first ed.), p 41.
66. See B.C Bhattacharya's discussion on iconography of the various Tīrthaṅkaras in *ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

    In *ibid.*, p. 85, Bhattacharya says that the Magadhan king Śrenika, better known as Bimbisāra, acts as the chowrie-bearer of Mahāvīra.
67. *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 4, sū 307; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 491, p. 117. Also for a very early list, see *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū 137, p 225. For Siddhāyatanas at various places according to Digambaras, see *Harivamśa* of Jinasena, parvans 5-6 (Manikchand Dig. Jaina Granthamala edn.), pp 70-140.
68. *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū 139, pp. 232-233.

    Old images of Śāśvata-Jinas are not traced hitherto; possibly for want of recognizing symbols, they could not be identified. These images do not show any iconographic difference from those of other Jinas. A few later inscribed images of Śāśvata-Jinas are noted in the *Jaina Lekhasamgraha*, Part 1, edited by Buddhisagara suri, and in the *Tīrtharāja Ābu*, vol. I (in Gujarati) by Muni Jayantavijaya.
69. The Śvetāmbara conception can be compared with a similar but very concise description in the Digambara *Harivamśa*, parva 5, vv 361-365 giving the *parivāra* of the *Siddha-akṛtrima* or *Śāśvata* images in the *Siddhāyatana*.
70. They are. Svastika, Śrīvatsa, Nandyāvarta, Vardhamānaka (powder-flask), Bhadrāsana, Kalaśa, Darpaṇa and Matsya-yugma, according to *Aupapātika sūtra*, sū. 31.
71. Dress of the Jaina nuns is prescribed in the Jaina canonical texts "In all four clothes were used for the nuns according to the *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, II.5.1.1 (also *Thāṇāṅga*, p. 1866). One of them was two cubits broad (*duhatthavitthāram*), two of them were three cubits broad, and the fourth was four cubits in breadth" (Deo, S.B., *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 479).

    Numerous other details are available in the *Niryuktis* and the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*. The *Oghaniryukti* (671-678) gives a complete list of as many as eleven clothes to be worn by the nun and the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* (vol. IV, vv. 4080ff) also confirms the same number. Out of

these eleven clothes six were worn on the lower part of the body. Of the latter *calani* or *calanikā* was upto the knees (*Jānupramāṇa*) and was worn after the manner of bamboo-top dancers and was unsewn

The *Oghaniryukti-bhāṣya*, 317 and the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, IV, 4088-91 refer to the *kañcuka* among clothes worn on the upper part of the body of a Jaina nun. It was probably unsewn The standard consisted of two-and-half hands in length and one-hand in breadth, and varied according to the body of the persons wearing . . (Deo, S.B., *ibid*, 480-481).

72. Shah, U.P., *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper 6*, fig. 21. Also see *ibid*, figs. 16-20 and 28.
73. The Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions on rock-beds in various caves and caverns in Tamil Nadu prove the penetration of Jaina monks in the South (esp. Tamil Nadu), possibly through Andhra, Orissa and Pratiṣṭhānapur, as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. They carried with them the tradition of the Jina image which was current in the North in the 3rd cent. B.C. or a little earlier. This tradition did not include the *Śrī-vatsa* motif as suggested by the Lohanipur torso Hence the absence of the *Śrī-vatsa* on Jina images in the South.
74. *Aupapātika sutra*, sūtra 10 and comm. of Abhayadeva, pp 26-42. A paper giving analysis of the Jaina and Buddhist descriptions was read by this author before the International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi in 1964, and was sent for publication in the Vogel Commemoration Volume, which unfortunately is still not published A free translation of the Aupapātika account is given above because of its obvious importance.
75. See *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I, p 110, fig VI and plate 48 The *ūrṇā* is seen on Mathura Museum no 12.268, *ibid.*, pl 47b, but the face is later retouched
76. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol XXXVI, pp 1-119 and chp III, vv. 17-25; Agrawala, V.S., *Thirty-two marks of the Buddha-body, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (JOI)*, vol. I, no 1, pp. 20-22.
77. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig 64 from Patan; *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. III, pl. 311A. *Ibid.*, pl. 310A is a stone *Caumukha* from Gwalior, pl. 310B is a bronze *Caumukha* with 72 Jinas from a Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat, while pl 311B is a bronze *Caumukha* with 24 Jinas from the Indian Museum, Calcutta A four-faced Sahasrakūṭa stone sculpture is in worship at Satruñjaya, see Acharya Kanchanasagara suri, *Shri Shatruñjaya Giriraja Darshan in Sculpture and Architecture* (Kapadwanj, 1982), fig 119 *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig 63 is a four-fold (*Caumukha*) *Nandīsvara-bimba* in bronze with 13 sitting Tīrthaṅkaras on each side (52 Jinas in all) *Ibid*, fig 76 represents a big bronze Samavasaraṇa dated in 1065 A.D., originally from Sirohi now in a Jaina shrine in Surat It shows four Tīrthaṅkaras on four sides in the Gandhakuṭi at the top.
78. Cf :

जह एग जिणबिंब तिन्नि व पंच व तहा चउव्वीस ।
सत्तरसय पि केई कारेंति विचित्तपणिहाणा ॥ २६
जिणरिद्धिदसणत्थ एगं कारेइ कोइ भत्तिजुओ ।
पयडियपाडिहेर देवागमसोहिय चेव ॥ २७
दसणनाणचरित्ताराहणकज्जे जिणत्तिअ केइ ।
परमेट्ठिनमोक्कार उज्जमिय कोइ पचजिणे ॥ २८
कल्लाणयतवमहवा उज्जमिय भरहवासभाविंत्ति ।
बहुमाणविसेसाओ केइ कारेंति चउवीस ॥ २९
उक्कोससत्तरिसय नरलोए विहरइ त्ति भत्तीए ।
सत्तरिसय पि केइ बिंबाण कारइ धण्णो ॥ ३०

– *Ceiyavandaṇamahābhāsa*, pp. 5-6

79. Such images with three Tīrthankaras are listed as *Ratnatraya* in Digambara Jaina Catalogues of images. Images with five Jina figures are sometimes worshipped and listed as *Pañca-Parameṣṭhins*.
80. A stone plaque with 170 Tīrthaṅkara figures is in worship in a shrine at Satruñjaya, see Acharya Kanchanasagara suri, *op cit.*, fig 120.
81. See *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 35 from British Museum, London, originally from Orissa.

81a. For *Camuha* or *Caturmukha* images, see Sudhin De, *Caumukha, a Symbolic Jaina Art, Jaina Journal*, vol. VI, no. 1, pp 27-30 and plates, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp 22f, 26, 95, 117, 120

For the beginning of the concept of a four-faced shrine (a temple with entrances facing four different quarters) and of a four-fold image, see Shah, U.P., *Jaina Anuśrutis about Kālaka and some recent discoveries in Jaina Art*, Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture, *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol 34 (1978), pp. 1-33 and plates, and Shah, U P., *Iconography, Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. III, chp. 35, pp 483-485, *Symbol Worship in Jain Temples*, published in Proceedings of the Seminar on Symbolism in Temple Art and Architecture (Bombay, 1982).

81b. *Jaina Lekha-samgraha* (ed. by Buddhisāgara suri), part 2, no. 19 (*Caturvimśati-Jina-Paṭṭah kāritah*), dated V.S 1219, also see *ibid*, nos. 35, 109, 112, 135, 140, etc and no. 199 for the *paṭa* of 96 Jinas installed by Somasundara sūri

82. Das Gupta, P.C., *A Rare Jaina Icon from Sat Deulia, Jaina Journal*, vol VII, no 3, pp 130-132 and plates
83. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I, transl. in G.O S., vol LI, pp 358-370, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, IV 94, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 301; *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sūtra 33 The *Ācārāṅga Niryukti* says:

अट्ठावयमुज्जिते गयग्गपए धम्मचक्के य ।
पासरहावत्तनगं चमरुप्पाय च वदामि ॥

84. Harihara Singh, *Jaina Temples of Western India* (Varanasi, 1982), p. 15; Dhaky, M.A , *Prabhāsapāṭaṇandm Prācina Jaina Mandiro* (in Gujarati), *Svādhyāya*, vol III, no 3, p. 328.
85. Harihara Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 154 for the Aṣṭāpada sculpture at Vastupālavihāra, Girnar and p. 127 for the Aṣṭāpada in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia.
86. *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, VI.23.
87. Nawab, Sarabhai M., *Jaina Paintings*, Vol. I (Ahmedabad, 1980), colour pl. 37 and 31.
88. *Tiloyapannatti*, 4.550, vol I, p. 210. For a slightly different Digambara tradition, see *Varāngacarita*, 27.86.

89. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, I.35. The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 381 merely gives gotra names which suggest the same vaṁśas as suggested by Hemacandra.
90. Nawab, Sarabhai M., *op. cit.*, colour plates 52, 53, 86, 87.
91. *Ibid.*, colour plates 36, 56, 57, 91 and fig. 305. For Dik-Kumārīs, see Shah, U.P., *Minor Jaina Deities*, *JOI*, vol XXXI, no. 3, pp. 277-281 and fig. 1.
92. Nawab, Sarabhai M., *op. cit.*, colour plates 28, 48, 88.
93. *Ibid.*, colour plates 29, 35.
94. *Ibid*, colour plate 34.
95. For the Nirvāṇa-Kalyāṇaka of Ṛṣabha, see *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti sūtra*, sūtra 33; *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, chapter 47.
96. Harihara Singh, *op cit.*, pp. 115, 124-125 (Kumbharia); pp. 63, 64, 66 etc. (Abu). Shah, U P, *Jaina Stories in Stone at Abu and Kumbharia*, *Jaina Yuga Journal*, *Bombay*, for September 1959, November 1959, and January 1960.
97. See Nawab, S.M., *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, vol. II; Muni Punyavijaya, *Jesalmer ni Citrasamṛddhi*; Sarabhai Nawab, *Jaina Paintings*, Vol. I.
98. See note 83 above *Ācārāṅga Niryukti*, vv. 331-332 quoted in the *Ācārāṅga Vṛtti* of Śīlāṅka, pp 418-419.
99. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 4 25-221, pp. 89-115. *Harivaṁśa*, *Ādipurāṇa* and other *purāṇas* describe these events in the lives of different Tīrthaṅkaras.

    For information on different Tīrthaṅkaras, esp see Malavaniya, Dalsukh, *Sthānāṅga-Samavāyāṅga*, pp. 696-745.
100. *Sthanāṅga sūtra*, 4, sū. 307; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 491, p 117. For an early list, see *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 137, p 225. For *Siddhāyatanas* at various places according to Digambara tradition, see *Harivaṁśa*, parvans 5-6, pp. 70-140.
101. *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 139, pp. 232-233.
102. See notes 68 and 69 above.
103. Sometimes the epithet "Svāmī" (Lord, Master) is applied at the end of names of Tīrthaṅkaras, e g., Mahāvīra svāmī, Munisuvrata svāmī, Yugandhara svāmī, Sīmandhara svāmī, Jīvita-svāmī and so on.
104. *Pratikramaṇa sūtra*, *Prabodha Ṭīkā*, pp. 255ff. The names are also given in *Śrī-Viṁśati-Jina-stavanam*, published in *Sanskṛta-Prākṛta-stavana-sandoha*, pp. 38-39, hymn 27.
105. See note 104 above.
106. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 84.
107. *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava-kośa*, vol. I, p. 264.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60 under Aḍhāī-dvīpa-pāṭha.
109. *Trilokasāra*, v. 681, p. 281.
110. It is not necessary to append here for our purpose the lists of Past, Present and Future Tīrthaṅkaras of Airavata-kṣetra in Jambūdvīpa, or of the Pūrva and Paścima Bharata-kṣetras and Pūrva and Paścima Airavata-kṣetras in the Dhātakī khaṇḍa, etc. for which see *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava-kośa*, vol. I, pp. 265-70.
111. For Śvetāmbara lists, see *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1.50-53; *Lokaprakāśa*, 34.295ff; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 7th dvāra, sūtras 280-295; *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 157ff, pp. 150ff, though it gives lists of Future Jinas, curiously omits the Past Jinas.
112. The Digambara list is based on the list given by T.N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikuṇṟam and Its Temples*, p. 190, which is based on a Jayamālā. Also see *Hindi Jaina Encyclopedia* (ed. B.L. Jaina), vol. I, p. 265; *Jaina Siddhānta Saṁgraha*, p. 19.
113. *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1.53-56; *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 159, pp. 153-54; *Lokaprakāśa*, 34. vv. 297ff; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, *op. cit.*
114. *Uttarapurāṇa* by Guṇabhadra, 76, vv. 471-481; *Trilokasāra*, gāthās 872-876.
115. *Samavāyāṅga* reads मुनिसुव्रत सर्वविद् (v.l. सर्वभावविद्). If सर्ववित् is not an epithet of मुनिसुव्रत, then सर्ववित् is no. 12, अमम becomes no. 13 and so on. The last one then is अनन्तवीर्य and भद्र or भद्रकृत् is his epithet. See also Malavaṇiyā, Dalsukh, *Sthānaṅga - Samavāyāṅga* (Ahmedabad, 1955), pp. 725ff.
116. *Jaina Stotra Sandoha*, pp. 54-69 and Intro., pp. 69-72.
117. Chanda, Ramaprasad, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pl. IX, pp. 41-42.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Iconography of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

1. FIRST TĪRTHAṄKARA: ṚṢABHANĀTHA

The first Jaina Tīrthankara Ṛṣabhanātha (or Vṛṣabhanātha) is variously invoked as Ādinātha, Ādīśvara, Yugādideva, Nābheya (son of Nābhi), and so on. He was the son of Nābhi and Marudevī ruling from the city of Ayodhya. Nābhirāja was the last of the Kulakaras according to the Śvetāmbaras, whereas Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi (also a Kulakara) was the last Kulakara according to the Digambaras. Ṛṣabhanātha is further addressed as Prathama-rāja (First King), Prathama-bhikṣuka (First Anchoret) and the Prathama or Ādi-nātha (First Lord or Tīrthankara).[1]

Golden in complexion, Ṛsabha descended upon this earth from the Sarvārthasiddhi vimāna (heaven) of Jaina cosmography and was born in the Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra, according to both the sects. The Āvaśyaka Niryukti offers two explanations of his name: He was so called because he had the mark of a bull (*vṛṣabha*) on his thigh (*urū*). Or, because the bull was the first amongst the (fourteen—Śve., or sixteen—Dig.) dreams seen by his mother (at the time of his descent from heaven), he was called Vṛṣabha [2]

Digambara writers generally say that the name of every Tīrthankara was given by Indra at the end of the birth-bath ceremony. In his Ādipurāna, Jinasena offers various explanations. Being the best and the greatest of all in the universe he was called Vṛṣabha, or because he showered the nectar of Dharma or because his mother had seen a bull amongst the (sixteen) auspicious dreams and so on.[3] The bull also became his cognizance according to both the sects.

According to the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā were the two queens of Ṛṣabha, according to the Harivamśa they were Sunandā and Nandā, while according to Śvetāmbara writers they were Sunandā and Sumaṅgalā. Bāhubali, a son and Sundarī, a daughter, were born to his wife Sunandā while the other queen gave birth to Bharata and a daughter named Brāhmī. In all one hundred sons were born.

Ṛṣabhadeva first taught people how to kindle fire as also various arts, including the seventy-two arts for females and the sixty-four arts for males. He taught dramaturgy to his son Bharata, as also the various methods of warfare and instructed his two daughters Brāhmī and Sundarī in writing (scripts) and arithmetic respectively. Ṛṣabha invented town-planning and divided his people into three classes of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, on the basis of their professions. Indra built the city of Vinītā for Ṛṣabhadeva.

Having enjoyed kingship for an extraordinary number of years, Ṛṣabha renounced the world at the request of Laukāntika gods. Raviṣena and other Digambara authors say that after seeing the dance of Nīlāñjanā Ṛṣabha's mind turned away from worldly pleasures. It is said Indra had sent the dancer for this very purpose and when, in the midst of dance, Nīlāñjanā suddenly disappeared, Ṛṣabha thought of the evanescence of all worldly objects.

Two fragments of a frieze from Mathura, assignable to Śunga age, now preserved in the museum at Lucknow (nos. J.354+609) seem to represent the scene of the dance of Nīlāñjanā and Ṛṣabha meditating after turning a monk (*Fig. 18*). Under a pavilion, a female is dancing in front of a royal personage. The standing figures on the right appear to be Laukāntika gods while the naked figure (half preserved and

obviously of a Jaina monk) may be Ṛṣabhanātha renouncing the world. Towards the right end of the sculpture we find two partly mutilated figures sitting in ardha-padmāsana and dhyāna mudrā. The panel shows different scenes, one after another, perhaps in some sequence. It seems that the practice of depicting scenes from lives of Tīrthaṅkaras was already in vogue in at least the first century B.C.

Daily for one year Rṣabha gave away in charity money, gold, etc., at the end of which period, after having properly apportioned his territories amongst his sons, he set out for spiritual conquest.

Reaching a garden outside the city-gates in a palanquin carried by Indra and other gods, he took his seat under an Aśoka (Jonesia asoka) tree and "abandoned all clothes, wreaths, ornaments, as well as the passions. Indra placed on the Lord's shoulders a *devadūṣya* (garment or piece of costly cloth)."[4] In four handfuls Ṛṣabha tore out the hair on his head. Indra held this hair in the hem of his own garment and requested the Lord not to remove the rest of hair with the fifth and the last handful since these hair at the back, falling in tresses and curls on the Lord's shoulders were extremely beautiful to look at.[5] Sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha unmistakably show hair-locks falling on the shoulders of the Jina. Even in sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, assignable to the Kuṣāṇa age, this tradition is followed. Amongst the Digambaras also sculptures of Ādinātha show hair-locks on shoulders. But Digambara texts like Ādipurāṇa, Harivaṁśa or Padmacarita[6] say that Ṛṣabha plucked his hair in five handfuls (like all other Tīrthaṅkaras), i.e., he removed all the hair on the head. However, Digambara writers like the author of Harivaṁśa account for the hair-locks by saying that *jaṭā* grew over his head when Ṛṣabha was practising penance.[7]

When Ṛṣabha was practising penance, Nami and Vinami, sons of Kaccha and Mahākaccha (royal princes who had turned ascetics along with Ṛṣabha), approached him with a desire to obtain some share in the territories distributed by Ṛṣabha, and stood on his sides, sword in hand, when the Lord was engaged in deep meditation.[8] Dharaṇa, Indra of the Nāga-kumaras, saw Nami and Vinami, and gave them Lordship over Vidyādharas and gave them 48,000 Vidyās, *Gaurī*, *Prajñapti* and others. As directed, Nami and Vinami founded two rows of cities on the sides of the Mt. Vaitāḍhya and ruled over them. *Figure 40* from Śatruñjaya is a rare sculpture depicting Nami and Vinami standing by the sides of Rṣabha meditating in *kāyotsarga mudrā*.

Rṣabha obtained *kevalajñāna* while he was standing in meditation under a banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) in a big garden near the city of Purimatāla. Ṛṣabha had a following of several thousands of sādhus, sādhvīs, śrāvakas and śrāvikās; of his eighty-four gaṇadharas or chief disciples, Vṛṣabhasena, also known as Puṇḍarīka-swāmī, was the chief one, while Brāhmī was the head of *āryikās* (nuns) of the order of Ṛṣabhadeva.

Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa while sitting in meditation in the *samaparyaṅka* posture (padmāsana) on the Mountain called Aṣṭāpada or Kailāśa. Indra and other gods performed the cremation rites while Bharata is said to have erected, on the site of cremation, a Stūpa and an Āyatana (shrine) with images of all the 24 Jinas, the sons of Ṛṣabha and of some followers.[9]

Both the sects describe the bull as the cognizance of Ādinātha and Gomukha and Cakreśvarī as his attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively. Gomukha, as the name suggests, has the face of a cow or bull (vṛṣabha) and is also said to ride on the bull vehicle. This bull-faced attendant of Ṛṣabha closely resembles Nandi the vāhana of Śiva. Ṛṣabha, with his beautiful *jaṭā* (matted hair) over head and hair-locks falling on shoulders, having the bull as his cognizance, closely resembles the conception of Śiva with the bull vehicle (see *Figs. 22, 25, 28, 32, 34, 55, 57*). Digambara writers address Ṛṣabhanātha variously as *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora* and also as *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Svayambhu* and so on. It is also noteworthy that Ṛṣabhanātha is said to have obtained Nirvāṇa on Mt. Kailāśa. Of course, the Kailāśa, also called Aṣṭāpada, is variously identified.[10] Mt. Śatruñjaya in Saurashtra is especially associated with Ṛṣabhanātha.[11]

A hymn, Sopārakastvana, is addressed to Ṛṣabhanātha image worshipped at Sopāraka (ancient Sūrpāraka tīrtha, modern Sopārā near Bombay). Authorship of this hymn is not known but it shows that at the ancient port of Śūrpāraka, a big Caitya dedicated to this Jina and enshrining images of Jaina monks like Nāgendra and others existed. The city of Sopāraka is here described as an ornament of

Kuṅkaṇadeśa.[12] It is said that in the Śaiva temple of Kuḍuṅgeśvara at Ujjain, Siddhasena Divākara chanted a hymn before Śiva at the end of which the liṅga burst open and an image of Ṛṣabha came up. Vikramāditya gave a grant of certain villages for the worship of this Jina.[13] Shorn of all magic elements, the legend suggests existence of a Ṛṣabha-shrine at Ujjain with the image possibly consecrated by the great ācārya Siddhasena Divākara.

Jinaprabha sūri notes: "At Śatruñjaya is worshipped (the image of Ādinātha, installed by Śri Vairaswami (Vajraswāmī), as also the chief deity on this mount Nandivardhana Yugādinātha, installed by the Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kalaśa Śrī Puṇḍarīka-swāmī installed by Śrī Śāntinātha (the sixteenth Jina), another image known as Pūrṇakalaśa (possibly an image of Puṇḍarīka the chief Gaṇadhara of Ṛṣabha) installed by Śrī Vairaswāmī. On this mount is also worshipped an image of Śāntinātha, installed in the Jina's life-time and known as Sudhā-kuṇḍa-Jīvitaswāmī. Here is also worshipped the first person to obtain mokṣa, the mother of Ṛṣabha—Marudevā-swāminī."[14] Amongst other well-known sites of Ṛṣabha shrines are the temple of Kesariyāji near Udaipur, Rajasthan, the temple of Kulpāka in Madhya Pradesh,[15] and the temple of Ādinātha built by Vimala Saha on Mt. Abu, and the Ādinātha temple at Khajuraho.

An image of Ṛṣabhanātha, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, from the bank of the Balabhadra kuṇḍa, Mathura, discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna, is preserved in the Curzon Muzeum, Mathura. An inscription on its pedestal, dated in the year 84 of Vāsudeva, records that it is a *pratimā* (image) of Bhagavān Arhat Ṛṣabha (*Bhagavato Arahato Ṛṣabhasya*).[16] Head and the upper portions of the sculpture are lost. There is a *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest of the Jina and a *cakra* and a *padma* mark on the soles of his feet. Pedestal shows a devotional scene: a *dharmacakra* surmounted on a pillar with a few male figures on the right and a few females on the left. The first two males standing near the Wheel appear to be Jaina sādhus and the first two females are Jaina nuns. The rest represent Jaina laymen and laywomen. No. B.36 in the Mathura Museum, also of Kuṣāṇa period, is an image of Ṛṣabha. Nos. J.26 and J.69 in the Lucknow Museum are images of Ṛṣabha of the same age from Mathura. Of the bronzes from Chausa in the Patna Museum,[17] nos. 6538 and 6539 are figures of Ṛṣabha standing and dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. Nos. 6553 and 6554 from the Chausa hoard in the Patna Museum show Ṛṣabha in padmāsana and are of a later period. Nos. 6551 and 6552, identified as Candraprabha, also represent Ṛṣabha. Of the Kuṣāṇa age, images of Ṛṣabha are also found on the four-fold images known also as Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā in inscriptions. One of the four Jinas represents Ṛṣabha who is identified with the help of hair-locks falling on his shoulders.

Of the Gupta period we have a few sculptures of Ṛṣabha in the Mathura Museum (*Fig. 28*, also see figures 25, 26, 27 in *Studies in Jaina Art*). One of these, no. B.7 in the Mathura Museum shows two more sitting Jina figures on the pedestal on the sides of the *dharmacakra* and thus this sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, sitting in padmāsana, is a *Tri-Tirthika image*. Mathura Museum no. 268 is a standing figure of Ṛṣabha with the face and hair possibly retouched later. The inscription on its pedestal calls him Ṛṣabha. According to the inscription on its simple pedestal with only the dharmacakra in centre, this image of Ṛṣabha was dedicated by Samudra and Sagara to Sangaraka. The image is assigned to early fourth century A.D. The sculpture is illustrated by us in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper no. 6, figure 4. The upper corners of this sculpture are occupied by a pair of garland-bearing celestials and the lower ones by a pair of fly-whisk bearing attendants and the margins on the sides by undulating creepers.

Several bronze or brass images of Ṛṣabha, assignable to different ages are obtained in the Akota hoard. Of these two belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries are especially noteworthy. The first, dating from the fifth century (*Fig. 22*) shows the Jina standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. Beautiful hair-locks on his shoulders make the identification possible. The pedestal which perhaps had an inscription is lost. The eyes of the Jina, concentrated in dhyāna on the tip of the nose, are studded with silver and the lower lip is shown red with copper inlay. The hair on the head are in schematic curls and with a prominent *uṣṇīṣa*. The image is a rare specimen of great importance since it is the earliest image discovered so far showing the lower garment on the person of a Tīrthaṅkara. The second bronze (*Fig. 35*) showing the Jina with a *dhoti* (lower garment) was installed by the famous Jaina pontiff Jinabhadra (gaṇi) Vācanācārya (same as Kṣamāśramaṇa) according to the inscription on the back, and dates from c. latter half of the sixth

century A.D. It is the earliest known datable Jaina image showing introduction of attendant Yakṣa (Sarvānubhūti) and Yakṣī (Ambikā). Hair-locks are clearly visible on the shoulders of the Jina. If the two deer flanking the dharmacakra stand for cognizance, then this image is of Śāntinātha.[18]

An interesting metal image of Ṛṣabhanātha, from Vasantagaḍh hoard, age c. sixth century A.D., illustrated in *Fig. 34*, shows the dharmacakra (without deer) in the centre of the pedestal and having on each end (in line with the dharmacakra) a bull facing the Wheel of Law. The bull is the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha. Similarly, on the pedestal of the standing sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha at Sira Pahari, M.P., published by us in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I, plate 63, a bull is shown at each end of the pedestal with the dharmacakra in the centre and a worshipper (donor ?) on each side of the Wheel. It is interesting to note here that the bulls do not face the Wheel of Law. Ṛsabha has hair-locks on his shoulder. The sculpture dates from c. sixth century A.D. Two beautiful rock-cut relief sculptures of Ṛṣabha, one in the sitting posture and the other adjoining one in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*, published by us in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, I, plate 60B, date from c. end of the sixth century or early seventh century A.D. Of about the same period is the rock-cut standing Ṛṣabha, published in *Studies in Jaina Art*, figure 31, hailing from Dhānk, Saurashtra.

A beautiful standing metal image of Ṛṣabha, from Vasantagadh, cast by the artist Śivanāga in V.S. 744=A.D. 687, is published in *Lalit Kala*, nos. 1-2, pp. 56f, pl. IX, figs. 1-2. Of c. 7th cent. A.D. a beautiful inscribed bronze image of Ādinātha, from Sirpur in Khandesh, now in the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, is published by us in the *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*, while a standing metal image of Ṛṣabha from Bhinmal, Rajasthan, dating from c. seventh century and showing heavy *jaṭā*-locks on shoulders, is published in *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 35b. Figure 27a in the same book is a bronze image of Ṛṣabha gifted by Guṇā, and has two-armed Sarvānubhūti yakṣa and the two-armed Ambikā on the right and the left respectively of the Jina. On the pedestal are eight small standing figures representing the eight planets. Figure 31b in the same book is another bronze of Ādinātha sitting in the padmāsana. Both the bronzes are assigned to the seventh century A.D. and show similar iconographic features. From Akota hoard were discovered two more bronzes of Ṛṣabha dating from c. eight century. But the more attractive image is a *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabha standing, gifted by Śaraṇikā, published in *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 59. Also, a *Ṣaṭ-tīrthika* bronze with a *toraṇa* in front, showing Ṛṣabha sitting in padmāsana, with Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as attendant yakṣa and yakṣī, with two figures of two-armed Sarasvatī and five figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in different compartments of the *toraṇa*, and eight planet heads on the pedestal, obtained from the same hoard, was installed by Droṇācārya in c. 975 A.D. (vide *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 61, pp. 57ff). Of about 1000 A.D. are two more bronzes of Ṛṣabhanātha from Akota, ref. *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 64-67.

Images of Ṛṣabha were very popular in Gujarat and Rajasthan, as in other parts of the country. From Godhra, Pancha-Mahals, Gujarat, is obtained a beautiful bronze (partly mutilated) of Ṛṣabha, now preserbed in the Baroda Museum. From Lilva Deva, Pancha-Mahals, North Gujarat were obtained seven Jaina bronzes (now in the Baroda Museum)[19] of which one is a *tri-tīrthika* image and another is a *covīsī* or *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabhanātha, both the images dating from c. 10th century A.D. Mt. Śatruñjaya is a famous temple-city mainly associated with the worship of Ṛṣabhanātha. Vimala Saha in the eleventh century built a temple dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha, on Mt. Abu. The Vimala vasahi at Abu has a few more sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha with Gomukha and Cakreśvarī as attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī. In some cases the old pair of Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and Yakṣī Ambikā are shown (as at Akota in images referred to above).[20] M.N.P. Tiwari has noticed a sculpture of Ṛṣabha in dhyāna mudrā and with Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, carved on the ardhamaṇḍapa of the Mahāvīra temple at Osia.[21] U.P. Shah published a beautiful brass or bronze *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabha, installed in V.S. 1151=A.D. 1094, preserved in a Jaina temple at Pindawada and possibly from the Vasantagaḍh hoard in Rajasthan.[22] V.S. Srivastava has noticed two metal images of Ṛṣabha (age c. 11th-12th century A.D.) preserved in the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner, and hailing from Amarasara.[23] The famous magnificent temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, is a Caumukha temple, dedicated to Ādinātha. The temple known as Kesariyājī, dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha, situated near Udaipur in Rajasthan, is a famous place of pilgrimage both for the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.

A beautiful bronze of Ṛṣabha in padmāsana on a big padestal with dharmacakra and two deer in the centre of the pedestal and the attendant Yakṣa and the Yakṣī to the right and left of the Jina lost, dating from c. 8th century A.D., obtained from Vasantagadh hoard, was published by us in the *Lalit Kala*, no. 1. Another beautiful brass image of the first Jina in padmāsana with only the Ambikā Yakṣī on his left preserved was published by us in our paper on the *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā* (as figure 33).[24] The image, from a Jaina temple in Sadadi, Rajasthan, dates from c. 8th century A.D. From Amarasara, Rajasthan, a hoard of Jaina bronzes was obtained which is now preserved in the Government Museum at Bikaner. The hoard includes a bronze *Pañcatīrthī* of Ṛṣabha sitting in padmāsana. On his right side near the pedestal is the two-armed Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and on the corresponding left is a two-armed Yakṣī showing the *varada mudrā* and the citron in her right and the left hands respectively. The Yakṣa carries the citron in his right hand and the money-bag in the left one. The bronze dates from c. tenth century A.D.

At Varmāṇa, Rajasthan, in the Mahāvīra Jinālaya,[25] is a stone sculpture of Ādinātha sitting on the simhāsana. In the centre we have the dharmacakra with a bull on each side. To the right of the simhāsana is a figure of two-armed Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa showing the *abhaya* with his right hand. To the corresponding left is a figure of a two-armed Yakṣi. The symbols in her hands are not distinct. The sculpture dates from c. 800 A.D.

A partly mutilated beautiful sculpture of Ādinātha was discovered from Udai, district Gangapur, Rajasthan. Here Ādinātha sitting in padmāsana is accompanied by 48 small miniature figures of Jinas, a few of these figures from the upper part of the sculpture are mutilated. These Jinas are arranged in four rows on two sides of the beautiful ornamental halo. Hair-locks on shoulders, uṣṇīṣa on head, but no jaṭā. In fact, generally the Ādinātha figures in Rajasthan and Gujarat do not show the prominent *jaṭā* as in images from Eastern India. The Jina sits on a simhāsana and in the centre is the dharmacakra with a bull on each side in this Udai sculpture. The Yakṣa on the right end is a two-armed Sarvānubhūti while the Yakṣī figure on the left end is mutilated. This sculpture, belonging to the Digambara sect, is a fine specimen of the Gurjara-Pratīhara art of c. 9th century A.D. A beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabha, partly mutilated, was lying in the courtyard of the Ukha Mandir, Bayana, Rajasthan. The head of the Jina is lost. On the right end of the simhāsana is a figure of a two-armed cow or bull-faced Gomukha Yakṣa, while on the corresponding left end we find four-armed Yakṣī Cakreśvarī with her symbols broken. The Yakṣa carries in his right hand a mace (*gadā*) while the symbol of his left hand is not distinct. It may be noted that when a Śāsanadevatā pair was first introduced as attendants in the *parikara* of a Tīrthaṅkara image, the pair was common to all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and was represented by a two-armed Kubera-like male Yakṣa who was invoked variously as Sarvānubhūti or Sarvāṇha by the Jainas and a two-armed Yakṣī called Ambikā who carried a mango-bunch or a lotus in one hand and who held a son with the left hand.[26] The Yakṣī, as we shall see later, was reminiscent of and evolved from some ancient concepts like that of Anaitis or Nānā on the lion, the Durgā, Hārīti, etc.[27] Later on, from about the ninth century A.D., separate yakṣiṇīs begin to appear for the 24 different Tīrthaṅkaras. The Bayana sculpture shows the later evolved Yakṣa pair for the Ādi-Jina. The sculpture dates from c. 1000-1050 A.D.

But perhaps the most beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, of mediaeval period, from the whole of Western India, is a marble image from the site of the old city of Chandrāvati (near Mt. Abu), now preserved in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, Switzerland.[28] The Jina is standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* and wears a very fine *dhoti*. He has the *uṣṇīsa* on head and the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest. A full *parikara* is shown but without the Śāsanadevatās or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī. The sculpture dates from c. 10th century A.D.

From Sanauli in the Alwar area of Rajasthan were discovered a few Jaina bronzes a few years ago. Shri Krishna Dev kindly brought them to my notice and gave me some photographs. Amongst them is a beautiful bronze, elaborately cast with several small figures in the *parikara*, including figures of seven other Tīrthaṅkaras. Ṛṣabhanātha sits in padmāsana in the centre on a simhāsana. Below the dharmacakra is the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal with four planets and a devotee on each side. The bronze has an inscription on the back giving a date V.S. 1070 = A.D. 1013. On the right lower end is a figure of two-armed cow-faced Gomukha Yakṣa showing the citron in his right hand while on the corresponding

left end is a two-armed Yakṣī Cakreśvarī with the *cakra* in her left hand. The symbol of the right hand is indistinct.

But a bronze *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabhanātha obtained from a hoard of bronzes at Ghoghā, Saurashtra, shows a four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa riding on the elephant and showing the goad, the noose (?), the citron and the bag along with a four-armed Cakreśvarī Yakṣī riding on the Garuḍa and showing the *cakra* in each of the two upper hands and the *abhaya mudrā* and the citron in her right and left lower hands respectively. The bronze is dated in V.S.1123=A.D. 1067. This shows that at least by about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the evolved forms of Gomukha and Cakreśvarī had begun to appear on sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha. On a bronze *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabha in the Berlin Museum we find a two-armed Gomukha with a four-armed Cakreśvarī. The bronze is dated in a year equal to 1144 A.D.

In the National Museum (New Delhi) *Caturvimśatipaṭṭa* of Ādinātha (Museum no. 47.109/173), assignable to c. 9th century A.D., hailing from Gujarat or Rajasthan, a two-armed Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa and a two-armed Ambikā figure as the Śāsanadevatās.

In a bronze *Covīsī* of Ādinātha from the cellar of the famous Caumukha Temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan,[29] the Yakṣa is two-armed with the human face and shows the *abhaya* and the bag while the Yakṣī is a four-armed Cakreśvarī riding on the eagle and showing the *cakra* in each of the two upper hands and the *abhaya* and the citron with the right and the left lower ones. The bronze can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D.

Worship of Ṛṣabhanātha remained popular throughout the ages in Western India. In the Pittalahara temple at Delvada, Mt. Abu, the main image in the sanctum is a big brass image of Ṛṣabha[30] with full *parikara* and four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa and a four-armed Cakreśvarī Yakṣī as the Śāsanadevatās.

One very interesting bronze *Pañcatīrthī* of Ṛṣabhanātha from Sanauli in Rajasthan is noteworthy. The bronze belongs to the Digambara tradition. Ādinātha sits in the padmāsana on a simhāsana with the bull symbol shown in the centre. On the pedestal are small figures of nine planets including Ketu shown as a snake. Below at the end of the pedestal, in the centre is the dharmacakra to the right of which is a small two-armed figure of Ambikā while to the left of the Wheel stands a small two-armed figure of a Yakṣa. On the right side of Ṛṣabha and a standing Tīrthaṅkara, at the end, on a full-blown lotus, is an eight-armed Cakreśvarī on Garuḍa. On the corresponding left end of this image is a two-armed Ambikā on lion holding an *āmralumbi* with the right hand and her son with the left. An inscription on the back gives a date Samvata 1068=A.D. 1011.

A figure of Ṛṣabha is carved on one of the faces of the *Caumukha* preserved in the Son Bhandar Cave, Rajgir, Bihar.[31] Here Ṛṣabha is standing under a simple arch supported by two pillars. On each side of the Jina is a chowrie-bearer yakṣa and a flying *mālādhara* (garland-bearer) on top of each pillar. The *Caitya-vṛkṣa* is represented by way of a twig on each side forming an arch over the Jina's head. This appears to be a common characteristic of all the Tīrthaṅkara images of its age found at Rajgir. The image dates from the early mediaeval period and is a specimen of Pala art. There is a triple umbrella on top of the arch with a defaced motif of two hands beating a drum and representing *devadundubhi*. On the pedestal is a dharma-cakra with a bull on each side. In the mediaeval period, usually the dharmacakra is accompanied by a deer on each side but in many sculptures from Bengal and Bihar, dating from the post-Gupta and mediaeval periods, the cognizance appears on each side of the dharma-cakra.

A beautiful sculpture lying in the brick temple at Vaibhara giri, Rajgir, was described by Rama Prasad Chanda.[32] The Jina sits in padmāsana on a big lotus, resting against a plain back-rest, with a plain halo behind head. He wears a beautiful jaṭā overhead with hair locks falling on shoulders. He is attended upon by two *cāmaradhara yakṣas*, and garland-bearing gandharva pairs on top near the halo. The halo is surmounted by a triple umbrella, two hands coming up from its sides hold cymbals. In the centre of the pedestal is the dharmacakra with a bull facing it from each side. The sculpture dates from the eighth century A.D.

At Suissa, Bihar, are several Jaina sculptures of the mediaeval period. Many such Jaina sculptures from Bihar show the Jina in a miniature shrine suggested by an *āmalaka* on top and a trefoil arch under which a Tīrthaṅkara stands in meditation. One such sculpture from Suissa shows Ṛṣabha with a high

cap-like jaṭā standing in *kāyotsarga* pose, on a double lotus, under a trefoil-shaped arch. In the centre of the pedestal is the bull cognizance. The sculpture is a *Covīsī* image with other Tīrthaṅkaras represented in miniature forms on two sides of Ṛṣabha. A *Covīsī* sculpture of Ṛṣabha from Manbhum is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A sculpture of Ṛṣabha with a similar big *jaṭā*, attended by two chowrie-bearers, and with four planets on each side is preserved in the National Museum (no. 74.64). Here too the bull is shown in the centre of the pedestal and just below the double-lotus beneath the feet of Ṛṣabha. The image seems to have hailed from Bihar. All images of Ṛṣabha from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa show a big *jaṭā* on the head tied high like a big cap. A beautiful sculpture of this Jina, with lower half mutilated, probably from Orissa, shows the Jina standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* (National Museum no. 74.67). Ṛṣabha sitting in padmāsana with the typical *jaṭā* overhead, hailing from Mayurbhanja, preserved in the National Museum, is published in *Jaina Art and Architecture* (henceforth referred to as JAA), vol. I, p. 163, pl. 88. The sculpture dates from c. tenth-eleventh century A.D. R.P. Mohapatra published[33] an image of Ṛṣabhanātha, from Hatadiha, in Jeypore sub-division of Cuttack district, with the usual characteristics of Ṛṣabhanātha images of tenth century from Orissa. The back-slab is relieved with figures of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras in two rows of 12 each. *Figure 25* represents a standing Ṛṣabha with two rows of planets on the two sides, a triple umbrella above with leaves on its sides suggesting the *caitya* tree. On each side of the halo is a celestial garland-bearer and hands beating the drum. Ṛṣabha has the usual big *jaṭā* and stands on a *viśva-padma* (double-lotus) below which is the bull symbol. The sculpture is now preserved in Musee Guimet, Paris, and seems to have come from Orissa.

During the mediaeval period, Khandagiri was perhaps a very important Jaina centre, in Orissa. Here a few caves. excavated earlier for residence of Jaina monks were converted into shrines with the addition of relief sculptures carved on the walls. Cave 7, called the Navamuni, has an inscription of the time of Udyotakesarin of Somavamśi dynasty (eleventh century) which refers to a Jaina monk Khalla Śubhacandra of the Deśi-gaṇa. Images of seven Tīrthankaras are carved in a row in low relief on the back wall, along with their Śāsana-devīs in a lower row. They are Ṛṣabhanātha and Cakreśvarī, Ajitanātha and Rohiṇī, Sambhavanātha and Prajñapti, Abhinandana and Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vāsupūjya and Gandhārī, Pārśva and Padmāvatī, Neminātha and Ambikā. The row of Śāsana-devīs is preceded by a figure of Gaṇeśa. Again on the right wall are carved in high relief figures of Ṛṣabha and Pārśva, both in standing posture and nude, but without their attendant yakṣīs. The sculptures date from c. tenth-eleventh century A.D.[34]

Cave 8 called Barabhuji has on its walls relief carvings of 24 different Tīrthaṅkaras, each with his Śāsana-yakṣī and a figure of Pārśvanātha on the back-wall this time without the yakṣī. There is no *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest of any of the Tīrthankaras in both the caves. In cave 9 there are three standing images of Ṛṣabhanātha in chlorite, installed on pedestals. On top of the hill is a modern Jaina temple preserving some old Jaina sculptures including a few of Ṛṣabhanātha.

In the State Museum at Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa, are a few Jaina bronzes obtained from Bānpur. Amongst them is a beautiful standing Ṛṣabhanātha with the high *jaṭā-bhāra* on head and the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal. A similar iconographic type is a beautiful bronze of standing Ṛṣabha from Kākaṭpur, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*see Fig. 32*).

Arun Joshi has brought to light certain interesting Jaina sculptures from the Khijjinga area.[35] He has published a beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabha in the sitting posture with two attendant chowrie-bearer yakṣas and the bull cognizance in the centre of the simhāsana. The sculpture, now in Baripada Museum, dates from c. 8th-9th century A.D. Another sculpture published by him, also from Khijjinga, dates from c. 10th century A.D. and shows Ṛṣabha standing with two smaller Tīrthaṅkaras standing on each side. He wears a big crown-like *jaṭā*, has an attendant cāmaradhara yakṣa on each side but no śāsana-yakṣa and yakṣī are shown. The bull symbol is in the centre of the pedestal. In the mediaeval sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, so far discovered, Śāsanadevatās (yakṣa and yakṣī) do not usuaslly accompany images of Tīrthaṅkaras as in Western India and Madhya Pradesh, nor do we always find the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal. The sculpture described above is a *Pañcatīrthī* of Ṛṣabhanātha. Arun Joshi has also published a *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabha from the same area.

From Podasingadi in the forest region of Baula hill ranges in Anandapur division, Keonjhar district,

Orissa, Jaina images of c. 8th cent. A.D have been discovered. An inscribed image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Podasingadi is now in the State Museum, Bhuvaneśvara. Ṛṣabha sits in padmāsana. There is also a standing Ṛṣabha from the same site in the State Museum. He has a *jaṭā* over head with tufts of hair falling on shoulders. In the same museum there is also an image of Ṛṣabha in *kāyotsarga mudrā* from Charampa, Balasore, Orissa. The Jina has a big *jaṭā*, a single umbrella (not triple) and is accompanied by eight small planet figures.[36]

It must be remembered that most of these Jaina sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa belong to the Digambara tradition. From Achutarājpur close to Bānpur, district Puri, Orissa, was dug out a hoard of Buddhist and Jaina bronzes, published by Debala Mitra.[37] The hoard, now preserved in the State Museum at Bhuvaneśvara, contains a beautiful bronze of Ādinātha (Acc. no. 257) sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus placed on a pedestal in front of which is shown the bull cognizance. Ṛṣabha has a big *jaṭā* over the head and a big oblong *prabhāmaṇḍala* behind, topped by triple umbrella. The bronze dates from c. eighth century A.D. From Jeypore sub-division in Koraput district, Orissa, have been discovered a number of Tīrthaṅkara images. Umakanta Subuddhi has published a *Caturvimśati Paṭṭa of Ṛṣabhanātha from Koraput* in *Jaina Journal*, XVI, 1, pp. 24f. The sculpture was found from Bhairavasinghpur village in Boriguma tahsil of Jeypore sub-division. Ṛṣabhanātha sits in the padmāsana dhyāna mudrā and has a *śrivatsa* symbol on the chest. Images from Orissa follow the traditions of Bihar and Eastern India and represent the Tīrthaṅkaras in padmāsana (when shown in sitting postures) and not in the *ardha-padmāsana* as in further south. In this sculpture Ṛṣabha is flanked by two cāmaradharas and accompanied by 23 other Tīrthaṅkara figures, each of whom is shown with his *lāñchana*. The bull *lāñchana* of Ṛṣabha is shown below his seat. No yakṣa and yakṣī are represented on the right and left ends of the pedestal, but in the centre, at the bottom of the relief is a female deity sitting in meditative posture, which Umakanta Subuddhi has described thus: "The deity has two hands, one of which is in *varada mudrā* and the other is holding a citrus or *bījapūraka*. She should not be mistaken as yakṣinī Cakreśvarī of the Digambara order, for she has two hands while Cakreśvarīs are generally found having four or eight or twelve hands." We might add that even though a two-armed Cakreśvarī is known, as she does not hold the disc she is not likely to be Cakreśvarī. But she is one of the ancient yakṣīs whose identity is not known. Since this sculpture dates from c. 9th century A.D., this female figure offers a problem. We will see later on that in the mediaeval period, in Western India, first a male figure and then a female figure begins to appear below the dharmacakra at a lower end of the pedestal. Later on, with the Śvetāmbaras of Western India, this female deity is worshipped as four-armed *Śānti-devī*. So far as this two-armed female deity on the Bhairavasinghpur Ṛṣabhanātha sculpture is concerned, we must await more such specimens from Orissa. If a guess is permitted, there is a possibility that the donor's *Gotra-devī* was represented.

In the *Jaina Journal*, vol. XVI, 3 (1982), pp. 119ff, Umakanta Subuddhi has published two more sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha from the same site. His figure 2 is a *Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabha sitting in padmāsana. His bull *lāñchana* is shown below the seat, on the pedestal. "In the middle of the pedestal is seen a four-armed Cakreśvarī, seated in *lalitāsana* and riding a Garuḍa. She holds a citrus, noose, and thunderbolt in her three hands while the fourth hand is laid in *varada-mudrā*." In the photograph published, the female figure is not clearly visible. The identification of the devī as Cakreśvarī is perhaps based on the Garuḍa vāhana, but it is surprising that the devī does not hold the *cakra* in any of her hands. The sculpture dates from c. 8th century A.D.

The second image, published as figure 1 in Subuddhi's plate, looks more beautiful. It is assigned by the author to a date between the seventh and the ninth century A.D. Ṛṣabha here sits in the padmāsana and is flanked by a cāmaradhara on each side. The Jina wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* arranged beautifully in three parts with hair-locks falling on shoulders. "The Lord's *lāñchana*, the bull, is seen sitting at the bottom of the seat held by two leogriffs facing opposite sides. Between the leogriffs and just below the seat of the Lord is seen a six-armed Cakreśvarī riding a Garuḍa and seated in *lalitāsana*. The Śāsanadevī is holding a citrus, noose, *vajra*, disc, and an arrow in five hands while the sixth hand is in *varada mudrā*. On the right side bottom of the image is found a standing figure of Yakṣa Gomukha. He is as usual

bull-faced, pot-bellied and four-armed. He holds a noose, hatchet, rosary in his three hands while the fourth hand is in *varada* pose." The sculpture dates from c. 9th-10th cent. A.D.

The old Manbhum district of Bihar is now divided into the districts of Purulia (West Bengal) and Dhanbad (Bihar). Anai-Jambad or more popularly Paresnath or Paresnath Mahadev-Beda or Mahadev-Beda is a place situated under the Purulia (Mofussil) P.S. of the Purulia district of West Bengal where Śrī Sarak Jaina Samiti of Kharkhari, Dhanbad has constructed a modern temple over the ruins of an ancient Jaina settlement. This temple houses six unique images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras discovered from mounds around the area. They include a *Pañcatīrthika* sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, and another one of Ṛṣabha standing in *kāyotsarga* on a double-lotus placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal which has in the centre the bull *lāñchana* flanked by crouching lions. The saviour is nude, his hair dressed in a tall *jaṭāmukuṭa* with curls of hair falling down on shoulders. On either side stands a male chowrie-bearer while on the back slab are shown in bold relief the eight planets, four on each side of the Jina, Ketu being omitted. Behind the head of the Jina is the halo surmounted by triple umbrella. Above the planets are garland-bearing vidyādharas as also a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by disembodied hands. The sculpture is assigned to c. tenth century A.D.

Pratip Kumar Mitra, writing on the sculptures from Anai-Jambad,[38] states: "The sculptural wealth of South-West Bengal as represented or expressed in by the examples of early mediaeval sculptures recovered from this area requires to be treated as a separate entity. The region roughly covering the erstwhile district of Manbhum, the district of Bankura, the north-western part of Midnapore, with extensions into the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi of the Chhotanagpur subdivision of Bihar, represents a characteristically common trait in icono-plastic art, which is somewhat removed from the main stream of Pala art . . . In respect of modelling of the body these sculptures are in general more robust and forceful than merely graceful or lyrical . . ."

From Surohar in Dinajpur district, Bangladesh, was discovered a beautiful sculpture representing Ṛṣabha sitting in the padmāsana with small figures of the other 23 Tīrthaṅkaras around him on three sides. The *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabha dates from c. tenth century A.D. The bull cognizance of Ṛsabha is shown in the centre of the pedestal. Ṛṣabha has a beautiful big *jaṭābhāra* on head which reminds one of the figure of Śiva (*Fig. 57*).[39]

An elaborately carved sculpture of Ṛṣabhadeva from Kukkuramaṭha, Mandla district, old Central Provinces, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana with a beautiful prominent *jaṭābhāra* on head and hair-locks adorning the shoulders. In a perfectly balanced yogic posture the figure at once reminds one of Śiva of the Brahmanical Trinity. In the background, in the upper part of the sculpture are shown, in two rows, beautifully modelled miniature figures of the planets. The ornamental halo, the graceful modelling with the classical touch etc. suggest a date around ninth century A.D.

Images of Ṛṣabha are obtained also from Bhelova, Dinajpur, from Sank, Purulia district, Pakbirra and from Sitalpur and Bhangra villages in the same district. Purulia was once part of Manbhum district, Bihar; Manbhum is identified with the ancient Rāḍhadeśa visited by Mahāvīra. Sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha are also obtained from Ghateśvara and Dharapet in W. Bengal, from Mandoil, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh, from Bhagalpur in Bihar and from places like Palma and Bhavanipur etc.[40]

A hoard of Jaina bronzes of the Digambara sect, from Aluara, Bihar, dating from c. 11th-12th cent. A.D., includes two standing figures of Ṛṣabha with the prominent *jaṭā* and the bull *lāñchana* and one figure sitting in the padmāsana (Patna Mu. nos. 10680, 10681 and 10687).[41] There is also a *dvi-tīrthī* with Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra standing side by side (Patna Mu. no. 10682). A similar *dvitīrthī* in stone, much more beautifully modelled, is preserved in the British Museum and seems to have hailed from Orissa (*Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 35 and Ramaprasad Chanda, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pl. XXII and p. 71).

The first Tīrthaṅkara was also very much venerated in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh.[42] Few Jaina antiquities are as yet found from Haryana and Punjab. A beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha (?) with full *parikara* found from Bhatinda in Punjab is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Chandigarh (JOI, vol. 31, no. 3, last cover page).

The Lucknow Museum preserves a sculpture of Ādinātha from Kankali Tila, Mathura (Museum no. J.78),[43] illustrated here as *Fig. 55*. The simhāsana shows the dharmacakra in the centre with a worshipper and a bull figure on each side. The bull cognizance definitely proves that the Jina sitting in padmāsana (head lost) is to be identified as Ādinātha. Traces of hair-locks can be seen on the shoulders. On the right side of this Jina is a four-armed standing male figure with snake-hoods overhead and holding a cup (wine cup) in his right lower hand. The left lower is placed on the *kaṭi* (girdle region) while the left upper seems to have carried the plough. The figure represents Balarāma of Hindu mythology. To the left of the Jina is another four-armed male standing and carrying the mace (*gadā*) and the lotus (*padma*) in his two upper hands while his left lower hand holds the conch (*śaṅkha*) and the right lower is held in the *abhaya mudrā*. Evidently he represents Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva identified with Viṣṇu. The presence of Kṛṣṇa, who in Jaina Purāṇas is described as a cousin brother of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, has led some scholars to identify this Jina figure as representing Neminātha. But another explanation can be offered for the presence of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva with Ādinātha. Firstly, Jaina mythology admits nine Baladevas and nine Vāsudevas of whom only one pair of brothers flourished in the age of Neminātha. However none of them was contemporary of Ādinātha. Secondly, Mathura which is the findspot of this sculpture is well-known as the centre of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship, at least from about the second century B.C. Our sculpture dates from about the seventh century A.D. when Viṣṇuism or the Bhagavata cult had already been very popular. It is obvious that an attempt was made to show the Hindu deities in the subordinate position of attendants to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Even the presence of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on Mathura sculptures of Neminātha dating from the Kuṣāṇa age should be interpreted as an attempt to show Brahmanical deities in a subordinate position. We have a small figure of Gaṇeśa on an early mediaeval sculpture of the Jaina Ambikā, No. D.7 in the Mathura Museum. The sculpture of Ādinātha under review has a figure of two-armed Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa on its right end and a figure of two-armed Ambikā on the corresponding left end. The presence of Ambikā need not tempt us to identify this Jina as Neminātha because, as we have demonstrated long ago, this Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair was a pair common to all the Tīrthaṅkaras from c. sixth century A.D. to about the ninth-tenth century A.D.

A somewhat later sculpture of Ṛṣabha, from Orai, district Jalaun, U.P., preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. O.178) is noteworthy.[44] The Jina has an *uṣṇīṣa* and stylised schematic curls of hair over head and hair-locks on the shoulders. In the centre of the simhāsana is the dharmacakra to the left of which can be seen only a part of a boldly carved figure of the *vṛṣabha lāñchana*. The upper parts of the beautiful sculpture are mutilated but the remaining small figures of sitting Tīrthaṅkaras in two rows on each side of the Jina suggest that this was a *Caturvimśati-paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabhanātha. The pedestal of the sculpture is noteworthy. On the right of the simhāsana is a beautiful figure of two-armed Kubera-like Yakṣa with a money-bag in his left hand and a pot of money (*nidhi*) below the left leg. Kubera-like, he is the Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti of Jaina traditions, found as the Śāsanadeva of the various Jinas. On the corresponding left end is Cakreśvarī eight-armed riding on the eagle. To the right of the dharmacakra is a small figure of Lakṣmī partly mutilated, while on the left is a small figure of Ambikā.

Temple no. 4 at Devgadh, M.P., has a big *Pañcatīrthī* sculpture of Ādinātha (*Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 43). Below his seat are two figures of Ṛṣabha's gaṇadhara (or an ācārya) and his disciple with a *sthāpanā* between them. Just above the *sthāpanā* on the end of a cloth hanging is the bull cognizance of the Jina. What is more interesting here is that on the right side of the simhāsana we find a figure of two-armed Ambikā instead of the Śāsana Yakṣa, while on the left end we have a figure of four-armed Cakreśvarī riding on the eagle. M.N.P. Tiwari[45] has noted one more such example. In the Jardine Museum, Khajuraho, on a sculpture, Acc. no. 1651, Cakreśvarī and Ambikā are carved on two sides of the dharmacakra and a figure of Lakṣmī with lotuses in two upper hands at left corner of the throne. We have already noted above a similar case of Cakreśvarī and Ambikā figuring on two ends in a bronze from Sanauli, Rajasthan.

A *Pañcatīrthī* of Ṛṣabhadeva from the temple of Ādinātha, Khajuraho (DGA's negative 142 of 1923-24) shows a small figure of the bull *lāñchana* near the dharmacakra. The Jina has *uṣṇīṣa* on top of the head but no *jaṭā*; there are traces of hair-locks on the shoulders. On the right of the simhāsana

is a small figure of pot-bellied two-armed Yakṣa with the cup and the money-bag in his right and left hands respectively while on the left end of the sculpture is a small figure of four-armed Cakreśvarī with the Garuḍa-vāhana and a *cakra* in each of the two upper hands. The sculpture dates from c. late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. There is another *Pañcatīrthī* of Ādinātha with similar iconography in the Khajuraho Museum (DGA's negative 179 of 1923-24). An elaborately carved *Caturviṃśati-Paṭṭa* sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha in the Ādinātha temple at Khajuraho has the same iconographic type of the Yakṣa and the Yakṣī. The Jina has prominent hair-locks on the shoulders, a mutilated bull *lāñchana* on the right side of the dharmacakra. The Jina is sitting in *padmāsana* on a cushioned decorated seat with a lotus bud in front of the central diamond motif and one lotus bud on each end (DGA's negative 143 of 1923-24). These three lotus buds placed in this position do not signify the *lāñchana* of the Jina since the Jina in this case is unmistakably Ṛṣabhanātha but we meet with such instances in other sculptures where there is no other *lāñchana* shown and where the Jina has no hair-locks. In all such cases it would be difficult to identify the Tīrthaṅkara as Padmaprabha with the *padma lāñchana* or as Naminātha with the *nīlotpala lāñchana*. In such cases we must await further research.

One more *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabhanātha in the Archaeological Museum at Khajuraho needs consideration (DGA's negative 123 of 1908-09). The sculpture was collected from the ruined Ghantai temple at Khajuraho and in the photograph we find *Ghantai* written with chalk on the lowermost end of the pedestal to mark its findspot. Ṛṣabhanātha here sits in padmāsana on a decorated cushion and wears a *jaṭā* overhead. On the pedestal are eight planets with the bull cognizance placed in the centre. On the right end of the simhāsana is the four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa while on the corresponding left end is a four-armed Cakreśvarī on the eagle. The sculpture seems to date from late eleventh century A.D.[48]

In the Khajuraho Museum there is another big sculpture from Ghantai temple. Elaborately carved are in all 52 figures of Tīrthaṅkaras including a big central figure of Ṛṣabha standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture. The total of 52 Jinas signifies that this group symbolises the worship of 52 shrines of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. The Yakṣa is two-armed Sarvānubhūti on the right end while on the left end is a four-armed Cakreśvarī (DGA's negative 1633/60). In another sculpture in the Jardine Museum at Khajuraho, Mu. no. 1651, one finds figures of Lakṣmī and Ambikā also besides the usual Śāsanadevatā pair.

The Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho was originally dedicated to Ādinātha, so also the ruined Ghaṇṭai temple. Worship of Ṛṣabha was indeed popular in Khajuraho. At Devgadh fort in Madhya Pradesh images of Ṛṣabha were widely worshipped, more than fifty images of Ṛṣabha are known to have survived at the site. Here we find Ṛṣabha with a *jaṭā* in some images. On the simhāsana of one Ṛṣabha image in temple no. 12 is found a four-armed goddess showing the lotus in each of the two upper hands and the *abhaya mudrā* and the *kalaśa* in the two lower ones. This is identified by some as Lakṣmī. In Śvetāmbara traditions such a goddess figuring in the centre of the simhāsana is identified as the Śāntidevatā, the Goddess of Peace.

In the courtyard of the Jaina temple at Budhi Chanderi, M.P., is a beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabha in padmāsana with eight more small figures of Tīrthaṅkaras. Ṛṣabha has hair-locks falling on his shoulders but no *jaṭā*. Ṛṣabha images at this site show Gomukha and Cakreśvarī as the Śāsanadevatās. A well-preserved sculpture of seated Ṛṣabhanātha from Garh, Rewa district, M.P., now preserved in the Tulsi Sangrahālaya, Ramvan, Satna, M.P., shows the same Yakṣa pair. The sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. A sculpture of Ṛṣabha in the Dhubela Museum (Museum no. 38), dating from c. 11th century A.D., shows no figures of Śāsanadevatās but in the centre of the simhāsana we have a four-armed goddess like the one on the Ṛṣabha image in temple no. 12 at Devgadh which can be identified as four-armed Cakreśvarī.

A *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabha standing with the head and upper part of the sculpture mutilated is preserved as no. G.322 in the Lucknow Museum. The sculpture, of c. 11th century A.D., came from Mahoba in Hamirpur district, U.P. On the right end of the pedestal we have a figure of four-armed Cakreśvarī, but the Yakṣa figure was not carved, and on the corresponding left end of the sculpture we find a small figure of a Jina in padmāsana. Similarly a *Covīsī* (?) sculpture of Ṛṣabha, partly mutilated, hailing from Jaso, Satna, M.P., now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (no. 505) shows only a two-armed

Yakṣī at the right end while there is figure of Pārśvanātha sitting at the left end. Ṛṣabha here wears a prominent *jaṭā* on his head. The sculpture may be assigned to the tenth century A.D. It will be seen that the full *parikara* is not shown here even though the *parikara* was already evolved. There is another sculpture of Ṛṣabha, a *Pañcatīrthī*, from Jaso in the Allahabad Museum (Museum no. 520), illustrated on pl. CXXI by Pramod Chandra in his *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*. Here we have the two cāmaradharas, the triple-umbrella, the mālādharas, the simhāsana with the dharmacakra in the centre and small figures of the Gomukha Yakṣa and Cakreśvarī Yakṣī at the two ends of the back slab. Here also Ṛṣabha is adorned with a big *jaṭā-jūṭa* on his head. The sculpture may be assigned to late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. In this museum is a standing Ṛṣabha from Gayā showing a big *jaṭā*.

Another sculpture of Ādinātha with a group of 23 more Jinas hails from Sahet Mahet, the site of ancient Śrāvastī. Here also the full *parikara* is not seen, only two cāmaradharas, the halo, the triple umbrella, the elephants and a drum-beater on top of the *chatra* are shown while the garland-bearers are omitted. Such instances show that even though the eight *prātihāryas* were known and acknowledged, in actual representations one or more could be easily omitted. Another noteworthy feature in this sculpture is the omission of the Yakṣa and the placing of the figure of Cakreśvarī Yakṣī on the right end instead of her more common position on the left end. The sculpture is published by B.C. Bhattacharya in his *Jaina Iconography*, 2nd ed., pl. IV.

B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. V, has also published a richly decorated sculpture of Ādinātha, in padmāsana, from Tripuri, M.P., now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There are prominent hair-locks on shoulders, and an *uṣṇīṣa* but no *jaṭā* on the head. Two-armed Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti is shown near the left end of the simhāsana while the beautiful Yakṣī figure on the right end is much damaged.

There is an interesting sculpture of Ṛṣabha from Gyārasapur in the old Gwalior State, M.P. Old Gwalior State was a centre of Digambara Jainas for the area is rich in sculptural finds belonging to this sect. This figure (Negative no. 13/93, Dept. of Archaeology, Old Gwalior State) is noteworthy, firstly because it is group of eleven Tīrthaṅkaras and secondly because of the simple *parikara* containing only the two chowrie-bearers, the triple-umbrella and the simhāsana with the Wheel of Dharma. The position of the cāmaradharas represented as flying in the air is interesting and rare. Sculptures of Ādinātha are obtained from several sites in the Old Gwalior State. There is a big figure of Ādinātha from Tumain, district Esargadh, which is worshipped as *Baiṭhādeva*. The simhāsana etc. are very much mutilated but the sculpture is a fine specimen of c. 9th cent. A.D. A black stone image from Golakot in the Gwalior area is a beautiful example of Jaina sculpture, finely carved with figures having graceful limbs delicately modelled (Negative no. 1012 of Old Gwalior State). The Yakṣa here is four-armed Gomukha while the figure of Cakreśvarī is not fully visible in the photograph. The Jina has a full *parikara* including a pair of mālādharas, elephants with pitchers, a conch-blower on top of the triple-umbrella, the *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo), two cāmaradharas standing on elephants, the lion-throne, the dharmacakra, the bull cognizance, the Yakṣa and the Yakṣī. The Jina sits on an embroidered big round cushion. Marks of lotuses are visible on the soles of his feet and palms of hands. Compare Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, figs. 187-8, 211-13.

A sculpture in the Gwalior Museum shows Ṛṣabha in padmāsana with *uṣṇīṣa* on head and hair-locks on shoulders. The dharmacakra in the centre of simhāsana has a female devotee on each side. There is no *lāñchana*. Beautifully modelled figure of the Jina is attractive (Gwalior Museum no. 5/C 20, DGA's neg. no. 1573/63). The sculpture dates from c. 9th cent. A.D. and probably came from Vidiśā. Another beautiful sculpture in the Gwalior Museum is a *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabha sitting in the padmāsana on simhāsana. The sculpture is partly mutilated, the Yakṣa is a two-armed Sarvānubhūti while the Yakṣī figure is mutilated (Old Gwalior State Dept. of Arch., neg. no. 63/93). The sculpture dates from c. 9th cent. A.D.

There are over fifty sculptures of Ṛṣabhanātha in the group of Jaina temples at Devgadh. Somes how Ṛṣabha in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* with full *parikara* and Śāsanadevatās or with few elements of the *parikara* and without the Śāsana Yakṣa and Yakṣī. For illustration see Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh (JID)*, figs. 44, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 94, 95, 97, 108, 257, 258. Similarly we have sculptures with Ṛṣabhanātha sitting in padmāsana, see, for example, Bruhn, *ibid.*, fig. 24 (showing two-armed Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti

to the right of the dharmacakra and two-armed Ambikā Yakṣī on the left), fig. 187 from temple 15 (showing Sarvānubhūti on the left of the simhāsana and Ambikā on the right), fig. 192 from Temple no. 2, fig. 195 from Temple 2 (*Tri-tīrthika* sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha with full *parikara* showing two-armed cow-faced Yakṣa on the right end of the simhāsana and a two-armed Yakṣī on the left end). This figure is dated in Samvat 1051 = A.D. 994. The Yakṣa shows the *abhaya* and the water-jar in his two hands, the Yakṣī shows the disc and the fruit in her hands. In Fig. 207 from Temple no. 4, there are in all thirteen Tīrthaṅkaras, including the central figure of Ādinātha with his bull cognizance. No Yakṣa and Yakṣī are shown. The sculpture seems to be of the same age as Bruhn's fig. 206, image no. 248 dated in V.S. 1095, see Bruhn's page 165, Fig. 211 from Temple no. 21 where the Yakṣa is two-armed with the human face and the Yakṣī is two-armed showing the *abhaya* and the fruit in her two hands. Bruhn's fig. 212 from Budhi Chanderi shows the Cakreśvarī Yakṣī while the Yakṣa figure is indistinct; we have already described above Bruhn's fig. 213 from Golakot. These figures are in general similar in conception and perhaps not much removed in age from each other and we may assign Bruhn's figs. 207, 211-213, 214-218 to the same period, around Samvat 1095 (A.D. 1038). Fig. 218 is from Siron Khurd and seems to be somewhat later in this group. It shows four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa and four-armed Cakreśvarī as the Śāsanadevatās of Ṛṣabhanātha. Fig. 231 from temple 4 is already discussed before. Figures 239 and 239A belong to the same class as figs. 211-218. Figs. 261-263 also show Ṛṣabha in the sitting posture.

Bruhn has discussed on his pages 198f a typical Pārśva image from Temple 6, Devgadh. It is illustrated by him in his fig. 260. It will be obvious from the illustration that hair-locks touch both the shoulders of Pārśvanātha. In Jaina iconographic traditions only in the case of Ṛṣabhanātha images the hair-locks can be depicted falling on the Jina's shoulders. We have another instance also of such an irregularity. Sculpture no. B.23 in the Nagpur Museum (DGA's negative no. 1659/62) shows Pārśvanātha, canopied by seven snake-hoods, sitting in the padmāsana on a double lotus with the snake cognizance also shown in front of the lotus in its centre. Triple hair strands on each shoulder are clearly marked out.

Pratapaditya Pal has published a colour plate of a beautiful bronze in his *Sensuous Immortals*, fig. 50, p. 86, and described it as a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Hair-locks from the back of the Jina's head are prominently displayed in a curly way all over his both shoulders. But the *lāñchana* in the centre of the pedestal, much worn out, looks more like a goat or an antelope than a bull in the beautiful plate published in the book. Pal feels that it looks more like an antelope. Pal has assigned the bronze to seventh century; provenance is supposed to be Bihar. On each side of the Jina is standing a male cāmaradhara yakṣa. The bronze is gold-plated and is a very fine early Jaina bronze. This is another instance which shows that sometimes, perhaps through mistake, other Tīrthaṅkaras were also shown with hair-locks adorning their shoulders.

Worship of Ādinātha was popular in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh. We need not refer to many more sculptures of Ādinātha from the Lucknow Museum, the Mathura Museum, the Jhansi Museum etc. The worship remained popular through the ages. In a shrine in Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh is a bronze image of Ṛṣabha sitting in the padmāsana with full *parikara* and the bull cognizance below simhāsana on the pedestal. A pair of feet by the side of the bull show the *Caraṇa-pūjā* which is an ancient custom amongst all the sects in India. Below are planet-heads. Still below in the centre is an unidentified two-armed standing male. He is not the donor since small figures of the donor male and female occur on an upper level of the pedestal. On the right end of the pedestal is the goddess Padmāvatī, two-armed, with three snake-hoods over her head. To her left is the Gomukha Yakṣa, two-armed. Symbols held by the figures are not distinct. On the corresponding left end is a two-armed Yakṣī carrying a *kalaśa* in her left hand. The other symbol is not distinct. To her left is a figure of two-armed Ambikā. The bronze is dated in Samvat 1527 = A.D. 1470 and belongs to the Digambara tradition.

A beautiful bronze of Ṛṣabha sitting in the padmāsana, now preserved in the Punyavijaya Collection of the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, was published in *Treasures of the Jaina Bhandaras*. The bronze was given as a gift by the Jainas of Sirpur in Khandesh. There is an inscription on the back which refers to the Nāgendra kula. The Yaksa to the right of the Jina is mutilated but what remains shows that he was riding on the elephant and held a money bag in his left hand. Obviously the figure was of two-armed

Sarvānubhūti. On the corresponding left end was the Yakṣī whose figure is lost but her lion mount remains. She must have been two-armed Ambikā Yakṣī. The bronze is assigned to the seventh century A.D. Another beautiful bronze of Ādinātha with 23 other Tīrthaṅkaras comes from Chahardi in Khandesh and is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Ṛṣabha here is standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*. The Jina has hair-locks on his shoulders (*Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. III, pl. 351, and pp. 568-69). The two-armed Sarvānubhūti, with the citron and the *nakulikā* (purse) in his right and the left hands respectively, is shown on the right lower end while on the corresponding left end is the two-armed Ambikā Yakṣī. Age, c. ninth century A.D.

In the same museum there is another beautiful bronze of Ṛṣabha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana placed on a pedestal. The attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī are two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā (*JAA*, vol. III, pl. 353B and p. 570).

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay has some beautiful Jaina sculptures from Maharashtra and Karnataka, besides bronzes from Vala, etc. in Gujarat and a very early bronze of Pārśvanātha whose findspot is not known. A *Tri-Tīrthika* stone sculpture, from Ankai-Tankai, Nasik district, Maharashtra, is published by Moti Chandra and Gorakshakara in *JAA*, vol. III, pl. 347A and a *Pañca-Tīrthika* from the same site in *ibid*, pl. 347B, p. 566. Three standing Tīrthaṅkaras in a row in each of these sculptures show hair-locks on the shoulders. The authors mentioned above write: "It may be observed here that the hair-locks falling on shoulders, which generally helps in identifying Ṛṣabhanātha, appear as a *cliche* in the Ankai sculptures, for even Pārśvanātha has been depicted with hair-locks falling on the shoulders. *Circa* ninth-tenth century."

The same practice of showing hair-locks on shoulders of Tīrthaṅkaras other than Ṛṣabhadeva is seen in other parts of Maharashtra. In the Nagpur Museum is a sculpture of a Tīrthaṅkara with the horse cognizance on the pedestal but showing hair-locks on the shoulders of the Jina. The sculpture came from Barsi Takli, Akola district. In the Nagpur Museum there is a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha (Mu. no. B.23). Here Pārśva with seven snake-hoods overhead is sitting in padmāsana. His snake cognizance is shown in centre-front of his lotus seat. Pārśva has prominent hair-locks on his shoulders.

The Nagpur Museum preserves a hoard of beautiful Jaina bronzes from Rajnapur Khinkhini in the Akola district, Maharashtra.[47] Of these one is a *Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa* of Ādinātha sitting in *ardha-padmāsana* in the centre on a big lotus. Below on the lower end of the pedestal is a small male figure carrying the lotus and the citron in his right and left hands respectively. On his left, close to him sits a female holding the citron and the lotus in the right and the left hands respectively. Are they donors of the bronze? Since they are holding a citron-like fruit in one hand each they seem to be the earlier Yakṣa pair of Jaina traditions or the Parents of the Jina. The latter alternative is less likely in this case. From near the top of the pedestal springs a lotus on each side, on the right side sits a four-armed human-faced Yakṣa holding the purse and the fruit in his two left hands while the symbols of the right hands are not distinct. On the corresponding left end of the pedestal sits the Yakṣī Cakreśvarī holding the *cakra* in each of her two upper hands, and the fruit in her left lower hand while the right lower is held in the *abhaya mudrā*. Age, c. tenth century A.D.

The hoard contains another bronze of Ṛṣabha sitting on a lotus placed on a simhāsana. The workmanship is poor. He has a two-armed Yakṣa and a two-armed Yakṣī on the right and left ends of his pedestal. He is identified as Ṛṣabha with the help of hair-locks on his shoulders. Two crudely rendered lion figures below the lotus seat may signify the simhāsana or as an alternative this Jina is Mahāvīra and not Ṛṣabhanātha. But there is another such *Eka-Tīrthika* bronze of Ṛṣabhanātha with the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal and a bull to its right. The Jina shows hair-locks on the shoulders. The hoard also includes two bronze *Pañcatīrthīs* of Ṛṣabha with hair-locks on his shoulders.

A beautiful stone sculpture, a *Caturvimśati-paṭṭa* of Ādinātha was published long ago by Cousins, from a Jaina temple in Aminbhavi in the Dharwar district, now in Karnataka (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 205, also fig. 17). Ṛṣabha is standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* with hair-locks on his shoulders, near his right leg is sitting a four-armed Yakṣa with human face and holding the rosary and the axe in his right and left upper hands and showing the *varada mudrā* and the fruit with the corresponding lower ones.

He is the Gomukha Yakṣa of the Digambara tradition but without the cow-face. To the left of the Jina is sitting the Cakreśvarī Yakṣī with *cakra* in her two upper hands, her right hand showing the *varada mudrā* and the left holding an object which is indistinct. Karnataka is full of Jaina temples including those of Ādinātha. In the Pañcakūṭa-Basti group at Kambadahalli there is a shrine dedicated to Ādinātha. So also there is one such Ādinātha shrine in the Kaṭṭale-Basti group at Śravana Belagola. The Pañcakūṭa Basti at Markuli is for Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puṣpadanta and Supārśvanātha and has a fine twelve-armed sculpture of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha. At Halebid there are three large temples, in one compound, dedicated to Pārśvanātha, Ādinātha and Śāntinātha.[48]

A figure of Ādinātha from Kaṭṭale Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, shows the Jina seated in the *ardha-padmāsana*, dhyāna mudrā. The hair-locks are arranged in a straight line over the shoulders. There is a simple halo behind the head of the Jina, over which is the triple *chatra*. The Jina rests against a back formed of a horizontal bar ending in *makara*-heads and resting on two small pillars. A *vyāla* also supports the bar on the outer side of each pillar and from this back emerge two male yakṣas holding a citron in one hand and carrying a *cāmara* (chowrie) with the other. An inscription on the pedestal shows that the Basti was constructed by Daṇḍanāyaka Gangarayya. According to Hiralal he was the Commander in the service of Hoyasala king Visnuvardhana (c. 1118 A.D.) This Gangarāja was patron of an artist—architect and sculptor—Gangachārī also called Vardhamānāchārī who fashioned the Ādinātha image worshipped in the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. Gangarāja is stated to have built the Kaṭṭale Basti and the Śāsana Basti. In the Śāsana Basti the main image in the sanctum is of Ādinātha, seated in the *paryaṅkāsana*, on a lion throne. The image bears an inscription which states that this *Indrakuḷāgṛha* (abode of Lakṣmī) was built by Gangarāja The shrine has images of Ambikā Yakṣī and Sarvāṇha Yakṣa. The Eradukatte Basti, built by Lakṣmīdevī, wife of Gangarāja, in c. 1117 A D., also was dedicated to Ādinātha.[49]

At Venūr in south Karnataka, in a Jaina temple are preserved stone images of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras with their cognizances on the pedestals and their Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs standing by the sides of the Jina's legs. These sculptures are later than the set of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti at Śravana Beḷagola. The Veṇūr set perhaps dates from c. 14th century A.D. or a little later. At Veṇūr the sculpture of Ādinātha shows the bull *lāñchana* on pedestal. The Yakṣa is four-armed, has a human face and not cow-face, and carries the rosary, the axe, the goad, and the citron in his four hands. Yakṣī Cakreśvarī is twelve-armed and carries the *vajra* in each hand of the uppermost pair of hands, four pairs of hands in the middle all carry a disc each, while the lowermost pair shows the lotus and the *varada mudrā*.[50] A sculpture of Ādinātha in worship in the Śettara Basadi, Mudabidri, Karnataka, also shows the same type of Yakṣa and Yakṣī However, the twelve-armed Cakreśvarī here has a slightly different set of symbols.[51]

The Bhaṇḍāra Basti set of Tīrthaṅkara images dates from 1159 A.D. and the images are good examples of Hoyasala art of the period. The Jina stands under an ornamental wavy torana-arch supported by two pillars. The Jina stands under a triple-*chatra* and has a plain halo behind his head. The sign of his *lāñchana* is engraved in the centre of a plain pedestal on which the Jina stands in *kāyotsarga mudrā*. All the sculptures at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa are of Digambara sect. The Yakṣa of Ṛṣabha here is four-armed with a human face and holds the goad and the rosary in his right and left upper hands respectively; while the right lower hand holds the citron, the left lower is held in the *varada* pose. Cakreśvarī, also standing, shows the disc in her two upper hands and the *vajra* in the middle pair of hands. Her left lower hand holds a conch while the right lower hand is held in the *varada mudrā*.

The set of 24 Tīrthaṅkara images in the Suttalaya of Gommata dates from c. late twelfth century A.D. Here no. 5 from the beginning is Ādinātha. The Yakṣa is four-armed with a human face while the Yakṣī Cakreśvarī also has four arms.

In Northern Karnataka also the worship of Ādinātha has remained popular. In the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, is preserved a beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabha sitting in the *paryaṅkāsana* (same as the *ardha-padmāsana*) with hair-locks shown on his shoulders. The head has schematic curls of hair but no *jaṭā* and no *uṣṇīṣa*. The sculpture is carved in the round. The pedestal below the Jina's big lotus-seat is lost. There is no *parikara*. The sculpture was recovered from the famous Jaina site called Lakkundi (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 252).

There is a beautiful bronze of Ṛṣabha in *paryaṅkāsana* resting against a back made of two pilasters surmounted by a horizontal bar from behind which are springing, as it were, two male cāmaradharas. The Jina has hair-locks on shoulders carefully marked. He sits under a triple-umbrella. Leaves of the *Caitya*-tree are shown on both the sides of the *chatra*. The bronze seems to date from c. tenth century A.D. It is preserved in the Malli Jinālaya at Halli, Jewarji Taluq, Gulbarga district, Karnataka (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 333).

Another beautiful bronze, a *Caturvimśati-paṭṭa*, shows Ādinātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana below which is the bull cognizance and below the *lāñchana* seems to be standing a two-armed Kṣetrapāla. At the right end of the simhāsana is a four-armed bull-faced Gomukha Yakṣa and on the left end of the simhāsana is the four-armed Cakreśvarī Yakṣī. At the farther right end of the bronze is a small figure of four-armed Padmāvatī while on the corresponding left end is a two-armed Ambikā. The bronze is in worship in a Jinālaya at Ergal in the Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur district. This beautiful bronze is in the north Indian style and might have come from Maharashtra or Gujarat. The bronze dates from late eleventh century.

In the Government Museum, Madras, is a bronze *Caturvimśati-paṭa* from Kogali, Harpanahalli, Bellary district. The bronze is assigned to c. 9th or 10th century. In the centre stands a big figure of a Tīrthaṅkara with hair-locks falling on his shoulders. The bronze is partly mutilated on top right end (Mu. no. 36-2/35). The bronze is wrongly identified as a *Covīsī* of Mahāvīra. On the right end is a two-armed pot-bellied Sarvānubhūti while on the left end is a two-armed Ambikā (C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 317*).

In the same Museum is a stone sculpture of Ādinātha standing in the centre with 24 miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras sitting in *paryaṅkāsana* on all the three sides of Ādinātha. Ādinātha is recognised by hair-locks on his shoulders. There is no cognizance, nor are there any Śāsanadevatās. No elements of the *parikara* are shown. Museum no. 2511, findspot unknown. Age, c. 14th century A.D.

In the Puddukottai Museum, Tamil Nadu, is a small bronze *Caturvimśati-paṭa*, with Ādinātha standing in the centre. He has hair-locks on his shoulders, but no *jaṭā* and no *uṣṇīṣa*. The attendant Yakṣa is cow-faced and four-armed while the Yakṣī is four-armed Cakreśvarī. The bronze was dug out from the site of the Maharaja's College at Puddukottai. T.S. Sundaran published it in *Lalit Kala, 1-2*, pl. XX, fig. 2, p. 79. The bronze can be dated around 1000 A.D. Art style of the bronze suggests that it might have come originally from some area under the rule of Rastrakutas or the Kalyani Calukyas.

A beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, carved in the round, from Warangal, A.P., is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The Jina sits in the *paryaṅkāsana* and his hair are shown as if they are combed, with parallel lines going upwards. Hair-locks on his shoulders help us to identify the Jina as Ṛṣabhanātha, as in the case of the Lakkundi Ādinātha noted above. The sculpture can be assigned to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. and has some Karnataka influence (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 19).

In a brick-shrine on top of Bodikunda, Ramatirtham, Vizagapattam district are two Jaina sculptures assignable to 10th century A.D. One of them is a beautiful sculpture of Ādinātha with a *jaṭā* on his head and a back-rest with two cāmaradharas springing as it were from the horizontal bar of the back. The Jina sits on a *viśvapadma* (double lotus) below which in front of the pedestal is prominently carved the bull cognizance (negative no. C.13, Southern Circle, Madras, Arch. Survey of India) (C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 284).

Sivaramamurti, in his *Panorama of Jaina Art*, has illustrated some single figures of Ādinātha, e.g., fig. 20 from Talkad, Dharwar, Karnataka. There is no *lāñchana* and the Jina has the hair-locks on shoulders but no *jaṭā*. Again, his figure 230 is a seated Tīrthaṅkara from Halebid, Chalukyan influence, c. 11th-12th cent. A.D.

Sivaramamurti has illustrated some fine ornate sculptures showing Ādinātha sitting in the *paryaṅkāsana* and resting his back against a cushion placed in front of a back-seat made of two pillars and topped by a horizontal bar. There are two cāmaradharas at the back and the triple-umbrella and the caitya-tree are shown. A beautiful example is illustrated in *Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 270 from Sedum, Gulbarga, Chalukyan, c. 11th cent. A.D. Another noteworthy example is his fig. 440 from Aland, Gulbarga district.

A third example is his fig. 470, Ādinātha, from Gudigeri, Dharwar district, Western Chalukyan, 12th cent. A.D.

Our *Fig. 178A* illustrates a bronze figure of a nude standing Jina in the Madras Museum. It was discovered from a place called Tiṇḍıvaram, in Tamil Nadu. An inscription on its back shows that this is a figure of the Ādi-Jina. It may be noted that no hair-locks on shoulders are visible. The bronze is a specimen of Chola art of 12th century A.D.

Scenes from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha are available in the ceilings of the Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharia, N. Gujarat. M.N.P. Tiwari has identified a few such scenes on the walls of a Devakulikā near the main Jaina shrine at Osia. The earliest known representation is the frieze depicting the Dance of Nīlāñjana, *Fig. 18*, referred to before. We also get some scenes in miniature paintings of Kalpa-sūtra.

2. SECOND TĪRTHAṄKARA: AJITANĀTHA

Ajitanātha, the second Jina, the son of king Jitaśatru and queen Vijayā of Ayodhyā (Vinītā-Sāketa), was born in the Rohiṇī nakṣatra, having descended upon the earth from Vijaya Vimāna, according to traditions of both the sects.[52] According to Hemacandra, the king gave the name Ajita to his son because the mother could not be defeated in gambling by the king, so long as the Jina was in the Mother's womb.[53] The Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa explains the name in another way: he was called Ajita because he could not be conquered by sin or by all heretics.[54]

Both the sects agree in calling him golden in complexion, having the elephant as his cognizance. He obtained Kevalajñāna under a Saptaparṇa (Alstoma Scholaris) tree.[55] He is said to have obtained Nirvāṇa on the Mount Sammeta Śikhara (Mt. Pārasanatha) in West Bengal.

The second Jina had 90 gaṇadharas, Simhasena being the chief amongst them. Falgu (Śvetāmbara) or Prakubjā (Digambara tradition) was the chief Āryikā or the leader of his order of nuns.[56]

Mahāyakṣa was his attendant Yakṣa and Ajitā (Śve.) or Rohiṇī (Dig.), the attendant Yakṣiṇī.[57] Sagara, the second Cakravartin of Jaina Purāṇas, was his cousin brother. The elephant, which is the chief distinguishing mark of this Jina, also becomes the vāhana of his yakṣa, while the attendant yakṣī, Ajitā, seems to have been named after the name of Ajitanātha.

The earliest known image of Ajitanātha is in the *āyāgapaṭa* from Mathura illustrated in *Fig. 11*. A figure of standing Ajitanātha from Sārnāth dates from Gupta age.[58]

In the Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgır, is a Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā of stone, with a standing Tīrthaṅkara carved on each face. The quadruple image has a domical top and the stela on each side shows a dharma-cakra with a symbol on each side, carved on the base. On one side, two elephants flank the wheel, on another are two monkeys. On the third side is shown a horse on each side of the *cakra*. Thus these animals represent cognizances of different Jinas represented on the four sides. Ajitanātha is here represented with the elephant symbol on two sides of the dharma-cakra; he stands on a lotus in the *kāyotsarga* pose under a *Caitya*-tree represented by two twigs on the sides of the Jina's head. Near the legs is standing an attendant male chowrie-bearer on each side. The sculpture is assignable to c. 7th-8th century A.D. The Jina is represented as standing under an arch supported by two pillars on tops of which are two divine garland-bearers. Above the arch is a triple-*chatra* while two hands beating a drum represent divine music.

The sculpture is a noteworthy specimen marking a stage in the development of the *parikara* (*Prātihāryas*) of a Jina. The Aśoka tree, or the *Caitya*-tree, the divine garlands, the divine music, the divine càmaradharas, the āsana (here it is understood by the marking of the lotus below the feet, as the Jina is represented in a standing pose), the dharma-cakra, as well as the triple-umbrella and halo are shown. The *parikara* is fully developed so far as its constituents are concerned. At a later stage, the mode of representation of the divine music changes, and the grouping becomes more ornamental.

But the mode of representation of the lāñchana or symbol of the Jina is especially noteworthy. In later sculptures, the dharma-cakra is generally flanked by the two deer, obviously in imitation of the Buddhist symbol. Here, one of the earliest stages of the mode of representation of the symbol of a

Tīrthaṅkara is obtained. The symbol is placed on each side of the Wheel of Law. A still earlier specimen of this type, assignable to the Gupta age, c. fifth century A.D., is the sculpture of Neminātha from Rājgir, discussed by R.P. Chanda. Here the conch symbol of Neminātha is placed on each side of the dharmacakra in the centre (see Fig. 26).

Our sculpture represented an intermediate stage, between the *parikara* of the Kuṣāṇa period and the fully evolved, stereotyped *parikara* of the mediaeval ages. The attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī are absent here, though a pair common to all Tīrthaṅkaras was already evolved before this sculpture was carved.

This sculpture helps us to identify some other sculptures of the post-Gupta age where the dharmacakra on pedestal is flanked by a deer on each side. In such cases, one need not suppose that the dharmacakra+2 deer is the general representation of the Wheel symbol only as in later or mediaeval sculptures, but it is advisable to treat the deer as the cognizance of Śāntinātha on the basis of this and other such Tīrthaṅkara sculptures from Rājgir. Thus for example, the big bronze of a Jina from Mahuḍi (North Gujarat) can now be identified as representing the Jina Śāntinātha, since the pedestal shows the Wheel flanked by two deer.[59]

It is not easy to ascertain when this mode of representating the symbol was given up. But it would seem that it was done so in c. 8th-9th century A.D. The Mahuḍi sculpture, a beautiful example of bronze-casting, comparable with some excellent specimens from Nālandā, is certainly not later than c. 700 A.D. In the centre of the pedestal the dharmacakra is flanked by two deer. Here the deer represent the cognizance of Śāntinātha. But a post-Gupta stone specimen from Rājgir shows a Jina sitting with snake-hoods above head and the dharma-cakra below his seat has a conch on each side. A peculiar case, going against the known canons of Jaina iconography, and since the sculpture does not seem to be older than the Ajitanātha or Śāntinātha discussed above, no explanation of the departure is possible. The symbol for every Jina was already fixed in the age in which this figure is supposed to have been carved.

In the light of the above discussion, a bronze figure of a Jina sitting in a padmāsana on a high pedestal, obtained from Vasantagadh discussed in *Lalit Kalā, 1-2, pl. XI, fig. 5,* may be considered. Here the pedestal shows the dharma-cakra flanked by two deer. Hair-locks falling on the shoulders of the Jina would suggest that he is Ādinātha. There is no inscription on the bronze, the evidence from style would be uncertain, but the sculpture seems to be assignable to late seventh or early eighth century A.D. There were attached to it, on two ends, figures of the attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī, as can be inferred from the wire end on one side. Here, on the basis of the line of argument noted above, the Jina would have been identified as Śāntinātha but the prominent hair-locks show that he is Ādinātha. Either it is a case like the second Rājgir sculpture discussed above, showing exceptions to the rule, and a mistake on the part of the artist who represented hair-locks on Śāntinātha as the image looked more beautiful thereby, or that in Western India, the practice of representing the symbol on two sides of the Wheel was given up at an earlier stage than in Bihar.

I am inclined to propose the following tentative identifications. The Mahuḍi image represents Śāntinātha, the Vasantagadh bronze also may represent Śāntinātha.

An early sculpture of Ajitanātha standing, obtained from Varanasi, is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 49.199). R.C. Sharma described it thus: "The pedestal represents his Lanchana, i.e., elephants who are standing face to face. Curiously enough the forehead of the deity is marked with a flower-shaped *Tilaka*. The mark of the Śrī-vatsa has not been given at its proper place, while the halo has been shown by an incised line. On the whole the image has been crudely modelled. It may be assigned to the late sixth or early seventh century A.D."[60] The sculpture seems to be still later.

In the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, is carved in relief a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana. The *āsana* has two elephants in place of the lions of a simhāsana and hence the elephants may be regarded as cognizances of the Jina above. There are two cāmaradharas and two garland-bearers. The sculpture is assigned to c. 9th cent. A.D.

No. 85 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, is a beautiful Jaina *Caumukha* (*Caturmukha*) sculpture probably from Varanasi (or Sarnath ?). On one side is a figure of Ajitanātha standing (*Fig. 33*) on a lotus below which on the pedestal is the dharmacakra in the centre with an elephant on each side. The

head of the Jina is lost but the elephant cognizance on the pedestal helps us to identify the Jina as Ajitanātha. A small sitting Tīrthaṅkara figure is shown on each side of the Jina. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

At Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, in the open air museum adjacent to the Ādinātha temple there are about four sculptures of Ajitanātha. One of them, no K.22, shows the Jina standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*. No yakṣa and yakṣī figure on the sculpture. The elephant cognizance is shown below the dharmacakra. The head of the Jina is lost. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D. No. K.43 in the same museum, assignable to c. 11th century A.D., has the yakṣa-yakṣī pair. Symbols of the yakṣā on the left end are hidden under plaster while the yakṣī on the corresponding right end holds the sword in her extant right hand. If a guess be allowed, the missing hand might have held the shield. The Jina is sitting in the padmāsana dhyāna mudrā. The sculpture is a *Tri-Tīrthika* image with a small figure of standing Jina over the head of cāmaradhara on each side. No. K.59, damaged on one corner, was perhaps a *Caturviṁśati-Paṭṭa*, with Ajitanātha sitting in padmāsana. No yakṣa-yakṣī pair. No. K.66 also shows the Jina in sitting posture, without the yakṣa-yakṣī pair, with the elephant cognizance shown on the left of the dharmacakra. There are in all seven Jina figures on this sculpture, including the main figure of Ajitanātha in padmāsana.

M.N.P. Tiwari has published a paper entitled '*A Unique Tri-Tīrthika Jina Image from Deogarh*' on a sculpture, from Temple no. 1, Devgadh, in which are represented two Jinas on its front and the third one on its left side face. All the three Jinas stand in the *kāyotsarga* pose on simhāsana over which hang ends of covering carpets with cognizances of the Jinas shown on them. The two frontal Jinas are Ajitanātha and Sambhavanātha with their elephant and horse *lāñchana* respectively. At the right extremity of the image, beside the figure of Ajitanātha, stands a four-armed Sarasvatī depicted in the same size as the standing Jina. Such a representation with Sarasvatī is rare which makes this a unique image.[61]

Bruhn's Fig. No. 144, from Wall section XII, Devgadh, is a beautiful sculpture of Ajitanātha sitting in the padmāsana on a cushion placed on a simhāsana. The figure of the elephant cognizance is shown just below the wavy lines of an end of a carpet placed on the simhāsana below the cushion-seat. The elephant is shown just above the dharmacakra in the centre of the simhāsana. On the right end of the simhāsana is a two-armed standing śāsana-yakṣa Sarvānubhūti with a purse in left hand and the raised right hand seems to be in the *abhaya mudrā*. Symbols in the hands of the standing two-armed yakṣī on the corresponding left end are not clear.

A *Tri-Tīrthika* image of standing Ajitanātha from Temple no. 21, Devgadh, is illustrated by Bruhn in his book as figs. 202, 202A, and 203. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. No yakṣa-yakṣī are shown. M.N.P. Tiwari has referred to an image of Ajitanātha in Temple 29, Devgadh, having four-armed Śāsana yakṣa-yakṣī pair and with figures of mālādharas and kumbhadharas shown near the cāmaradharas.

From Bihar, besides the sculptures from Rajgir, we find a bronze image of standing Ajitanātha with the elephant cognizance on the simhāsana. The bronze, obtained in the Aluara hoard in Manbhum district, dates from c. 11th cent. A.D., and is now preserved in the Patna Museum (Patna Museum No. 10697).

In the Orissa State Museum at Bhuvaneśvara is an Ajitanātha scpluture from Charampa. In the Navamuni, Bārābhuji and Triśūla caves at Khandagiri, Orissa, are obtained sculptures of the second Tīrthaṅkara Ajitanātha. From Palma in Manbhum district also comes a sculpture of Ajitanātha (*JAA*, Vol. II, plate 158B). The Jina stands within a shrine fronted by a trefoil arch and surmounted by a śikhara with āmalaka on top. This image is of colossal size (now preserved in the Patna Museum) and shows the elephant *lāñchana* of the Jina in the centre of the pedestal, just below the double-lotus on which the Jina stands. Twelve miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are shown on each side of the Jina.

In Madhya Pradesh, the Shivpuri Museum has an interesting collection of Jaina sculptures, mainly from Narwar. A sculpture represents Ajitanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture under a triple umbrella. The Museum also has some *Dvi-Tīrthika* images, in which two Tīrthaṅkaras are represented as standing by the side of each other, represented on one slab. One such sculpture shows Ajitanātha and Sambhavanātha grouped together. At Padhavali are two separate sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras standing

on simhāsanas and identified as Ajitanātha and Sambhavanātha on the basis of small figures of their *lāñchanas* shown on the ends of decorated cloth hanging from the top of the simhāsanas.

For a *Dvi-Tīrthī* of Ajita and Sambhava from Karitalai in Raipur Museum, Madhya Pradesh, see *JAA*, Vol. III, plate 373B.

In the Nagpur Museum is a stone sculpture with full parikara representing Ajitanātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana. On the hanging end of the cloth on which the Jina is sitting is shown the *gaja-lāñchana* of Ajitanātha. On the right end of the simhāsana is a two-armed yakṣī showing the *abhaya mudrā* with her right hand and carrying the *kalaśa* in her left hand. On the corresponding left end is a two-armed pot-bellied yakṣa with the citron in his right hand. The symbol of the left hand is mutilated. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. and hails from some part of Maharashtra.

In Gujarat and Rajasthan, Ajitanātha was also worshipped in stone and metal images. The National Museum, New Delhi, has a metal image, No. 48.4/19, which shows Ajitanātha sitting on a cushioned lion-throne mounted on a terraced pedestal. The deity is flanked by two seated and two standing Tīrthaṅkaras and an attendant on either side. The śāsana yakṣa Mahāyakṣa and the yakṣī Ajitabalā are shown on the pedestal. The inscription on the back of the image is dated in Samvat 1471=A.D. 1414.

However a bigger and beautiful earlier metal sculpture of Ajitanātha is preserved in a Śvetāmbara Jaina shrine in Ahmedabad. The Jina stands under an arch supported by two long pillars. Near the legs of the Jina are the two cāmaradharas. The *lāñchana* as well as the yakṣa-yakṣī are not shown but the inscription on the pedestal identifies the Jina as Ajitanātha, installed in Samvat 1110=A.D. 1053. First published by N.C. Mehta,[62] this beautiful brass or bronze image is a typical example of the metal art of the period.

In the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbharia is a beautiful big stone sculpture of Ajitanātha standing on a pedestal with the elephant shown as his cognizance. No yakṣa-yakṣī are depicted but on the toraṇa-stambhas on two sides of the Jina are shown, in separate compartments, the Vidyādevīs Apraticakrā, Puruṣadattā, Mahākālī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśā, Rohiṇī and a goddess which looks like the Śānti-devī but which may also be one of the Vidyādevīs.

In the sanctum of Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia, North Gujarat, are two large *saparikara* images of Tīrthaṅkaras placed against the south wall; both are standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*, one is Śāntinātha with the deer *lāñchana* while the other is Ajitanātha with the elephant as his cognizance. Both the images are dated in Samvat 1118=A.D. 1061.

According to inscription no. 8, published by Muni Viśālavijaya in his Gujarati book entitled *Śrī Kumbhāriājī Tīrtha*, a pair of standing Ajitanātha images was installed in the Neminātha shrine at Kumbharia in Samvat 1314=A.D. 1257 (inscribed on the sculpture showing this pair).

In the devakulikā to the left as you enter the shrine of Neminātha at Kumbharia there is a *saparikara* image of Ajitanātha enshrined in V.S. 1335=A.D. 1278 according to an inscription on the image (Inscr. no. 10 in *Śrī Kumbhāriājī Tīrtha*, p. 25).

In cell no. 37 of the Lūṇavasahikā, Delvada, Mt. Abu, was installed an image of Ajitanātha by merchant Khetala in V.S. 1287=A.D. 1230 (Insc. no. 343 at Abu).[63] According to Inscr. no. 142 at Abu, an image of Ajitanātha was installed in cell no. 42 of Vimala Vasahi, Abu, by Devacandra sūri, pupil of Yaśodeva sūri in Samvat 1245=A.D. 1188.

Kumārapāla built a big shrine dedicated to Ajitanātha, on the Tāraṅgā hill in Gujarat. The shrine is still standing though the main image in the sanctum was destroyed and later another image had to be installed. Inside the garbhagṛha of this temple is a colossal white marble image of Ajitanātha sitting in the padmāsana, *dhyāna mudrā*; the image was consecrated in A.D. 1422 by one Govinda probably after the original was desecrated by Muslims. On two sides of the *mūlanāyaka* and placed against the north and south walls are two images in white marble of standing Jinas, dated 1297 A.D., brought from a nearby village. The garbhagṛha also contains two small images of Ajitanātha, one of 1247 A.D. and the other of 1248 A.D.

Ajitanātha was worshipped at Śatruñjaya also. According to inscription no. 141, in *derī* (cell, *devakulikā*) no. 884/34, on the Mt. Śatruñjaya,[64] an image of Ajitanātha was installed in Samvat 1675=A.D.

1618 by some donors from Rājanagara (Ahmedabad). In *derī* no. 228/2 was installed a *Pañca-Tīrthī* of Ajitanātha in Samvat 1523 = A.D. 1466, as shown in inscription no. 184 on this image. Similarly a *Pañca-tīrthi* of Ajitanātha was installed in *derī* no. 13/1 in Samvat 1542 = A.D. 1485, as per inscription no. 302. Another such image was installed in *derī* no. 630/2/2 in V.S. 1446.

Instances can be multiplied from hundreds of stone and metal images of different Jinas in worship in the various Śvetāmbara and Digambara shrines all over the country. We have not attempted to make an exhaustive study of any site or of Jaina images in any particular State or region. Our study was more or less one of the pioneer types covering almost the whole of India and of both the sects of the Jainas. It was intended to solve some of the unsolved problems of Jaina iconography and to prepare a standard work for identifying Jaina images. We will therefore not pile up lists of all Tīrthaṅkara and other images in different temples nor describe them all. We have nowhere claimed to have made such exhaustive studies.

Merely visiting museums and some well-known temple sites will not provide a complete picture regarding the number of images of any deity worshipped in any State of India. We have visited a number of Jaina temples still continued in worship. They are full of stone and metal images, some old, some relatively new. Even in a modern temple one would find a very old image brought from some extinct temple and reinstalled.[65] Detailed studies of individual sites and temples are expected from future young scholars. Our object was to provide a fairly reliable basic study with the help of published works and works in mss., supported by archaeological evidence and as far as possible to tabulate the results. One must always remember that Jainism is a living religion in India and as in the study of Hindu iconography it is difficult to exhaust every aspect of the study of Jaina iconography in one life.

An early bronze of Ajitanātha, of c. 8th cent. A.D., was obtained in the Akota Hoard from Gujarat and published by us in *Akota Bronzes, fig. 41B*. In the centre of the pedestal is the dharmacakra flanked by elephants. The yakṣa and yakṣī figures are of the early pair of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

In the south we do have sculptures of Ajitanātha in sites like Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Veṇūr, Mūdabidrī, etc. where all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are installed in a temple. In the Suttālaya of Gommata at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa we have Ajitanātha in the whole group of Jinas installed in late 12th century A.D. (*Fig. 59*). The sculpture in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti set at Śravana Beḷagoḷa dates from 1159 A.D. The Veṇūr set is later and dates from c. fourteenth century A.D. In all such sculptures the Jina is standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* under an arch and Mahāyakṣa the yakṣa of Ajita, and Rohiṇī, the yakṣī, accompany him and attend upon him near the legs. The cognizance figure is incised on the pedestal. Instead of the male cāmaradhara figures being carved near the legs, a *cāmara* (chowrie) is placed symbolically on each side of the Jina on top of the pillar supporting the arch under which the Jina stands. The chowries are usually near the shoulders of the Jina. In all these three sets the full *parikara* is not given, only the triple umbrella, the halo, the yakṣa-yakṣī pair and the cognizance are shown.

3. THIRD TĪRTHAṄKARA: SAMBHAVANĀTHA

Sambhava was born as the prince of king Jitāri (according to Śve. tradition) or Dṛḍharāja (according to Dig. tradition) and queen Senā or Suṣeṇā of the city of Śrāvastī, in the nakṣatra known as Mṛgaśiras. Sambhava descended (upon this earth, into his mother's womb—*cyavana*) from the Sudarśana Vimāna of the first Graiveyaka heavens.[66]

Sambhava was so called because, when he was in his mother's womb, grains increased in his father's kingdom. Hemacandra, giving a second explanation, says that he is called Sambhava because happiness (*śam*) increases (*bhavati*) by offering prayers to the Jina.[67]

Sambhava obtained Kevalajñāna under a Śāla tree (Shorea robusta). Cāru (Śve.) or Cārusena (Dig.) was his chief Gaṇadhara, while the chief Āryikā (head of the nuns' order) was known as Sāmā or Śyāmā (Śve.) or Dharmāryā (Dig.).

Golden in complexion, Sambhavanātha, the scion of the Ikṣvāku family, has the horse as his *dhvaja* (cognizance, *lāñchana*). Trimukha and Duritāri (Śve.) or Trimukha and Prajñapti (Dig.) are his śāsana yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively.[68] Sambhava obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta Śikhara.

The earliest known image of Sambhava hails from Mathura of the Kuṣāṇa age and is dated in Samvat 48=146 A.D. It is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.19). The Jina sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana in the centre of which is the dharmacakra placed on a *tri-ratna* symbol. A male and a female worshipper stand on the right and the left respectively of the Wheel of Law.

The Lucknow Museum has two more sculptures of later periods (nos. J.855 and O.118) both from U.P. No. J.855 represents this Jina with a chowrie-bearer on each side, the attendant on the left being mutilated. A celestial garland-bearer on each side, a triple-umbrella over the head and a dharmacakra flanked by two horses on the pedestal are the only members of the *parikara* carved in this sculpture. The long ear-lobes and the absence of the halo may be noted. It seems that the image belonged to the early Gupta period. The findspot is not known but the sculpture seems to have been influenced by the Mathura School.

A figure from Banpur Khas, Jhansi district,[69] an example of a different style of sculpture of Sambhava, assignable to c. seventh century A.D., is another known early sculpture of Sambhavanātha. The high caps of the attendant male flywhisk-bearers and the ekāvalı necklace worn by them may be noted. The Jina stands on a lotus. A group of Tīrthaṅkaras are carved in miniature reliefs on two sides of Sambhava standing in the centre. A small figure of the horse symbol is seen on the right side of the pedestal. The sculpture is mutilated at the top.

In the Moti Katara Panchayati Digambara Jaina Mandir, Agra, is an image of Sambhavanātha which, according to an inscription on it, was originally installed in V.S. 1147 (1090 A.D.). The Jina sits in padmāsana on a cushion. There is no *parikara*.[70] There is an image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara at Pārasanātha Killā, Bijnaur, which has an inscription dated in Samvat 1067=1010 A.D. Some scholars identified the image as representing Sambhavanātha[71] on the evidence of a paper by K.D. Bajpai.[72] But K.D. Bajpai has identified the image as that of Varddhamāna svāmī (Mahāvīra) and has given the reading of the inscription thus: *Śrī Viruddhamana Sami devaḥ sma 1067 Rāṇalasutta Bharatha pratimā prathapi.* Obviously the inscription, engraved in incorrect Sanskṛt, refers to Varddhamāna Svāmī.

At Devgadh there are about eleven images of Sambhavanātha, all showing the Jina standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. In a few cases the yakṣa and yakṣī are based upon an old now lost tradition which shows them two-armed and showing the *abhaya* or the mace (or sometimes the purse ?) in one hand and the fruit or the *kalaśa* in the other. This whole tradition requires further exploration and research. So far as we know, no literary tradition has been traced as yet for this. By this time already the new set of forms of yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs had also come into vogue but in art the new traditions were not yet universally followed. In Devgadh temple no. 15 we have an image of Sambhava, assignable to c. 11th century A.D., which has a four-armed yakṣa and a two-armed yakṣī. In a later image of Sambhava in temple no. 30 at Devgadh we have both the yakṣa and yakṣī with four arms each.

M.N.P. Tiwari has made an exhaustive study of Jina images at Khajuraho.[73] As shown by him, the image of standing Sambhava in temple no. 27 is dated in Samvat 1215 but has no accessory iconographic details. In the remaining three sculptures of Sambhava at Khajuraho the Jina is shown sitting in the padmāsana, with the horse cognizance generally shown in or near the centre of the simhāsana. No. K.50 in the Open Air Museum does not show a figure of the śāsana yakṣa. Both the ends of the throne are occupied by 'two identical figures of two-armed goddesses seated in *lalitāsana* and holding a sword and some indistinct object in their hands.'[74] The image is assigned to c. eleventh century A.D.

The yakṣa and yakṣī of another image, Acc. no. 1715 in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho, are noteworthy. 'The yakṣī on the left corner shows the *abhaya mudrā* and a lotus respectively in her right and left arms. The yakṣa of the corresponding right end holds probably a skull cup in his right hand and a mongoose-skin purse in the left.'[75] Such a purse is called *Nakulikā, Nauliā* or *Noḷi.*

In the Archaeological Museum at Jhansi there is *Tri-tīrthika* stone sculpture with heads of all the Tīrthaṅkaras mutilated possibly by art thieves. In the centre sits Ādinātha while on his left stands Sambhava with an attendant cāmaradhara on each side and a devotee with folded hands. On the pedestal is the figure of a running horse. On the corresponding right side of Ādinātha is standing Śāntinātha with the deer symbol.

At Paḍhāvali is a sculpture of standing Sambhava with the figure of his horse *lāñchana* shown on the hanging end of the carpet below the Jina's feet. The simhāsana has the dharmacakra in the centre. There are cāmaradharas, flying mālādharas and a drum-beater on top of the triple-umbrella. No yakṣa and yakṣī are shown; the sculpture can be assigned to eleventh century A.D.

A beautiful sculpture of standing Sambhava from Narwar, Shivpuri district, M.P., is preserved in the Shivpuri District Museum (Acc. no. 3). The sculpture, like the one from Paḍhāvali discussed above, belongs to the Digambara tradition. The very artistic simhāsana of the Jina shows two ferocious lions, and in the centre, in a small niche, is a small figure of a Jina or an ācārya in padmāsana with the dharmacakra shown below his seat On two sides are small figures of male and female devotees with folded hands. At the lower end of the simhāsana is the tiny figure of horse cognizance. There is also a *Dvi-Tīrthika* image of Sambhava and Nemi standing, from Narwar, now in the Shivpuri Museum.

No. 406, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, represents a standing Sambhavanātha, assignable to c. eleventh cent. A.D., from Tewar in the Jabalpur district. The Jina stands on a simhāsana with cāmaradharas, mālādharas, triple-umbrella, and elephants with kalaśas in the *parikara* but no yakṣa and yakṣī are shown.

In Orissa, at Khandagiri, caves 7, 8, 9, called Navamuni, Bārābhuji (*Fig. 53*) and Mahāvīra gumpha respectively, are in all three rock carvings, one in each cave, of Sambhava sitting in the padmāsana under a triple umbrella and with a standing cāmaradhara on each side. In one case there is a flying mālādhara on each side of the umbrella while in two cases are cymbals being played by two disembodied hands. The Jina sits on a big full-blown lotus placed above the simhāsana with the horse symbol shown on one side. None of Tīrthaṅkaras in these caves have the *śrī-vatsa* on their chests. The Jinas usually have a rather prominent *jaṭā* top on their heads instead of the *uṣṇīsa*. In two cases we have a figure of the yakṣiṇī of this Jina carved separately below the Jina's figure.

Temples and sculptures of Sambhavanātha are also known from Rajasthan and Gujarat. There is a temple dedicated to Sambhavanātha at Kumbharia. The original image seems to have been mutilated and later replaced by a new one. In Radhanpur, North Gujarat, is a shrine dedicated to Sambhavanātha. According to an inscription on the main image in the sanctum, it was installed in Samvat 1682=1625 A.D. The inscription on the image of Sambhavanātha, in the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia, says that the image was the gift of one śrāvikā named Pāhiṇi, mother of Bhāṇḍāgārika Jinduka, (installed) in samvat 1142 - A.D. 1085. In the famous Lūṇavasahi temple built by Tejapāla at Delvada, Mt. Abu, are two ornamental niches, *khattakas*, flanking the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and placed against its west wall, popularly known as Gokhalās of Deranī and Jethānī. The image in the proper right *khattaka* is of Śāntinātha while that in proper left one is of Sambhavanātha. At Śatruñjaya also there are some inscribed stone and metal images of Sambhavanātha.[76]

In the Digambara Jaina Samgrahālaya at Ujjain there are a few sculptures of Sambhava obtained from places like Sundarsi, Jamner, Badnawar etc. in Malwa region.

In the south, in Karnataka, at Veṇūr, in the set of 24 different Tīrthankaras in Jaina temple, we have Sambhava standing under an arch and a triple umbrella overhead, with the Trimukha Yakṣa and the Prajñapti Yakṣī standing by his sides. The figure of his horse *lāñchana* is incised on the plain pedestal below. In the Bhaṇḍāra Basti set and in the set of *Suttālaya of Gommata* we also have sculptures of Sambhava with Trimukha Yakṣa and Prajñapti Yakṣī standing by his sides near the legs and the horse cognizance carved on the pedestal. These two sets at Śravaṇa Belagola belong to the Hoyasala period.

4. FOURTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ABHINANDANA

Abhinandana, the son of king Samvara or Svayamvara and queen Siddhārthā of the city of Ayodhyā, was born in the Punarvasu nakṣatra, having descended from the Jayanta Vimāna.[77] As he was honoured (*abhinandyate*) by gods he was called Abhinandana.[78]

Golden in complexion, Abhinandana became a monk after ruling over his kingdom for some time, and, practising penance, obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Piyaka or Piyāla (Sarala) tree.[79]

He is said to have obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Yakṣeśvara (Dig.) or Yakṣanāyaka (Śve.) and Vajraśṛṅkhalā (Dig.) or Kālikā (Śve.) are the attendant yakṣa and yakṣinī respectively who are said to protect the śāsana or the Jaina Samgha of this Tīrthaṅkara. The chief gaṇadhara of this Jina was Vajranābha while Ajitā was the chief āryikā. Abhinandana had the monkey as his *dhvaja* or *lāñchana*. B.C. Bhattacharya, in his *Jaina Iconography*, writes: "In treating of his symbolism, we encounter some difficulties. His main symbol is a monkey. If we interpret *hari*, one of the dreams of Jina's mothers, to stand for a monkey, the propriety of the emblem is explained. Hari also means a lion, which makes it a symbol of Mahāvīra. The real nature of his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī may, to some extent, help us to get at the meaning of the symbols. Yakṣa, as we have seen, is Īśvara and Yakṣiṇī is named Kālī. Clearly they are Śaivite deities borrowed from the Brahmanic pantheon. Thus it is likeliest to connect the ape of the Jina with the apish incarnation of Īśvara or Śiva."[80]

The above remarks are too far-fetched. There does not seem to have existed any special connection between the *lāñchanas* and the *Śāsanadevatās* of the different Tīrthaṅkaras. Only in the case of Ṛṣabha the similarities of Ṛṣabha-Śiva, Bull-Nandī, Gomukha-Nandikeśvara are noticeable. But what about Ṛṣabha's yakṣī Cakreśvarī who can be equated with Vaiṣṇavī and not with the Śaivite Gaurī? How can we connect the horse symbol of Sambhava with the Jina's yakṣa Trimukha? The relation of Īśvara Yakṣa and Kālī can be understood but not of these two with the ape cognizance. In fact, the recognising symbols or the *lāñchanas*—the *dhvajas*—were introduced much earlier than the twenty-four different yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs known as *Śāsanadevatās*. There was no inherent significance or background nor was any uniform principal followed in the selection of such names and symbols. We cannot associate Gomukha with Cakreśvarī in the same way as we can Īśvara with Kālī. To seek any significance in the *lāñchanas* from the list of fourteen or sixteen dreams seen by the Jina's mother is equally unwarranted.

Images of Abhinandana are not so common as those of Ṛṣabha, Pārśva or Mahāvīra and not many have reached the different museums from old sites. However it would not be proper to state that he was not popular, for, a glance at different articles and works giving inscriptions on the various stone and metal images in worship in different temples and Jaina temple-cities will show that images of all the twenty-four Tīrthankaras used to be worshipped.

Abhinandana is represented on one of the four sides of the Quadruple image in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, referred to before while describing images of Sambhavanātha.

A relief sculpture of Abhinandana with the ape symbol also figures on the wall of the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. Abhinandana also figures on the walls of the Barabhuji (*Fig. 53*) and the Mahāvīra Caves, Khandagiri, Orissa.

Only one sculpture of Abhinandana, with the cognizance of a monkey, is so far known from Devgadh. The Jina is shown in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. The yakṣa and the yakṣī on the pedestal are of the usual two-armed variety showing the *abhaya* and the *kalaśa*.

At Khajuraho, a sculpture of this Jina in the sitting posture figures in the Pārśvanātha temple while another image is preserved in Temple 29. In both cases the yakṣa and the yakṣī, each two-armed, show the *abhaya* and the fruit or the *kalaśa*.

In the Mālava-Prāntīya-Digambara-Jaina-Samgrahālaya, Ujjain, are preserved a few sculptures of Ajitanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* with the *kapi* (ape) shown as his *lāñchana*.

At Kumbharia, an inscription on the pedestal of an image of Abhinandana shows that it was installed in samvat 1142 = 1085 A.D. The image was installed in the Mahāvīra svāmī temple (Viśālavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 121, inscr. no. 6-69). Similarly in cell no. 22, Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, was installed an image of Abhinandana in samvat 1259 = 1202 A.D. In the Śāntinātha temple at Rādhanpur, N. Gujarat, is in worship a metal *Pañca-tīrthika* image of Abhinandana installed in samvat 1505 = 1448 A.D. Minister Dhanapāla, a descendent of the family of the elder brother of Vimala Saha, had installed a sculpture of Abhinandana in cell no. 26, Vimala Vasahi, in Samvat 1245.

In the National Museum, New Delhi, No. 48.4/88 is a metal sculpture of Abhinandana, dated samvat 1610 with figures of Īśvara yakṣa and Kālī yakṣī on the ends of simhāsana (*JAA*, III, p. 560).

Sculptures of Abhinandana are obtained in South India in Karnataka in the sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

at Veṇūr, Mūḍabidri, and in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti and Suttālaya sets at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. In all such cases the yakṣa and the yakṣī stand on the sides near the legs of the Jina. No cāmaradharas are shown, not even the dharmacakra or the *śrī-vatsa* symbol on the chest of the Jina. The Jina stands under an ornamental arch and there is a triple-umbrella over his head.

5. FIFTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: SUMATINĀTHA

Sumati, the fifth Tīrthankara, was born as the prince of king Megha or Meghaprabha and queen Mangalā or Sumangalā, at Ayodhyā in the Maghā nakṣatra. He descended upon this earth from his previous existence as an Indra in the Jayanta Vimāna.[81]

While he was in the mother's womb, his mother's mind and intellect remained good and benevolent (*śobhanā matih*) whereupon he was called Sumati.[82]

Golden in complexion, Sumatinātha, of the Īkṣvāku race, had the red goose (*kokaḥ*, or *krauñca* according to some texts) as his *dhvaja* or *lāñchana*. T.N. Ramachandran has given the wheel or circle as an alternative symbol based on some other tradition not specified [83] Sumati obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Priyangu tree (Panicum Italicum).[84] He had 116 Ganadharas of whom Camara (Śve.) or Vajra (Dig. Tiloyapaṇṇatti, but Camara according to Uttarapurāna, 51.76, and Carama according to Ramachandran) was the leader; the chief āryikā of his order of nuns was Kāśyapī.

Sumatinātha obtained mokṣa on the Mt. Sammeta Śikhara, Tumburu officiated as his attendant Yakṣa and Puruṣadattā (Dig.) or Mahākālī (Śve.) was the attendant Yakṣī of his tīrtha.

An old sculpture of Sumatinātha, very much defaced, was recovered from Sahet-Mahet, Gonda district, U.P., the site of ancient Śrāvastī. The red-goose, the symbol of Sumati, is visible below the dharmacakra in the centre of the simhāsana. There is a group of 23 other Tīrthaṅkaras arranged in two verticle rows on two sides of the central figure of Sumati.[85]

Amongst the Digambaras of Northern India, representation of two Tīrthaṅkaras side by side in one sculpture, i.e., the *Dvi-tīrthika* image, was very popular. Compare, for example, the *Dvī-tīrthī* of Ṛsabha and Mahāvīra, now in the British Museum, published by us in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 35, and *Fig. 79* here of Ajitanātha and Sambhavanātha from Narwar, now in the Shivpuri Museum, Shivpuri, M.P. Both the Jinas stand side by side with attendant chowrie-bearers, *chatra*, etc. for each Jina represented separately. Some of these examples are fine specimens of art. A sculpture from Ghusai, now in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, shows two Jinas standing on two beautiful lotuses with small figures of male cāmaradharas by their side. The *Caitya*-trees are represented by hanging a few leaves from the ends of the triple umbrellas above the Jinas. On the left end of the pedestal is a miniature yakṣa Sarvānubhūti (also known as Sarvāṇha) carrying the citron and the bag. Below him is the small figure of a goose, which shows that the Tīrthaṅkara standing on this (left) side is Sumatinātha whose cognizance is the red goose according to the Digambara texts. The pilaster on the right end is mutilated and lost and along with it the symbol of the Jina on the right end is lost, so he cannot be identified. A sculpture of Sumati standing on a simhāsana with *parikara* but without the yakṣa and yakṣī, hailing from Narwar, is in Shivpuri Museum, M.P.

At Khajuraho two sculptures of Sumati are noted by Tiwari, one in the sanctum of the Pārśvanātha temple and the other in temple no. 30. The Jina sits in the padmāsana in both cases. The yakṣa and yakṣī are of the usual two-armed type showing the *abhaya* and the fruit.[87] V.A. Smith has also noted the existence of an image of Sumatinātha from Mahoba, assigned to 1158 A.D.[88]

In the Mālava-Prāntīya Digambara Jaina Samgrahālaya, Ujjain, Mu. no. 29 is a standing Sumatinātha with the goose symbol and Tumburu and Mahākāli as his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. The sculpture dates from c. fourteenth century A.D. Three more images of Sumati, from Javas, Gondalmau and Guna, are also preserved in the Museum.

At Orissa, Khandagiri, in Caves nos. 8 and 9, we find figures of Sumatinātha sitting in the padmāsana with his goose symbol on the simhāsana below his seat (*Fig. 54* from Cave 8).[86]

At Kumbharia, in the Pārśvanātha temple, cell no. 21, an image of Sumati was installed in samvat

1259=A.D. 1202 according to the inscription on the pedestal preserved in the cell (Viśālavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 133). According to another inscription by the side of the toraṇa in this cell, it was installed in Samvat 1265 by Sājana who is perhaps the same as Sajjana of the earlier inscription just noted. Tiwari has noted that on the toraṇa pillars are figures of *Apraticakrā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vairoṭyā, Rohiṇī, Mānavī, Sarvāstramahājvālā and Mahāmānsī Vidyādevīs* but it must be remembered that they have nothing to do with the iconography of the Tīrthaṅkara. There are indeed some cases where some Vidyādevīs figure as part of the accessory figures as in the *Tri-tīrthika* metal images from Vasantagadh published by us in Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, but it must be remembered that they are not enjoined as part of a *parikara* of a Tīrthaṅkara image.

In cell 27, Vimala-vasahi, Abu, an image of Sumatinātha was installed in samvat 1245 by the wife of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla. The image is lost but the pedestal with the inscription is still preserved in the cell. This has happened with the sculptures of most of the *Devakulikās* (cells) in the temples at Kumbharia and Abu. The yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal in the Vimala-vasahi cell 27 are Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

A *Pañca-tīrthika* sculpture of Sumatinātha installed in samvat 1720 is in worship in Cell no. 593/2 at Śatruñjaya (inscr. no. 225 of Kañchanasāgarasūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 57) and another *Pañca-tīrthī* of Sumati dated in samvat 1554 is in worship in Cell 600/1, inscr. no 232, at Śatruñjaya. There is a similar third sculpture dated samvat 1694 in Cell no. 596/2 at Śatruñjaya. A fourth *Pañca-tīrthī* of Sumati in the same site is dated in v.s. 1497, preserved in what is called *Koṭhāra*, inscr. no. 238, Śatruñjaya, *op. cit.* There are some more such *Pañca-tīrthīs* of Sumati at Śatruñjaya. But the inscription no. 273 in Cell no. 613/9/10, dated samvat 1530 is more interesting because here the image is called *Śrī-Jivatasvāmī-Śri-Sumatinātha-bimbam.* This as we have noted before is a later wrong application of the epithet *Jīvat-svāmī* for images of Tīrthaṅkaras other than Mahāvīra. Iconography of *Jīvantasvāmī* images of Mahāvīra was of course believed to have been based on an original life-time portrait statue of Mahāvīra which is not the case with much later *Jīvitasvāmī* images of other Tirthaṅkaras.

In the National Museum, New Delhi, there is a metal sculpture of Sumati (No. 48.4/44) with yakṣa Tumburu and Mahākālī yakṣī (*JAA*, III, p. 560), installed in samvat 1532.

In the south as usual we have sculptures of Sumatinātha in the various sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras at Śravana Beḷagoḷa, Veṇūr, Mūḍabidri. In such sets all the sculptures are of a uniform type in each set, the differences lying only in the forms of śasana yakṣa and yakṣī and the cognizance on the pedestal.

6. SIXTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: PADMAPRABHA

Padmaprabha was born as the son of king Dharaṇa (Dig.), Dhara or Śrīdhara (Śve.) and queen Susīmā ruling over the city of Kauśambī, in the Citrā nakṣatra, having descended from the Uparima-Graiveyaka Vimāna.[89]

Hemacandra states that his father named him Padmaprabha because his mother had a pregnancy-wish of (lying on) a bed of lotuses while the Jina was still in her womb and secondly because of his lotus-like complexion.[90]

Shining like red-lotus, Padmaprabha also has the red-lotus as his *lāñchana* or *dhvaja*. He obtained kevalajñāna under a banyan tree according to the Śvetāmbara view represented by Hemacandra. According to the Digambara tradition noted by Ramachandran, the Chatrā (Anethumsowa) was his *Caitya-vṛkṣa*. The Samavāyāṅga sūtra, which represents an earlier tradition, calls it Chatrābha.[91] One hundred and ten gaṇadharas headed by Vajracamara (Dig.) or one hundred and seven gaṇadharas headed by Suvrata (Śve.) followed him. Rati or Ratisenā was the leader of his order of āryikās.

He obtained mokṣa on Mt. Sammeta Śikhara. Kusuma and Acyutā were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively according to Śve. tradition, while they were known as Mātaṅga and Apraticakrā (Tiloyapaṇṇatti) or Kusuma and Manovegā (Vasunandi and other writers) according to the traditions of the Dig. sect.

Early sculptures of Padmaprabha are not yet known. At Khajuraho in the maṇḍapa of the Pārśva-

nātha temple is a big sculpture of this Jina sitting in the padmāsana. In the Indian Museum, Calcutta is an image of this Jina obtained from Gwalior and assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D. Lucknow Museum no. O.122 is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha dated in A.D. 1149 and obtained from Chhattarpur. Kamtaprasad Jaina has noted a sculpture of Padmaprabha, from Urdamau, M.P., standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture, and dated in the year equal to 1114 A.D.[91a] There is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha in temple 1 at Devgadh.

There is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha from Narwar in the Shivpuri Museum, M.P. The Jina stands on a lotus placed on a simhāsana in the centre of which is a miniature figure of a Siddha or a Tīrthaṅkara in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā and below him is the dharmacakra. The cognizance of the Jina is at the lower end of the sculpture, below the dharmacakra. On each side of the Jina stands a cāmaradhara. Above the Jina is the triple-umbrella with an elephant on each side, and on top of the *chatra* is a *kalaśa*. On each side of the head of the Jina is a celestial mālādhara. Almost all the sculptures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras from Narwar in the Shivpuri Museum are of this type.

Rock-cut figures of Padmaprabha are available in Caves 8 and 9 at Khandagiri (*Fig. 54*). The yakṣī of this Jina is carved separately below him in cave 8. Mohapatra has published a sculpture of Padmaprabha from a Jaina temple in Cuttack.[91b]

A sculpture on the wall of a rock-cut cave at Kuppalanatham in the Madurai district, Tamil Nadu, shows the Jina seated in the ardha-padmāsana under a triple umbrella and on a simhāsana with figures of two lions at the ends and a lotus in the centre. Two male flywhisk-bearers stand by the sides of the Tīrthaṅkara. On the left side of this sculpture is carved another separate sculpture representing Mahāvīra. In the south, the cognizance is carved generally in the central compartment of the pedestal while in the compartments at the two ends are figures of lions of the simhāsana. These two lions at the ends face different directions while the lion in the centre faces the worshipper Sometimes all the lions might face the worshipper. But in all such cases when there is a central lion figure we feel that the sculpture is to be identified as representing Mahāvīra whose cognizance is the lion. On this analogy when in the centre we find a lotus we prefer to regard the sculpture as representing Padmaprabha. Unfortunately in sculpture we often find the Wheel of Law carved like an open petalled lotus as we find on pedestals of some of the sculptures at Rajgir etc. But in the south the practice of carving the dharmacakra in the central part of the pedestal or the simhāsana is hardly seen.

In the Bhāṇḍāra Basti set, and the Suttālaya set at Śravana Belagola and in the sets at Mūḍabidri and Venūr in Karnataka we find sculptures of this Jina with attendant figures of the Puspa (Kusuma) yakṣa and Manovegā yakṣī and the lotus cognizance.

In cell 20 of Pārśvanātha Temple at Kumbharia is preserved the pedestal of a sculpture of Padmaprabha which shows that the image was installed by merchant Sajjana in samvat 1259 = 1202 A.D. Similarly, in the *devakulikā* no. 7 in the Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia was installed a sculpture of Padmaprabha in V.S. 1146 = A.D. 1089 (Viśālavijaya, *op. cit.*, pp 132, 147). Inscription no. 6, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, on one of the two big metal images in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the shrine shows that this image of Padmaprabha was installed in samvat 1550 = A.D. 1493 by Mantris Alhaṇa and Molhaṇa of Prāgvāṭa caste. The figure is a big single Jina-image without any *parikara* (Muni Jayantavijaya, *Śrī-Arbuda-Prācīna-Jaina-Lekhasamdoha*, p 11). In Cell 24 of Vimala Vasahi there is a sculpture of Padmaprabha with full *parikara*.

Minister Dhanapāla, son of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla in the lineage of Neḍha, the elder brother of Vimala Sāha, installed images of Śāntinātha (in *Devakulikā* 24, Vimala Vasahi), Ṛṣabhadeva (in cell 23, same shrine), Sambhavanātha (in cell 25), and Abhinandana (in cell 26, same shrine), in V.S. 1245 = A.D. 1198 (Inscriptions nos. 98, 95, 100, 103 of Jayantavijaya, *op. cit.*). Nāmaladevī, wife of Minister Pṛthvīpāla, installed an image of Śrī Padmaprabha (in cell 28) and Śrīmāladevī, wife of Jagadeva, elder brother of Dhanapāla, gave an image of Supārśva (cell 29), and Rupiṇī, wife of Minister Dhanapāla, installed an image (*bimba*) of Śrī Candraprabha, in the same year, according to inscriptions nos. 104, 106, 108 and 109 respectively. In many cells in the Vimala Vasahi and the Lūṇavasahi at Abu, and in the temples at Kumbharia, the original sculptures installed are lost and only the simhāsanas or the pedestals

remain. In some cases new images are installed which are not necessarily of the same Jinas. These are installed on the old pedestals preserving the original inscriptions referred to here.

In the temple of Ādīśvara at Rādhanpur, N. Gujarat, a metal *Pañcatīrthī* of Padmaprabha is in worship. According to an inscription on it the image was installed in V.S. 1570 = A.D. 1513.

7. SEVENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: SUPĀRŚVANĀTHA

Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, was born as the son of king Supratiṣṭha or Pratiṣṭha and queen Pṛthvī of Vārāṇasī when the moon was in the asterism Viśākhā. He descended from the madhyama Graiveyaka heaven, Subhadra Vimāna.[92]

In dream, the queen mother of Supārśva saw herself lying on the coils of snakes with one, five and nine snake-hoods respectively when the Jina was in her womb. In the Samavasaraṇa of Supārśva were, on this account, raised by Śakra, similar snake-hoods, like an umbrella as it were, over the head of the Jina.[93] The Āvaśyaka Niryukti says that Supārśva was so called because his mother's sides looked beautiful (*su-pārśva*) while he was in the womb.[94]

He was born with a golden complexion according to the Śvetāmbaras but he had greenish appearance[95] according to the Digambara sect. According to both the sects his *dhvaja* or the *lāñchana* is the *svastika*.[96] He obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Śirīṣa (Acacia Sirisa) tree, and mokṣa on the Mount Sammeta. Vidarbha and Somā or Sumanā were his chief gaṇadhara and āryikā respectively according to the Śvetāmbaras while the Digambaras call them Bala (Baladatta) and Mīnāryā (Minā).

Mātanga and Śāntā were the śāsanadevatās of his tīrtha according to Śvetāmbara writers; according to the Digambara authors they were known as Varanandī (Vijaya acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) and Kālī (Purusadattā acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇatti).

Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, is also represented with a canopy of snake-hoods overhead which often renders it difficult to differentiate between images of Pārśva and Supārśva in the absence of an inscription or the cognizance on the pedestal. Usually Pārśva is shown with coils of snake behind his body, while in the case of Supārśva only the snake-hoods overhead are carved or painted. But this is not an unfailing guide since Pārśva is sometimes represented with the snake-hoods only without the coils all over the back. It is not unlikely that because of a certain similarity of names Supārśva also came to be associated with snake-hoods. No early image of the Kuṣāṇa period representing Supārśva is known as yet from Mathura. At Mathura in the Kuṣāṇa period, in the four-fold images (*caumukha* or *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā*), we find Ādinātha on one side, another Jina must be Mahāvīra, the third cannot be identified while the fourth, with seven snake-hoods overhead, has to be identified as Pārśvanātha.[97] *Figure 23* illustrates a separate image of Pārśva with seven snake-hoods from Kankali Tila, Mathura and *Fig. 8* illustrates a standing Pārśva from the Chausa hoard.[98]

Jinaprabha Sūrī, a Śvetāmbara ācārya of the fourteenth century A.D., refers to a stūpa of Supārśvanātha at Mathura, built by gods (*devanirmita*).[99] As yet not a single image of Supārśva is found or identified from the Kankali Tila site of the Jaina stūpa. An inscription on one of the images obtained from this stūpa site refers to installation of two images (*Pratimāvo dve*) in the stūpa built by gods (*thubhe devanirmite*). Even though the stūpa of Kankali Tila can be identified as the *devanirmita stūpa* of Jaina traditions, it is difficult to accept it as a stūpa dedicated to Supārśvanātha. Jinaprabha is the only writer who explicitly said so.[100]

A very late but a well-preserved image of Supārśvanātha was obtained from Tonk along with several marble images of other Tīrthaṅkaras, all in the same style and without any *parikara*. The symbols are marked in the centre of cushion seats of these Jinas. Supārśvanātha is here identified with the help of the svastika symbol on his seat. But he has seven snake-hoods overhead. No coils of snake are shown on his back. This case is a pointer to the fact that there are exceptions to the general rule of one, five or nine snake-hoods for Supārśva and three or seven snake-hoods for Pārśvanātha. But *Vāstuvidyā*, 22.27, as noted by M.N.P. Tiwari[101] prescribes three or five snake-hoods for Supārśva and seven or nine for Pārśvanātha.

At Pāladī, a few miles from Sirohī, Rājasthān, in the Jaina temple, is a standing Supārśvanātha installed in V.S. 1348 = A.D. 1291. The inscription expressly says that this is an image of Supārśva. The beautiful marble sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition and shows five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. There is no *lāñchana* nor are there any snake-coils behind the Jina's body.

In the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa is a sculpture of Supārśva standing with five snake-hoods overhead and the *svastika* cognizance shown on the pedestal. Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā are shown as the attendant yakṣa and yakṣī, by their sides are figures of Mahāvidyās Rohiṇī and Vairoṭyā, each four-armed. In the *parikara* are shown figures of Sarasvatī, Prajñapti, Vajrāñkusī, Vajra-śṛṅkhalā and Sarvāstramahājvālā. In the *Devakulikā* no. 7, Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is an inscribed sculpture dated in 1202 A.D. with a canopy of five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina who is called Supārśvanātha in the inscription. A mediaeval sculpture in the Baroda Museum also shows five snake-hoods and the svastika cognizance which helps us to identify the Jina as Supārśva.[102] Tiwari has noted some figures of Supārśva on the *Devakulikās* of the Mahāvīra temple at Osiā.[103]

Tiwari has shown that photo no. 59.28 of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, is of a standing Supārśva from Shahdol with five snake-hoods and is assigned to the tenth cent. A.D.[104] The same Institute has supplied a photograph to this writer, with the no. AAB, Neg. No. 59.28, from "M.P. Singpur, Shahdol District, Pancamatha temple, Pārśvanātha, standing. Mid 10th cent." On the pedestal of this sculpture is a figure of a snake which can also be taken as the tail of the big snake whose coils are shown behind the whole body of the Jina. The snake-hoods over his head are partly mutilated and although five snake-hoods can be marked out it is not unlikely that the two mutilated sides of the snake canopy had one more snake-hood on each side end. If M.N.P. Tiwari is referring to this same photograph then the identification of this image is doubtful especially because an attempt is made to show a serpent or even a tail of the snake on the pedestal, the snake being the cognizance of Pārśvanātha. This would be an instance of Pārśva image with five snake-hoods.

It seems that in northern, eastern and western India Pārśva was almost always shown with seven and not five snake-hoods. This canopy of snake-hoods represents the demi-god Nāgakumāra Dharaṇendra sheltering Pārśvanātha from the attacks of Kamaṭha (Śve.) or Meghamālin (Dig.). At Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period Jina images with a canopy of seven snake-hoods were installed. In Khandagiri, Orissa, we have figures of Pārśva with seven snake-hoods. But the rock-cut sculpture of Supārśva in padmāsana in cave 8 (Barabhuji) at Khandagiri shows the svastika cognizance but no snake canopy at all over the head of the Jina. At Ellora also in the scenes of attack of Kamaṭha on Pārśva, the Jina is protected by a canopy of seven cobra-hoods.

But in the famous relief panel of the same scene in Badami Cave IV, assignable to c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D., there is a canopy of only five cobra-hoods over the head of Pārśvanātha.[105] In a similar scene at Anaimalai, Madurai district, amongst the Jaina reliefs cut on a boulder at Samanara-koil is a big relief panel showing the scene of the attack of Meghamālin (Kamaṭha) on Pārśvanātha. Dharaṇendra with his canopy of five hoods protects the Jina from the attack. These reliefs from Pandyan territory are assignable to c. eighth-ninth century A.D. Thus the Badami tradition of Pārśva with a canopy of five snake-hoods continues even in the eighth-ninth centuries in the south. In the relief panel in the Jaina Cave, Aihole, assigned to the seventh century A.D., showing the scene of attack on Pārśva-nātha, Pārśvanātha is shown with a canopy of five hoods only.[106]

Thus there is this confusion. In some cases at least, and especially in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, we have instances of Pārśva with a canopy of five cobra-hoods, though as a general rule Pārśva is often met with as having a canopy of seven hoods. Whenever there is a snake king and a snake queen shown as attending on the Jina, the Jina can easily be identified as Pārśvanātha; there is such a stone sculpture from Godavari district in the Madras Museum. But in this case the Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods. There is no cognizance shown. In the twelfth century set of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, we have, in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola, a sculpture of Supārśva with the svastika symbol and five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina.

So we will *tentatively* identify the National Museum No. 59.153/176 of a standing Jina with a canopy

of five hoods and the snake coils behind his body as Supārśva. There is no attendant figure. The sculpture is a fine specimen of Cola art of eleventh century A.D. The rock-cut sculpture in the southern wall of the facade of the Sittāṇṇavāsal cave, Tamil Nadu, shows a Jina sitting in the ardhapadmāsana and having a canopy of five snake-hoods over head.[107] There is no cognizance nor any scene of attack on the Jina. The sculpture probably represents Supārśva. In the Bellur village a few miles from Bangalore on the way to Kambadhalli, there is a beautiful single image of a Jina with five snake-hoods, said to have been brought there from Nāgamangalam. The sculpture is a fine specimen of Ganga art of tenth century. There is no *parikara*, no pedestal, no cognizance. We are inclined to identify this sculpture as representing Supārśvanātha.

There is a black stone sculpture of a standing Jina from Patancheru, Medak district, A.P., inscribed and assigned to the 12th century A.D. The sculpture is preserved in the Government Museum, Hyderabad, A.P. There are only five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. Coils of the huge snake are shown behind the whole body of the standing Jina who is identified as Supārśvanātha. There is another standing Tīrthaṅkara from Patancheru with coils of the snake behind the whole body of the Jina (though parts of them are now mutilated). The Jina had seven snake-hoods as can be easily inferred from the partly mutilated hoods. The sculpture can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D. Thus we have a case of five-hooded Supārśva and a seven-hooded Pārśva from the same spot.

It must be remembered that the yakṣa and yakṣī of Pārśva alone have snake-hoods over their crowns. The yakṣa and yakṣī of Supārśva in the Śve. and the Dig. traditions have no snake-hoods over their heads. So the present writer is not in favour of identifying the Lucknow Museum sculpture no. J.935 as representing Supārśvanātha because the yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal have three snake-hoods over their crowns.[108] Unfortunately the upper part of this sculpture is mutilated and lost along with the snake-hoods over the head of the Jina.

Madras Museum No. 2478 is an inscribed *Nisidhi* stone sculpture from Danavulappadu, Cuddapah district. The Jina in the upper panel sits in the ardhapadmāsana with the coils of snake shown behind his back and a big cobra head with only one snake-hood holding a canopy over the head of the Jina. Below the seat of the Jina, on the pedestal, is a big svastika which is the cognizance of Supārśva. Images of Supārśva with one snake-hood are rare to find.

Images of Supārśva with five snake-hoods are also known from Bajramath, Gyaraspur, Baijanath (Kangda),[109] Deogadh and Khajuraho. At Deogadh all the images of this Jina show him in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. In one case the Jina is shown with hair-lock on the shoulders. A sculpture of a Jina in Devgadh temple no. 4, showing the Jina with five snake-hoods, may not represent Supārśva since the yakṣa and the yakṣī here have three snake-hoods over their heads.[110]

There is a sculpture of Supārśva standing in temple no. 5 at Khajuraho. Another figure of standing Supārśva is in temple no. 28 at Khajuraho. Here the svastika cognizance is also shown. In both the cases the Jina has a canopy of five snake-hoods.

In the Nagpur Museum there is a beautiful sculpture of a Jina sitting in the padmāsana on a decorated cushion placed on a simhāsana. The embroidered cloth hanging over the centre of the simhāsana has the svastika mark which is the cognizance of Supārśva. The upper part of the back slab of the Jina figure is mutilated and so it is difficult to say whether there were any snake-hoods over the Jina's head. But the beautiful sculpture of a seated Jina (with arms broken) preserved as no. 6 in the Shivapuri Museum and hailing from Narwar, is identified as Supārśvanātha on account of the canopy of five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. The sculpture dates from the twelfth century A.D.

No. B.62 in the Nagpur Museum is from Katoli in Chanda district and dates from the eleventh century A.D. The Jina sits in the ardhapadmāsana and behind his back are coils of a big snake who with his five snake-hoods is holding a canopy over the Jina's head. There is no pedestal, no *parikara*, no cognizance. But because of the five snake-hoods it is possible to identify the Jina as Supārśvanātha. B.23 in the same museum is a *Pañca-tīrthī* of Pārśva with snake cognizance and seven snake-hoods for canopy.

According to Jinaprabha sūri, Supārśva was also worshipped in the city of Daśapura (modern Mandsor).[111]

A metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Supārśva, in worship in the Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha temple at Rādhanpur, was installed in samvat 1528 according to the inscription on the back of the image. In samvat 1245, Śrimāladevī, the wife of Ṭhakkura Jagadeva, the son of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla, installed a sculpture of Suparśvanātha in cell 29, Vimala Vasahi.

8. EIGHTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: CANDRAPRABHA

Candraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara, is white like the moon. Son of king Mahāsena and queen Lakṣmaṇā (or Lakṣmīmatī) of Candrapura, he descended from the Vaijayanta Vimāna and was born in the Anurādhā nakṣatra.[112]

Because the Jina's mother had a pregnancy wish (*dohada*) for drinking the moon, while he was still in embryo, and because he was white in complexion like the moon, his father named him Candrapapha.[113] According to the Uttarapurāṇa, Indra called him Candraprabha because at his birth the earth as well as the night-lotus were delighted (blossomed). In the south Candraprabha is now also worshipped as Candranātha.

He obtained highest knowledge while meditating under a Nāga-tree (Punnāga acc. to Hemacandra).[114] Vaidarbha and Varuṇā were his chief gaṇadhara and āryikā respectively according to Digambara belief; according to the Śvetāmbaras they were known as Dinna (Skt. Datta) and Vāruṇī.

According to the Śvetāmbaras, yakṣa Vijaya and yakṣī Bhṛkuṭi originated as the protectors of the tīrtha founded by Candraprabha; according to the Digambaras, the Śāsanadevatās of his tīrtha were Śyāma (Ajita according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) and Jvālāmālinī (Manovegā acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇtti) respectively. Candraprabha obtained nirvāna on the Mt. Sammeta in Western Bengal.

Both the sects prescribe the moon (crescent moon) as his cognizance.

A temple dedicated to Candraprabha exists at Somanātha-Pāṭana in Saurashtra. Jinaprabha sūri states that the image of Candraprabha was brought to Devapattana (same as Somanātha-Pāṭaṇ or Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇ) by air from Valabhi along with images of Ambā and Kṣetrapāla.[115] In another context the same author says that an image of Candraprabha made of Candrakānta stone is installed at Prabhāsa, along with an image of Jvālinīdevī. The image came from Valabhi where it was reported to have been consecrated by Śrī Gautama-svāmī and was the gift of Nandivardhana (the elder brother of Mahāvira). According to Jinaprabha sūrī, an image of Śrī Candraprabha, installed in the Jina's life-time, existed in a shrine at Nāsikkapura (Nasik). An image of this Jina was well-known at Varanasi while another was worshipped in Candrāvatī.[116]

The earliest sculpture of Candraprabha, so far discovered, was installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, according to an inscription on the simhāsana which has a dharmacakra (without the two deer flanking the Wheel as in mediaeval sculptures) in the centre.[117] The cognizance of the Jina is not shown. On each side of the Jina sitting in the padmāsana is a standing cāmaradhara. The head of the attendant on the right is mutilated along with the upper half of the halo and the head of the Jina. The male cāmaradhara on the right of the Jina wears a conical crown (reminding one of the later *kullah* caps!) with a motif like the one found in Kuṣāṇa headdress. The sculpture is rightly assigned to the fourth century A.D., to the age of the Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta II. The *Śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest of the Jina is still of the early type met with in the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura. Candraprabha is here identified because the inscription on the simhāsana gives the name of the Jina.

A stone sculpture of Candraprabha sitting in padmāsana on a big *viśva-padma* placed on a simhāsana was found in the Jaina temple at Vaibharagiri, Rajgir. In the centre of the simhāsana is a dharmacakra which looks like a full-blown lotus. Above it is the crescent moon, the cognizance of the Jina. Besides a male standing cāmaradhara there are, on each side of the Jina, three miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras sitting in padmāsana. Thus this is a *Sapta-tīrthī* image of Candraprabha. There are on top two mālādharas, two drums and a triple umbrella. The sculpture belongs to the eighth century A.D.[118]

Patna Museum no. 10695 is a standing Candraprabha from Aluara with the crescent shown on the pedestal. The bronze can be assigned to c. 11th-12th cent. A.D. A more beautiful bronze of standing Candraprabha from Achyutarajapura, Orissa, dating from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D., is preserved in the State Museum, Bhuvaneśvara. A metal image of standing Candraprabha from Kākaṭpur, Orissa, is preserved in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta.[119] The same museum has a stone Caturmukha shrine from Dewalia, Burdwan, on one side of which is a standing Candraprabha with the moon symbol and figures of standing Ṛṣabha, Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha on the remaining three sides.[120] The Indian Museum Calcutta has a beautiful miniature stone shrine of Candraprabha from Bihar showing the Jina standing on a double lotus below which in the centre of the pedestal is his crescent moon symbol.[121] There are 23 more miniature figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras. The pedestal shows four-armed figures of his yakṣa and yakṣī.

Cave 7, Khandagiri, Orissa, has a rock-cut figure of Candraprabha sitting on a big lotus with a long stalk. Below the lotus is a mark of a big crescent. Caves 8 and 9 each also have a figure of Candraprabha in the sitting posture.[122] Candraprabha seems to have been popular in Eastern India in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Allahabad Museum no. 295 is a sculpture of Candraprabha in padmāsana sitting on a big lotus placed on a simhāsana.[123] In the centre of the lotus is the crescent symbol. On the right end of the pedestal is the two-armed yakṣa Sarvānubhūti while on the left end is a two-armed yakṣī with the lotus in the right hand and the left arm and legs mutilated. The sculpture is assigned to c. ninth cent. A.D.

At Devgadh, Candraprabha was popular. His images are found in temples nos. 1, 4, 12, 20, 21. In the image in no. 21, hair-locks are shown on his shoulders. All the sculptures date from c. 10th-11th centuries. At Khajuraho, one sculpture on the west wall of the sanctum of the Pārśvanātha shrine shows him sitting in the padmāsana with two more standing Tīrthaṅkaras and two-armed yakṣa-yakṣiṇī. The second image, also showing him in the sitting posture, is in temple no. 32 and is assigned to c. 12th century A.D. Nos. J.880, J.881 and G.113 in the State Museum, Lucknow, represent the Jina Candraprabha.

On a *Pañca-tīrthī* sculpture of Candraprabha from Padhavali, Gwalior, M.P., the symbol is given at the foot of the pedestal below the dharmacakra while a pot-bellied two-armed yakṣa is shown at the right end. The yakṣī shown on the left end carries a garland of flowers with both the hands. Since there are two female standing garland-bearers and a male and a female sitting devotee near the feet of the Jina, it seems that the two-armed sitting female on the left end of the simhāsana might have been regarded as a yakṣiṇī. If so, this would be an exceptional form.

In *Devakulikā* no. 13, Vimala Vasahi there is in worship a *Pañca-tīrthika* sculpture of Candraprabha; in cell no. 26 of the same temple is in worship a *Tri-tīrthika* sculpture of this Jina. In cell no. 30, Rūpiṇī, the wife of Mahāmātya Dhanapāla, had installed a sculpture of Candraprabha in samvat 1245, according to the inscription on the pedestal preserved in the cell. According to an inscription on a pedestal in the Neminātha shrine, Kumbharia (Muni Viśalavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 104, inscr. no. 31) a sculpture of Candraprabha was installed there in samvat 1335. In the same temple there is an image of Candraprabha installed in V.S. 1338=A.D. 1281 (*ibid.*, p. 106, no. 36). A pedestal in cell 18 of the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, has an inscription which says that this image (now lost which was on the pedestal) of Candraprabha was installed in samvat 1259=A.D. 1202. In the temple of Dharmanātha at Radhanpur there is a metal image of Candraprabha installed in samvat 1306; in the temple of Ajitanātha at Radhanpur there is in worship another metal image of this Jina installed in samvat 1423; in the Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha temple, Radhanpur is in worship a metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Candraprabha, installed in samvat 1439.

A beautiful sculpture of Candraprabha, of white marble and with full *parikara* and every detail minutely carved, is preserved in the sanctum of a shrine of Candraprabha at Patan, North Gujarat. The sculpture dates from c. late fifteenth or early sixteenth century A.D. The crescent moon is shown in the centre of the decorated cushion on which the Jina is sitting in padmāsana. In the centre of the simhāsana is the four-armed Śānti-devī, while at the right end of simhāsana is the four-armed Vijaya yakṣa and

on the corresponding left end of the throne is the four-armed Brukuṭi yakṣī of the Śvetāmbara tradition.

At Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, in the set of Bhaṇḍāra Basti (1159 A.D.), Candraprabha, standing in *kāyotsarga pose*, has by his right side the four-armed yakṣa who may be Śyāma or Ajita and the four-armed yakṣī on the left who seems to be Manovegā (acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) and not the Jvālāmālinī (of other Digambara texts). In Humaca, south Karnataka, we have a standing Candraprabha with the cognizance carved on the pedestal. As usual in Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa and other sets here also the Jina has a halo and a triple umbrella and no other member of the *parikara* except the four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī standing on his right and the left sides respectively. In the sculpture of Candraprabha at Veṇūr we have a four-armed yakṣa but the yakṣī is six-armed. In the Suttālaya set, at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, of late 12th century, both the yakṣa and the yakṣī are four-armed while in the Mūḍabidri group of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, the yakṣī of Candraprabha is six-armed. This set is later and dates from c. 14th or 15th century A.D. There is a sculpture of Candraprabha standing at Bhatkal in Karnataka. Here the yakṣī is eight-armed Jvālāmālinī.

A rather modern example of Candraprabha image, cast in metal, according to Digambara tradition, is in worship in a shrine in Venkundram, North Arcot district, Madras. The Jina stands on a lotus device placed on a pedestal with the crescent symbol of the Jina shown in its centre. The total absence of the *śrī-vatsa* mark in all the south Indian images noted above is noteworthy. In the Venkundram bronze we find a small triangle carved on the right side of the chest of the Jina. We find such a mark on metal images of other Jinas in this shrine.

Candraprabha, also called Candranātha in the south, has been popular amongst the Jainas almost everywhere in India. P. Gururaja Bhatt, in his *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, discussing Jainism in Tulunadu, lists some noteworthy Jaina Bastis in places in Tulunadu. The list shows that there are several Bastis (shrines) with Candranātha in the sanctum at places like Mūḍabidure, Karentitodi, Veṇūru, Beltangaḍi, Dharmasthala, Mardala, Nerenki, Uppinangaḍi, Panantabaiḷu, Mularappatna, Manjeśvara, Omanjuru, Bailballa, Mulki, Madhura-patna, Iruvattur, Humbucha, Angaḍtyaru, Kārkala-Hiriyangaḍi, Mala, Mūlivaru, Keravase, Varanga, etc.

Such a survey of important Jaina shrines in different parts of India, along with the images worshipped therein, is not yet completed for any State or district in a State and so it is not advisable to draw hasty conclusions and say, for example, that maximum number of images of Candraprabha were carved in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.[124] Even if such a statement is with references to States in India north of the Vindhyas, I humbly believe that without a full survey one need not hasten to draw such conclusions. Jaina temples in Patan or Cambay or in Śatruñjaya etc. have never been fully surveyed from such a point of view.

A *niṣidhi* stone with a figure of Candraprabha in upper panel along with the cognizance, from Danavulpadu, is preserved in the Madras Museum.

9. NINTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: SUVIDHI OR PUṢPADANTA

Both the sects worship the ninth Jina as Puṣpadanta or Suvidhi. He was born as prince of king Sugrīva and queen Mahādevī (Dig.) or Rāmā (Śve.) of the city of Kākandi (modern Kekind in Bihar). White in appearance and born in the Mūla nakṣatra, Suvidhi had descended upon this earth from the Prāṇata (acc. to Uttarapurāṇa) or Āṇata (acc. to Hemacandra) heaven.[125]

While he was still in embryo, his mother became adept in all rites and arts (Suvidhi-kuśala) and because a tooth appeared from a pregnancy wish for flowers, his parents gave him two names: Suvidhi and Puṣpadanta.[126]

Puṣpadanta obtained kevalajñāna under a Mālūra tree according to Hemacandra (Śve.), but under a Nāga tree according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa and under an Akṣa tree according to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (Dig.). T.N. Ramachandran has noted that it was the Śāla tree.[127] Possibly he relied on some Kannada tradition. The Samavāyāṅga sūtra states that it was the Mālī tree. Varāha or Varāhaka and Sulasā were the leaders of his gaṇadharas and āryikās respectively according to Śvetāmbara traditions,

and Vaidarbha (Nāga according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) and Ghoṣāryā were the leaders according to Digambara traditions.

Ajita was his yakṣa according to both the sects. The yakṣī was Sutārā (Śve.) or Mahākālikā (Dig. Uttarapurāṇa). The Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇatti gives Brahma yakṣa and Kālī as the śāsana yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively of this Jina. Suvidhinātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

In both the traditions, the crocodile (*makara*) is the *dhvaja* or *lāñchana* of this Jina. According to a Canarese (Kannada) tradition noted by Burgess as well as Ramachandran, the crab is his cognizance.[128]

Images of this Jina are not so common (especially in Museum collections) as those of Ṛṣabha, Mahāvīra, Pārśva or Śāntinātha, but they are obtained in temples of both the sects. A sculpture of Suvidhi from some site in the South (not specified, but probably Karnataka) was published by Kamta Prasad Jaina.[129] It represents him along with miniature figures of the 23 other Tīrthaṅkaras and belongs to the Digambara tradition. Jinaprabha Sūri states that Śrī Suvidhinātha is worshipped at Kāyādvāra. The identification of this tīrtha of Suvidhi is not certain.[130]

The earliest image of Puṣpadanta so far discovered dates from the fourth century A.D. Along with the image of Candraprabha referred to before, this sculpture was also installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta. The Jina is identified with the help of the inscription on the pedestal.[131] No *lāñchana* is shown. A third image of some unidentified Jina was also found along with the above two images from a village called Durjanapur near Vidisha. Inscription on the third image is defaced and hence the third image cannot be identified. All the three images are now preserved in the Vidisha Museum, M.P.

Hirananda Shastri has referred to an image of standing Puṣpadanta, of c. 11th cent. A.D., obtained from Chattarpur, and having the *makara* as the cognizance [132]

At Khandagiri, in caves 8 and 9 we have rock-cut sculptures of Puspadanta in padmāsana with the *makara* as his cognizance.[133]

In the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, in cell no. 9 is an image of Suvidhi with his name inscribed in the inscription on the pedestal dated in V.S. 1276 = A.D. 1219 (Viśālavijaya, *Śrī Kumbhāriyāji Tīrtha*, p. 50, inscr. no. 9-32). In the temple of Śāntinātha, Kumbharia, is an image of Suvidhi installed in V.S. 1138 = A.D. 1081 (*ibid.*, p. 56, inscr. no. 3-37). In the Kalyāṇa-Pārśvanātha temple at Radhanpur, N. Gujarat, there is in worship a metal *Pañca-tīrthī* image of Suvidhi installed in samvat 1464 according to the inscription on the back. Another such *Pañca-tīrthī* installed in samvat 1485 is in worship in the Neminātha temple, Radhanpur. There is a *Pañca-tīrthī* sculpture of Suvidhi, with *parikara*, in cell 31 in Vimala Saha's temple at Abu. In cell 38 of the same temple was installed a sculpture of Suvidhi in V.S. 1245 according to the inscription on the pedestal of the Mūlanāyaka image (main image) in this cell.

In the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, we have a sculpture of Suvidhi with Ajita yaksa standing on his right side and Mahākālī yakṣī standing on the left. On the pedestal a figure of *karimakara* is carved as the cognizance. In the Suttālaya of Gommata at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, and at Veṇūr and Mūḍabidri we also find sculptures of Suvidhi standing with his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī by his sides.

10. TENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ŚĪTALANĀTHA

Śītalanātha was the son of king Dṛḍharatha of Bhadrapura or Bhaddilā (in the Malaya country) by queen Sunandā and was born in Pūrvāṣaḍhā nakṣatra, having descended from the Acyuta heaven according to Hemacandra and from Āraṇa heaven according to the author of the Uttarapurāṇa.[134]

The name Śītala was given to him because the king's body, when it was hot, became cool at the touch of the queen, while the Jina was in her womb.[135]

Śītalanātha, says the Uttarapurāṇa, obtained kevalajñāna under a Bīlva-tree; Hemacandra says that it was a Pippala-tree (Ficus Religiosa) while Ramachandran, on the evidence of some Kannada tradition, says that it was a Priyangu-tree (Panicum italicum). The Tiloyapaṇṇatti says it was the Dhūli-tree. The Samavāyāṅga sūtra calls it Pilankkhu (Priyaṅgu ?) tree.[136]

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Nanda and Suyaśā were his chief gaṇadhara and āryikā respectively,[137] while according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa, they were Anagāra and Dharaṇā.

According to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, they were known as Kunthū and Dharaṇā respectively.

The Śāsanadevatās of the tīrtha of Śītalanātha were Brahma yakṣa and Aśokā yakṣī according to the Śvetāmbara belief and Brahma yakṣa and Mānavī yakṣī according to the Digambara sect. The Tiloya-paṇṇatti however says that they were Brahmeśvara and Jvālāmālinī. Śītala obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

Golden yellow in complexion, Śītalanātha had Śrī-vṛkṣa as his cognizance according to Digambara texts (except the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which gives the svastika as his *lāñchana*); the Śvetāmbara writers prescribe *śrī-vatsa* mark as his cognizance.

In the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, is a sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana upon a seat with an inscription on it dated in samvat 1552 (?). In the centre of the seat is the tree symbol. The figure, with the head lost, is placed on a pedestal of another image. The pedestal is a simhāsana with two lions, the dharmacakra in the centre and a yakṣa and a yakṣiṇī figure at the right and left ends respectively. At the lowermost end of this simhāsana, below the dharmacakra, is a small figure of the cognizance which looks like a lion. So this simhāsana belonged to another Jina figure, whereas the Jina with the tree symbol is of course Śītalanātha.

Tiwari refers to an image of Śītala from Tripuri, M.P., preserved in the Indian Museum. It is a partly mutilated piece with the lower portion constituting the pedestal and part of the top portions broken and lost. The cognizance of the Jina is therefore not known and it is difficult to identify the Tīrthaṅkara represented by the sculpture.[138] However it is a good specimen of art of Tripuri of the mediaeval age.

According to Jinaprabha sūrī, Śītalanātha was worshipped in a shrine in the Prayāga-tīrtha (Allahabad).[139] The Jainas of Vidisha today regard Vidisha as the old Bhaddilapura, the birth place of Śītala and have a shrine dedicated to this Jina.

In the Khandagiri caves at Orissa, Śītalanātha is shown sitting in Cave 8 and standing in Cave 9.[140]

In the National Museum, New Delhi, no. 48.4/46 is a metal image of Śītala sitting on a lion-throne. Between the lions is depicted the *śrī-vatsa* which is his cognizance. The simhāsana is flanked by yakṣa Brahma and yakṣī Aśokā. On the pedestal are depicted the nine planets, the dharmacakra flanked by two deer and a seated devotee at each extreme. The inscription on the back of the image is dated samvat 1542.

In the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, we have a standing figure of Śītala with the Brahma yakṣa and Mānavī yakṣī by this sides. We also have a figure of this Jina in the Mūḍabidri set of Tīrthaṅkaras and one figure in the Veṇūr set. P. Gururaja Bhatt has published a white stone sculpture of Śītala standing from Kallu-Basti, Mudabidure.[141] He has also noticed images of Śītala in Eda-Bala-Basti and Ammana-vara-Basti at Karkala-Hiriyangadi.

In the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, an inscription on an image of Śītalanātha shows that the image was installed in samvat 1138. Of an image of Śītala in the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, only the inscribed pedestal is preserved which shows that the image was installed in samvat 1161. In cell 16 of the same temple there was installed an image of Śītala whose pedestal alone dated samvat 1259 is preserved. Inscription on the pedestal of an image of Śītala in cell 37, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, shows that the image was installed in samvat 1245. In cell no. 593/4 at Śatruñjaya is a *Panca-tīrthī* image of Śītala installed in samvat 1517 (inscription no. 227, Kanchanasagara suri, *op. cit.*).

At Chandrāvati, Zālrāpaṭaṇa, Rājasthān, there is a famous old shrine of Śītalanātha erected in the tenth century.

11. ELEVENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ŚREYĀMSANĀTHA

Śreyāmsanātha was the son of Viṣṇurāja and Viṣṇudevī (acc. to Hemacandra, but Veṇudevī acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) or Nandā (acc. to Uttarapurāṇa and other Digambara sources), king and queen of the city of Simhapura. Golden in appearance, Śreyāmsa was born in the Śravaṇa nakṣatra, having descended from the Acyuta or Puṣpottara Vimāna.[142]

Hemacandra's two explanations of the name are far-fetched as almost all others for different Jinas are. He has somehow tried to connect Śreyāṁsa with *śreyas* (spiritual good or merit).[143]

The Jina obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Tumbura tree (Uttarapurāṇa) or Palāśa tree (Tiloyapaṇṇatti). According to Hemacandra it was the Aśoka tree. T.N. Ramachandran's Table gives Tanduka as the Caitya tree. The Samavāyāṅga sūtra reads it as Tinduga.

The cognizance of Śreyāṁsa is Rhinoceros (*khaḍgī, gaṇḍaḥ*) according to both the sects. Ramachandran has noted three different traditions about this Jina's cognizance: (1) Rhinoceros, (2) Deer, (3) Garuḍa. The last two alternatives seem to have been based on some Kannada traditions.

The Jina was followed by a band of 77 gaṇadharas with Kunthū as their leader according to the Uttarapurāṇa, but Dharma according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, Gostubha according to Samavāyāṅga sūtra and Kaśyapa according to others. Dharaṇā (Dig.) or Cāraṇā (TP) or Dhāriṇī (Śve.) was the head of the order of āryikās of this Jina. Śreyāṁsa obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

Īśvara and Gaurī are his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively according to the Digambara traditions (except the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which gives Kumāra and Mahākālī) while the Śvetāmbaras invoke them as Yakṣeṭ and Mānavī.

Tripṛṣṭha, the first Vāsudeva and Vijaya, the first Baladeva, of Jaina Purāṇas, lived in this age. According to Jinaprabha sūri, Tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) of Śreyāṁsa existed on the Vindhya-giri and Malaya-giri.

A. Bannerji has noticed an image of Śreyāṁsa in *kāyotsarga mudrā* at Pakbira (Purulia), W. Bengal.[144] There is an image of Śreyāṁsa in the Indore Museum, M.P.

Sculptures of Śreyāṁsa are found in caves 8 and 9 at Khandagiri, Orissa.[145]

B.C. Bhattacharya writes, "At Sarnath, in Benares, the traditional place of the Jina, there is a Jaina temple dedicated to this patriarch. An old image of the same Jina may be seen in the Brahmanical sculpture shed attached to the Museum." According to him the image is no. C.62 in the Museum.[146] In the Nagpur Museum is a sculpture from Cedi area, Madhya Pradesh, assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D., which has on the pedestal a figure of the cognizance looking like a rhinoceros. It has been published as representing Śreyāṁsa in the second edition of B.C. Bhattacharya's *Jaina Iconography* (plate XVI).

In the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, no. J.856 is a *Pañca-tīrthī* sculpture of this Jina from Sahet-Mahet (ancient Śrāvastī), district Gonda, U.P. Below the dharmacakra in the centre of the siṁhāsana is the figure of rhinoceros, the cognizance of Śreyāṁsanātha. It may be noted that the Jina has hair-locks on his shoulders which is unwarranted.

No. 8 in the Shivpuri Museum, M.P. is a sculpture of Śreyāṁsa standing on a siṁhāsana in the centre of which in a niche is a small figure of an *ācārya* with his right hand in the *vyākhyāna mudrā*. He is sitting in *padmāsana* and the figure could also represent the Jina giving the sermon. Below the seat of this figure is the dharmacakra below which at the lowermost end of the pedestal is the figure of the cognizance of Śreyāṁsa. The sculpture came from Narwar, M.P.

In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is a *Pañcatīrthī* brass image of Śreyāṁsa dated saṁvat 1525 according to an inscription on its back. In Cell no. 11, Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is the pedestal of a sculpture of this Jina. Inscription on the pedestal shows that the image of Śreyāṁsa was installed in saṁvat 1202.[147] Muni Viśālavijaya (*op. cit.*, p. 56) refers to an image of Śreyāṁsa installed in saṁvat 1138, in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia.

A *Pañca-tīrthī* brass image installed in saṁvat 1569 is in worship in the Kharatara vasahi temple at Śatruñjaya (Kañchanasāgara sūrī, *op. cit.*, inscr. no. 433).

Sculptures of Śreyāṁsa are also found in the sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras at Śravana Belagola, Venur and Mudabidri. In each case the Jina is accompanied by his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī.

12. TWELFTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: VĀSUPŪJYA

King Vasupūjya and queen Jayā (Śve.) or Vijayā (Dig.) had a prince named Vāsupūjya who became the twelfth Jina. Reddish in complexion, Vāsupūjya was born in the Śatabhiṣa nakṣatra, having descended

on this earth from the Mahāśukra Vimāna according to the Uttarapurāṇa and Prāṇata according to Śvetāmbara texts. The buffalo is his cognizance in both the traditions.[148]

He was called Vāsupūjya because he was the son of Vasupūjya or because he was the object of worship for Indra (Vasu).[149]

The Pāṭalā tree (Bignonia Suaveolens) was his *Caitya-vṛkṣa* according to the Samavāyānga sūtra and Hemacandra, but Kadamba tree according to the Uttarapurāṇa. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti calls it Tenduva which is the same as Tinduka of Āśādhara. Sixty-three gaṇadharas headed by Dharma followed him according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa. According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti Mandira was the leader of gaṇadharas and according to other traditions Subhūma was the leader. Senā (Dig. Uttarapurāṇa) or Varasenā (Tiloyapaṇṇatti) or Dharaṇīdharā (Śve.) was the head of the āryikās of his order.

His father was ruler of Campā (modern Bhagalpur) which was the birth-place of this Jina. Vāsupūjya became a monk and did not marry, nor did he become a king. He obtained nirvāṇa while sitting in the *paryankāsana* (same as padmāsana in Śve. traditions but perhaps *ardha-padmāsana* in Dig. traditions) and meditating on the Mandara mountain near the river Rajatamūlikā.[150] Hemacandra says that he died in the city of Campā.[151]

The yakṣa of Vāsupūjya was known as Kumāra according to both the traditions and is called Ṣaṇmukha (which is another name of Kumāra) by the Tiloyapaṇṇatti. The yakṣiṇī is Caṇḍā or Candrā according to the Śvetāmbaras and Gandhārī according to Digambaras. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti calls her Gaurī.

The second Vāsudeva Dvipṛṣṭha and his step-brother Acalastoka, the second Baladeva, of Jaina mythology, lived in the age of Vāsupūjya.

Jinapabha sūri says that there was (a temple of) Viśvatilaka Vāsupūjya at Campā.[152]

Tiwari has referred to a *Caturvimśati-paṭṭa* of Vāsupūjya from Shahdol, M.P. The sculpture shows the buffalo cognizance and the yakṣa and the yakṣī on the pedestal.[153] Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, have rock-cut sculptures of Vāsupūjya.[154]

A big brass image of Vāsupūjya is in worship in the Jaina temple in the Mārfatiā Mehtā's pāḍā, Patan, N. Gujarat. The image (size 28.2 x 18 inches) illustrates the fully evolved *parikara* as depicted in Gujarat and Rajasthan in the mediaeval period. The image has an inscription on its back giving samvat 1582 (A.D. 1525) as the date of installation. The buffalo cognizance of the Jina is seen in the centre of the seat of Vāsupūjya. There is a miniature figure of a four-armed Śānti-devī in the centre of the simhāsana. Figures of the yakṣa and yakṣī of Vāsupūjya are also shown on two ends of the simhāsana.

An interesting type of sculpture of Vāsupūjya from Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha temple, Patan, was illustrated by us in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 73. The Jina sits in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, on a seat placed on a big lotus with a long stalk. On his right a male attendant stands with a chowrie in one hand while on the left a female figure with perhaps a cāmara in one hand and the other hand placed on her *kaṭi*. Over the head of the Jina is the usual umbrella. The upper part of this sculpture is covered with the foliage of a big *Caitya*-tree, the branch of the tree depicted in a semi-circular arch-like way. Inscription on the pedestal of the sculpture shows that it was installed in samvat 135(6) in commemoration of some penance practised by a certain lay worshipper. The inscription calls this a *bimba* (image) of Vāsupūjya.

An important characteristic of the sculpture is the representation of the big *Caitya*-tree under whose shade the Jina sits and the omission of almost all other members of the usual *parikara*. Again, instead of two attendant males holding the fly-whisk, a male and a female are generally represented on two sides of the Tīrthankara. Another sculpture of a similar type was illustrated by us as fig. 75 in *Studies in Jaina Art*. This sculpture, from a Digambara Jaina temple in Surat, Gujarat, is not inscribed and so it is difficult to identify the Jina. The Patan sculpture discussed above belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. A small sculpture of this type was seen by me years ago in one of the *devakulikās* of Vimala Vasahi. It was fixed into a side wall and had no inscription nor a recognizing symbol. In *Sambodi, Vol. 3, nos. 2-3, pp. 21-24,* T.O. Shah, M. Vora and M.A. Dhaky published two more such images—one from Porbandar, Saurashtra, Gujarat and another from Cambay. The Porbandar image is dated in Samvat 1304 and the

Cambay one is somewhat earlier. The authors suggested that the male and female figures represent Aśokacandra and Rohiṇi who are said to have worshipped Vāsupūjya.

In cell no. 53, on the left of the *mūlanāyaka* (chief image) is a sculpture of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1401 according to the inscription on it. In *devakulikā* no. 41, Vimala Vasahi, there is still in worship a sculpture of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1245 at the hands of Devacandra sūri. In cell 14 of the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, a sculpture of Vāsupūjya was installed in samvat 1259 (Viśāla-vijaya, *Kumbhāriyājī Tīrtha*, pp. 129-30).

A metal image of Vāsupūjya (height about 10 inches) is in worship as *mūlanāyaka* in the *Dig. Jaina* Gujarātī Mandir, Navāpurā, Surat. The image was installed in samvat 1679. In the same temple there is a smaller metal image of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1617. In cell 612/8/1 at Śatruñjaya is in worship a *Pañca-tīrthī* image of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1517 (inscription no. 272 of Kañchanasāgara sūri). Another *Pañca-tīrthī* in worship in Koṭhāra, Śatruñjaya, was installed in samvat 1431 (inscription no. 255 of Kañchanasāgara sūri).

Sculptures of Vāsupūjya with his yakṣa and yakṣī are in worship amongst the different sets in Śravana Belagola, Mudabidri and Venur referred to before.

13. THIRTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: VIMALANĀTHA

Vimala was the son of king Kṛtavarmā and queen Śyāmā of the city of Kampilya. Golden in complexion, the Jina descended upon this earth from the Sahasrāra heaven according to the Uttarapurāṇa and from Mahāśukra Vimāna according to others. According to Uttarapurāṇa, the naksatra of his birth was Uttarābhādrapada, but Uttaraṣāḍhā according to others.[155]

Vimala's *dhvaja* or *lāñchana* was the boar according to both the sects. His father called him Vimala because the queen's mind became more pure while the Jina was in her womb.[156] According to Uttarapurāṇa, Indra called him Vimalavāhana.[157]

He obtained kevalajñāna under a Jambū-tree (Eugenia jambolana) according to Hemacandra, the author of Uttarapurāṇa and others. Mandara was his chief gaṇadhara while the chief of āryikās was Padmā (Dig.) or Dharā (Śve.).

Vimala obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Ṣaṇmukha and Viditā were his śāsana yakṣa and yakṣī respectively; according to Digambara writers, they were known as Ṣaṇmukha and Vairoṭī or Vairoṭyā. The Digambara Tiloyapaṇṇatti however calls them Pātāla and Gandhārī respectively.

Dharma and Svayambhū, the third Baladeva and Vāsudeva (also called Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa) respectively, flourished in the age of Vimalanātha. According to Jinaprabha sūri (14th cent. A.D.), temples of Vimala existed at Kampilya, at the origin of the Ganges, and at Simhapura.[158]

A beautiful sculpture of Vimala (c. 9th cent. A.D.) is preserved in the Sarnath Museum (no. 236). The upper part is mutilated as also the heads of the Jina and his attendant male cāmaradharas. The Jina is standing on a lotus placed on a pedestal. The boar cognizance is carved in the centre of the pedestal. The figure belongs to the Digambara tradition. A sculpture of Vimala standing (Dig.) on a simhāsana, obtained from Baṭeśvara (Agra) is preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. J.791). The boar is carved in the centre of the lowermost end of the pedestal. At the right and the left ends of the simhāsana are the two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī respectively, each showing the *abhaya mudrā* and the water-pot. A sculpture of Vimala in *kāyotsarga mudrā* from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in Raipur, M.G.M. Museum (no. 20). The yakṣa and yakṣī are not shown. The sculpture is assigned to c. 12th cent. A.D.

Amongst Aluara bronzes in the Patna Museum is a small standing image of this Jina (Mu. no. 10674). In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, we have sculptures of Vimalanātha, in the sitting and standing postures respectively.[159]

A brass *Pañca-tīrthī* of Vimalanātha is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It was installed in samvat 1686, according to the inscription on its back. A full *parikara* is shown here. A *Pañcatīrthī* metal image of Vimala inscribed in V.S. 1486 is in worship in the Jaina temple at Chāṇī near

Baroda. An image of Vimala in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, was installed in samvat 1138 (Viśālavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 56). In cell 50, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, was installed a sculpture of Vimala in samvat 1245. Only the pedestal with the inscription now remains (inscr. no. 163, *Śrī-Arbuda-Prācīna-Lekha-Samdoha*, by Muni Jayanavijaya).[160]

"The Vimalanātha-basti at Bellur, in Mysore district, has a 76 cm high image of Vimalanātha with an inscription on the pedestal of a date earlier than the thirteenth century."[161] For a metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Vimala (from west India) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, see *Jaina Art and Architecture*, III, pl. 333.

Images of this Jina are obtained at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Veṇūr and Mūḍabidri.

14. FOURTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ANANTANĀTHA

Ananta was the son of king Simhasena and Suyaśā (or Sarvayaśā) of Ayodhya, descended from the Prāṇata Vimāna (Uttarapurāṇa) or the Puṣpottara Vimāna (Hemacandra). The Uttarapurāṇa further differs from other sources by giving Jayaśyāmā as the name of the queen mother. The Jina is said to have been born in the Revatī nakṣatra, according to both the traditions.[162]

Golden in appearance, Anantajit was so called because his father could conquer inestimable (*ananta*) armies of his opponents while the Jina was in the embryo state.[163] The falcon was his *lāñchana* according to Śvetāmbaras and the bear according to Digambaras.[164] Pātāla served as his yakṣa[165] while Anantamatī (Dig.) or Aṅkuśā (Śve.) officiated as the yakṣinī of his tīrtha.

Ananta obtained kevalajñāna under an Aśvattha tree (Ficus Religiosa) according to the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbara text Samavāyānga sūtra, but under an Aśoka tree according to Hemacandra.[166] Yaśa and Anjuyā were the first gaṇadhara and āryikā respectively according to the Samavāyānga sūtra, Sarvaśrī was the chief āryikā according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Padmā according to other Digambara texts.

Anantanātha obtained nirvāna on the Mt Sammeta. Suprabha and Puruṣottama, the fourth Balabhadra and Nārāyana respectively lived in this age.

Giving a list of famous tīrthas of Ananta, Jinaprabha sūri says that Anantanātha was worshipped at Yamunā-hrada in Mathura, at Dvārikā in the sea, and in the city of Śākapāṇi [167]

In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, we find rock-cut sculptures of Ananta in the sitting posture.[168]

No 48.4/52 in the National Museum, New Delhi, is a metal sculpture of Ananta seated in the dhyāna mudrā on a lion-throne and under a triple-umbrella. Pātāla yakṣa and Anantamatī yakṣī flank the simhāsana. The image was installed in samvat 1507.[169] A *Caturvimśati-paṭṭa* (*Covīsī*) of Ananta, in metal, installed in v.s. 1477, is in worship in the Jaina shrine in Chāṇī, near Baroda. In Cell 33, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, is a pedestal of a sculpture of Ananta installed in samvat 1245.[170] An image of Anantanātha was installed in samvat 1145 in the Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia (Viśālavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 122). A metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Ananta is in worship in the Ajitanātha temple at Radhanpur. It was installed in Samvat 1475.

P. Gururāja Bhatt, in his *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture*, pl. 411(b), illustrates a figure of Ananta from Baikaṇatikāri-Basti, Mūdabidure, and another figure from Paḍu-Basti, Mūdabidure in pl. 412(b).

Sculptures of Ananta are available in all Tīrthaṅkara-Bastis in Karnataka where sets of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkara images are installed. We find images of this Jina in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, and in such sets at Mūḍabidri and Veṇūr. For some more images and shrines dedicated to Anantanātha, see P. Gururaja Bhatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-439.

15. FIFTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: DHARMANĀTHA

The fifteenth Jina descended upon this earth from the Sarvārthasiddha Vimāna, his birth nakṣatra being the Puṣya according to both the sects. Golden in complexion, Dharmanātha was born as the prince of king Bhānu and queen Suvratā of the city of Ratnapur.[171]

While the Jina was in his mother's womb, the queen-mother had the pregnancy-wish of performing various religious acts (*Dharmavidhi*), so the Jina was named Dharma by the king.[172] Both the sects give the *vajra* (thunderbolt) as the cognizance of Dharmanātha. The Jina obtained kevalajñāna under a Dadhiparṇa (Clitorea ternatea) tree. The Uttarapurāṇa however, against the rest of the Digambara texts, gives Saptacchada as the *Caitya*-tree.

Dharmanātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Ariṣṭa or Ariṣṭasena was his chief gaṇadhara; Suvratā was his chief āryikā according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Uttarapurāṇa, Bhaviyappā according to Samavāyāṅga and Arthaśivā as noted by Ramachandran.[173]

Kinnara officiated as the yakṣa of this Jina according to both the sects (except the tradition represented by Tiloyapaṇṇatti which calls him Kimpuruṣa). Mānasī was the yakṣī according to most of the Digambara texts, Solasā (Sulasā) according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Kandarpā according to the Śvetāmbara tradition.

The third Cakravartī Maghavān and the fourth one known as Sanatkumāra lived one after the other during the tīrtha-period of Dharmanātha. The latter Cakravartī had an extremely beautiful body and was therefore also known as one of the Kāmadevas of Jaina traditions. Sanatkumāra was a popular figure with the Jaina Purāṇas.

According to Jinaprabha sūri, a tīrtha of Dharmanātha existed at Raṇavāhapura near Ayodhya where (the image of) Dharmanātha was honoured by a Nāga.[174]

A metal image of this Jina, originally installed in the Śāntinātha-Caitya at Aṇahillapurī (modern Patan, N. Gujarat) in V.S. 1181 is now preserved in a Jaina shrine at Nadol, Rajasthan. There is a shrine dedicated to Dharmanātha at Radhanpur, N. Gujarat. At Radhanpur are also in worship shrines dedicated to Śītalanātha, Vimalanātha, Vāsupūjya, Sambhavanātha, Ajitanātha, Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādīśvara), Mahāvīra, Sīmandhara svāmī, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha, Sahasraphaṇā Pārśvanātha, Goḍī Pārśvanātha, Kalyāṇa Pārśvanātha, and Kunthūnātha. The Dharmanātha temple here is a Caturmukha (Caumukha) shrine.

In cell no. 1, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, was once installed a sculpture of Dharmanātha in samvat 1202= A.D. 1145. Only the simhāsana now remains. The yakṣa on one end of the seat is two-armed showing the *varada mudrā* and the citron and riding on the elephant. The yakṣī on the other end is a four-armed Ambikā with lion as vāhana and showing the mango-bunch in three hands while holding with her left lower hand the child on her lap.

In the Shivpuri Museum (no. 10) is preserved a sculpture of Dharma obtained from Narwar, M.P. and assignable to c. 12th cent. A.D. D.B. Diskalkar has noticed a sculpture of this Jina in the Indore Museum.[175] A *Dvi-mūrtika* sculpture of Dharmanātha and Śāntinātha from Karitalai is in the Raipur Museum, M.P.[176]

Caves 8 and 9 (Bārābhujī and Mahāvīra Gumphā respectively), Khandagiri, Orissa, have figures of Dharmanātha with the *vajra lāñchana*.[177] In Karnataka in Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūḍabidri and Venūr sets we have sculptures of Dharmanātha.

16. SIXTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ŚĀNTINĀTHA

Śāntinātha is one of the most popular of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. He was born as the prince of king Viśvasena and queen Acirā of Hastināpura, in the Bharaṇī nakṣatra, having descended on this earth from the Sarvārthasiddhi Vimāna.[178] Golden in appearance, Śāntinātha had the deer as his cognizance, according to both the sects. Burgess, on the evidence of late Canarese dhyāna-ślokas, gives the tortoise as the *lāñchana* but this tradition does not seem to have been either old or popular.[179]

Because the Jina loved peace, Indra called him Śānti at the end of the birth-bath ceremony.[180] According to Hemacandra, the Jina was so called by his father because epidemics, evils and miseries were destroyed in the land when the Jina was in his mother's womb.[180a] He obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Nandi tree (Cedrela toona). Cakrāyudha was the leader of his gaṇadharas. Hariṣeṇā was

the chief āryikā according to all Digambara texts. Rakkhī according to the Samavāyāṅga sūtra and Śuci according to other Śvetāmbara traditions.

Śāntinātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Kimpuruṣa and Mahāmānasī were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī according to Digambara traditions and Garuḍa and Nirvāṇī respectively according to the Śvetāmbaras. Tiloyapaṇṇatti seems to follow the Śvetāmbara tradition in giving Garuḍa as the name of the yakṣa of this Jina. According to this text the śāsana yakṣī was Mānasī.[181]

The name of Śāntinātha suggests the idea of peace and tranquillity and hence the Jainas gradually began invoking Śānti-nātha (*Śānti*—peace, *nātha*—lord) for averting calamities in the form of epidemics, fire, famine, foreign invasion, robbers etc.[182] He was thus specially associated with rites known as *Śānti-karma*. When Śakti-worship grew stronger in Indian Tantra, the Śvetāmbara Jainas also invoked a female deity for Śānti or Peace-rites and addressed her as *Śānti-devī*. This goddess seems to be no other than the attendant yakṣī of Śāntinātha. Note that this yakṣī is called Nirvāṇī (the name signifies nirvāṇa or final peace and bliss, freedom from all bondage and miseries) in the Śvetāmbara traditions. The popularity of Śāntinātha seems to be due to this role of giver of peace in the Jaina rituals.[183]

A hymn, known as Ajita-Śānti-stava, is well-known in Śvetāmbara Jaina literature, as the work of one Nandiṣeṇa ācārya. In alternate verses it invokes Ajitanātha and Śāntinātha. The use of different metres and accurate scientific knowledge of Indian musical terms are some of its special features. According to Paṭṭāvalis, one ancient Jaina ācārya Nandiṣeṇa who lived in 527 B.C. is supposed to have been a disciple of Mahāvīra. The fact that in the hymn the word *Janapada* is used for geographical divisons suggests that the hymn is a very old one and probably dates from at least before the beginning of the Christian era, being reminiscent of the Janapada Period of Indian history.

The Laghu-Śānti-stava of Mānadeva sūri, composed in c. 7th cent. A.D. is also noteworthy. The whole hymn is fused with Tantric usages, and here the author has, by the use of *śleṣa* (pun, double meaning), identified Śāntinātha with Śiva, the Lord of Śāntā (peace or Pārvatī).[184]

According to Jinaprabha sūri, tīrthas or temples dedicated to the worship of Śāntinātha existed at Kiṣkindhā, Laṅkā (and Pātālalaṅkā also according to one ms.), and on the mount Trikūṭa.[185]

Śāntinātha is one of the five Tīrthaṅkaras popular in Jaina worship from olden days. The identification of earlier images of Śāntinātha however becomes difficult for the following reason. In the earlier stage of introduction of cognizances, on images of Jinas, these symbols were placed on both sides of the dharmacakra while in the later stage they were represented either somewhere above or below the Wheel. The dharmacakra is accompanied by two deer in all the Jaina images from at least about the tenth century onwards (and perhaps a century earlier) and the cognizance of a Jina is represented separately. It is not easy to determine exactly when this last mentioned practice started in any particular district nor is it easy to lay down exact dates of a large number of loose images [whether they may be Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical This practice of showing the dharmacakra flanked by two deer (the cognizance being shown separately) seems to be in imitation of the Buddhist practice where such a depiction signifies the first Sermon of the Buddha in the Deer-park. In Jaina sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods, the dharmacakra is not flanked by the two deer. When the depiction of cognizance on simhāsana or pedestal was introduced (in at least the fifth century A.D.), figures of the cognizances flanked the dharmacakra. In such early cases when we find the deer flanking the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal or the simhāsana one has to identifiy the Jina as Śāntinātha whose cognizance is the deer.

The *Caumukha* sculpture in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, *figure 58*, shows the dharmacakra flanked by the cognizance of the Jina above. Each side has a different Jina with a different cognizance flanking the dharmacakra.[186] If this sculpture dates from late seventh or the eighth century then we can say that at least upto the late seventh or the early eighth century in all cases where the dharmacakra is flanked by the deer (and there is no cognizance of the Jina in the *parikara* or any other thing to identify the Jina) the deer flanking the Jina may be taken as cognizance of Śāntinātha. This would be true at least for Bihar and perhaps eastern India as a whole including Bengal, Orissa and parts of U.P. So far as western India is concerned we find, in the Akota hoard, a standing Pārśvanātha, inscribed, installed by a śrāvikā, and assignable to c. 600 A.D.,[187] whose pedestal shows Dharanendra and his queen (half human,

half snake) with their tails entwined in a beautiful knot below the lotus on which the Jina is standing. Below this on the pedestal are eight standing planets and in the centre the dharmacakra flanked by two deer. Here the deer cannot be the cognizance of the Jina standing who is certainly Pārśvanātha identified with the help of the snake attendants on the pedestal and the big coiled snake on the back. So in western India, at least by the beginning of the seventh century A.D., imitation of the Buddhist motif of dharmacakra with the two deer had already started.

The problem is still unsolved because in the case of Ṛṣabhanātha installed by Jinabhadra Vācanācarya (*Fig. 35*) assigned to middle sixth century A.D., published by us in *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 11, the Jina was identified as Ṛṣabha on account of hair locks adorning his shoulders. Here the dharmacakra, in front of the feet of the standing Jina, is flanked by two deer. Because of the script of the inscription and because of the identification of Jinabhadra Vācanācarya, the image, assigned to c. 525-550 A.D., cannot be placed later than c. 600 A.D. If the image represented Śāntinātha then the hair-locks on the shoulders would be unwarranted. Exceptions to the general practice of showing hair-locks on the shoulders of Ṛṣabhanātha are known and we have cited a few such exceptions while discussing the iconography of Ṛṣabhanātha but these are rare considering the widespread popularity of images of Ṛṣabha all over India from at least the first century A.D. This Akota bronze of Ṛṣabha would lead one to believe that in the second half of the sixth century the Jainas in western India had already started imitating the Buddhist motif. But we have in the Akota hoard a bronze of Ajitanātha identified with the help of elephants flanking the dharmacakra on the pedestal, vide *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 41b. This figure is assigned by us to the middle of the eighth century and it cannot be much earlier. So the practice of cognizance flanking the dharmacakra lingered on upto the eighth century, in western India also.

Such a situation creates problems. The beautiful bronze installed by Jinabhadra, discussed above, should therefore represent Śāntinātha. The bronze of Ṛṣabha from Vasantagadh, illustrated here in *Fig. 34* and assigned to sixth century also shows the cognizance on each side of dharmacakra. Thus the beautiful big metal image of a Jina sitting in padmāsana, discovered by Hirananda Shastri from Mahudi, N. Gujarat, showing in the centre of the high pedestal the dharmacakra flanked by two deer, should be identified as representing Śāntinātha. There are no hair-locks, jaṭā, snake-hoods or attendant yakṣa-yakṣiṇī to help in the identification. This beautiful bronze from Mahuḍī dates from the seventh century A.D.[188]

A somewhat earlier sculpture in schist, obtained from Khed Brahma, an ancient site in Sābarakāṇṭhā district, N. Gujarat, published by me in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. X, pp. 61ff with plate, offers a similar problem. The modelling of the different figures clearly reveals the classical style. The sculpture cannot be later than c. 600±20 A.D. The Jina is attended by figures of Sarvānubhūti yakṣa and yakṣī Ambikā, both two-armed. The dharmacakra is flanked by two deer. No other cognizance or symbol is shown to identify the Jina. I am inclined to identify this figure as representing Śāntinātha.

A partly preserved inscription on the pedestal of a Quadruple image (*Caturmukha, Caumukha, Pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā*) from Mathura, assigned to the Kuṣāna period and dated in samvat 19, refers (either to a temple or) to an image of the Lord (*Bhagavato*) Santi (Śānti),[189] which shows that Śāntinātha was worshipped in circa second century A.D.

No. B.75, Mathura Museum, obtained from Potra kuṇḍa, Mathura, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus placed on a simhāsana. In the centre of the throne is the dharmacakra flanked by two deer. On the pedestal are the Sarvānubhūti yakṣa and two-armed Ambikā yakṣī. Above the attendant cāmaradharas on two sides of the Jina are the eight planets in two rows above which are the flying vidyādhara-mālādhara pairs. The sculpture dates from c. eighth cent. A.D. The figure may be identified as Śāntinātha.

Of about the same age is a sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana from Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam) now preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 535).[190] The yakṣa and the yakṣī as well as the planets are absent here. Above the head of each cāmaradhara is an elephant with a rider. Here too the dharmacakra is flanked by a deer on each side. Perhaps this sculpture and the Mathura Museum no. B.75 discussed above date from the end of the seventh century and both may be identified as images of Śāntinātha.

Mathura Museum no. 1504 is a sculpture of a Jina from Barasana, U.P. The Jina is sitting in

padmāsana. There is a row of four sitting miniature Jina figures on the top which makes this a *Pañca-tīrthika* sculpture. On the right end of the simhāsana, where usually the yakṣa figure is shown, we find a figure of the deer *lāñchana* while on the corresponding left end is a figure of a devotee. The sculpture dates from c. ninth century A.D. The Jina is obviously Śāntinātha. Here the dharmacakra is not flanked by two deer and the deer cognizance is shown separately.

No. G.308, Lucknow Museum is a pedestal of a sculpure of Śāntinātha. The Jina figure is lost. The dharmacakra is flanked by two deer which suggests the identification. This is supported by a figure of the yakṣī carrying lotuses in her two upper hands and the pot in the left lower hand. She is Nirvāṇī, the yakṣī of Śāntinātha.

A sculpture of Śāntinātha standing, from Vaibhāragiri, Rajgir, belongs to the post-Gupta period. The Jina has a simple *parikara* consisting of a *chatra*, two celestial garland-bearers, and two standing cāmaradharas. There is no *prabhāmaṇḍala* but the *uṣṇīṣa* on the head of the Jina as also the circular *tilaka*-mark on his forehead are noteworthy. The Jina stands on a full-blown lotus on the right side of which is seen a figure of a deer on the pedestal. The figure on the left also appears to be the deer cognizance of Śāntinātha.

Bruhn has referred to an image of a standing Jina from Dudahi,[191] assignable to c. tenth cent. and of Digambara tradition, with the two deer on two sides of the dharmacakra. Of about the same period is the figure of a Jina in padmāsana in the maṇḍapa of the Maladevi shrine, Gyaraspur, M.P., with the deer cognizance and four-armed yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. This is a *Pañca-tīrthika* image referred to by Tiwari.[192]

All the Devgadh Jaina images are of the Digambara sect. The *mulanāyaka* in the sanctum of Temple 12, Devgadh, is an image of Śāntinātha in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. Two images of Śāninātha in Temple 4, dating from c. eleventh century, show hair-locks on shoulders. About five figures of Śāntinātha at Devgadh are in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. Bruhn's fig. 146, from Temple 17, now shifted to the Dharmaśālā at Devgadh, is a beautiful sculpture of Śānti sitting in padmāsana on a cushion below which are figures of the planets. The deer cognizance is shown in the centre of the throne. Bruhn's fig. 228 is a seated image of Śāntinātha dated in V.S. 1052=995 A.D. Bhagchandra Jaina in his *Devgaḍh ki Jaina Kalā* (*Hindi, 1974*), p. 75, describes an image of Śāntinātha in padmāsana in Devgadh Temple 13. Bruhn's figs. 235-236 show the Jina in a standing attitude.

Nos. K.39 and K.63 in the Khajuraho Museum are figures of Śāntinātha. There is one more image of this Jina in the Jardine Museum at Khajuraho. In Temple no. 1, Khajuraho, there is a big standing image of Śāntinātha, dated in samvat equal to 1028 A.D., and with four-armed attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī.[193]

A *Pañca-tīrthika* sculpture of Śāntinātha sitting, from Pabhosa, U.P., is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 533).[194] The pedestal shows two-armed Sarvānubhūti yakṣa and two-armed Ambikā yakṣī. In the sanctum of the old Jaina shrine at Arang, M.P., are installed three big images in one row. Beginning from the right, the Jinas, standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, represent Śānti, Kunthū and Ara, the 16th, 17th and 18th Tīrthankaras respectively.[195]

No. 331, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, M.P., is a very interesting sculpture of Śāntinātha standing obtained from Kankhedi, Jabalpur district, M.P. The Jina stands in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* on a lotus. Near his legs on each side stands a male cāmaradhara, from behind the cāmaradharas peep the figures of the deer cognizance of the Jina Śāntinātha. Near the legs of the cāmaradharas and above their heads are shown, in groups of two each, figures of Jaina devotees. Representation of the deer cognizance standing on each side of the Jina is a unique instance so far known. The composition and grouping of different figures in this sculpture is typical and renders further charm to this sculpture which may be assigned to early eleventh century A.D.

In the Shivpuri district Museum is a *dvi-tīrthika* sculpture of Śāntinātha (on the right side) and Mahāvīra (on the left) standing side by side but on their own different simhāsanas and each Jina having his own *parikara* of cāmaradharas, mālādharas, triple-umbrella, etc. A small figure of cognizance of each Jina is engraved on the upper rim of the lion-throne just above the head of one of the two lions of each

throne. All the figures are carved from one stone. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D. and was obtained from Narwar, M.P. Shivpuri Museum no. 11 is a loose sculpture of Śāntinātha standing, obtained from Narwar, and dating from c. 12th century A.D. In the Raipur Museum, M.P., there is a *Dvi-tīrthika* sculpture of Dharmanātha and Śāntinātha, from Karitalai, M.P. (*JAA*, III, p. 591). A metal *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* of Śāntinātha from West India, in Los Angeles County Museum of Art, is illustrated in *JAA*, III, plate 334.

Tiwari refers to a sculpture of Śāntinātha from Paḍhāvali and another from Āhar in M.P.[196] Balacandra Jaina has reported the existence of an image of this Jina, dated in samvat equal to 1146 A.D., preserved in the Dhubela Museum, M.P.,[197] while Niraj Jain speaks of an image dated 1179 A.D. at Bajrangagadh, Guna, M.P.[198]

A *Covīsī* sculpture of Śāntinātha standing on a lotus, obtained from Mandoil, is preserved in the Rajshahi Museum. The Jina is identified from the two deer flanking the dharmacakra. On the pedestal are figures of nine planets with a figure of Lakṣmi lustrated by elephants shown in the centre.

An image from Manbhum, preserved in the Patna Museum, is a typical specimen of a miniature Caitya or shrine. Śāntinātha stands on a lotus in the centre with miniature figures of 23 other Tīrthaṅkaras on the sides. The pedestal shows a deer with a lay worshipper on each side sitting with folded hands. There is a bronze image of Śāntinātha standing amongst the Aluara bronzes preserved in the Patna Museum. The deer cognizance is shown on the pedestal.

P.C. Das Gupta refers to a sculpture of Śāntinātha with the deer *lāñchana* obtained from Rajpara, Midnapur, Bengal. The sculpture is assigned to c. ninth cent. A.D.[199] Sudhin De refers to an interesting sculpture of this Jina standing, obtained from Pakbira, Purulia district, West Bengal.[200] According to Sudhin De, the Jina "stands on a double-petalled lotus placed on a saptaratha pedestal . . . The central projection of the pedestal bears the *lāñchana* mark, an antelope. The pedestal is embellished by two lions . . . Among the miniature figures from the left to the right, a goat-headed male figure is identified as Naigameṣin . . . Besides four sitting female figures in *añjali mudrā* are represented . . . At the bottom of the pedestal, at the left is a *kalaśa* and at the right a Śaiva emblem or a phallus representation—a most interesting feature to note." For illustration see *JAA*, I, pl. 84A. An image of Śāntinātha is also reported from Ambikānagara.

In the Bārābhuji cave (Cave 8) and in the Mahāvīra gumphā (Cave 9), Khandagiri, Orissa, there are rock-cut figures (one in each cave) of this Jina. A Śāntinātha from Charampa, Orissa, in the Bhuvaneśvara Museum is illustrated in *JAA*, I, pl. 85B.

In the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, is a big sculpture of Śāntinātha standing on an inscribed pedestal. The inscription dated samvat 1326=A.D. 1269 calls the Jina as Śāntinātha. There is no cognizance, no dharmacakra, no simhāsana. Other members of the *parikara* are shown. There are no figures of the śāsana yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. The sculpture came from Ladol (Lāṭāpalli), N. Gujarat.

There is a temple of Śāntinātha at Kumbharia, originally built in the eleventh century A.D. (perhaps before samvat 1087). Originally it was a temple of Ādinātha but the inscription on the seat of the present image worshipped in the sanctum speaks of Śāntinātha installed in samvat 1302. In the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is a stone sculpture of Śāntinātha standing and installed in 1119-20 A.D., according to the inscription on it which names the Jina as Śāntinātha. The deer cognizance is also shown on the pedestal. On two sides of the Jina are carved miniature figures of Vajrāṅkuśā, Mānavī, Sarvāstramahājvālā, Acchuptā, Mahāmānasī and Śānti-devī as identified by Tiwari.[201] In Cell no. 1, Śāntinātha temple, there is an inscribed image of Śāntinātha with 23 miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras. Two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā figure as the yakṣa and the yakṣiṇī. An inscribed image of Śāntinātha in padmāsana is preserved in the Rajputana Museum (no. 468), Ajmer.

A superb example of Cahamana art is an elegantly cast bronze image of Śāntinātha, bearing an inscription dated in samvat 1224=A.D. 1168. The Jina sits in dhyāna mudrā on a cushioned seat (see frontispiece, *Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. III*). Besides the elephant riders and celestial musicians, a number of human figures are carved on the back-frame of this image. The modelling of the human

figures and also the decorative designs are all skilfully done. The pedestal and/or the siṁhāsana seems to have been lost. The bronze is preserved in the V. and A. Museum, London.

In cell 15, Vimala Vasahi, Abu was an image of Śāntinātha installed in V.S. 1131 (inscription no. 74 of Muni Jayantavijaya). Only the pedestal remained showing the inscription, and a four-armed yakṣa carrying the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands and the citron and the bag in the corresponding lower ones. The elephant is shown as his vāhana. The yakṣī is a figure of four-armed Ambikā with the lion vehicle and the child held on the lap with the left lower hand; her three remaining hands carry the *āmralumbī* (bunch of mangoes). Cell 24 (inscription no. 98 of Jayantavijaya), Vimala Vasahi has a sculpture of Śāntinātha installed in V.S. 1245 by Mahāmātya Dhanapāla the son of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla. The yakṣī is four-armed Ambikā showing the same symbols as described above and the four-armed yakṣa Sarvānubhūti showing the *varada* and the money-bag in his right and left lower hands and the goad and the noose in the corresponding upper ones. There is an image of Śāntinātha installed (by the right side of the main image) in cell 35, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, in V.S. 1288. In cell 47 was installed in samvat 1378 an image of Śāntinātha (inscription no. 157 of Muni Jayantavijaya).

In Cell 5 of the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, was installed in samvat 1138 a sculpture of Śāntinātha (Viśalavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 141). A brass image of Śāntinātha in padmāsana dhyāna mudrā is preserved in the Sambhavanātha temple, Cambay, Gujarat. The whole *parikara* and the deer cognizance are shown. It may be noted that the male cāmaradhara on each side carries a pitcher with his other hand. The image was installed in samvat 1586 according to the inscription on its back. The Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, has a *Covīsī* metal sculpture of Śāntinātha installed in 1510 A.D. The image hails from Gujarat or Rajasthan. There are numerous images in stone and metal as also several temples of Śāntinātha all over Gujarat and Rajasthan, amongst the Śvetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras.

Around A.D. 1192, a fine Jinālaya of the god Abhinava Śāntināthadeva, called Nagarajinālaya, was erected by some business magnates at Dorasamudra, the capital of Hoyasala kings in Karnataka.[202] In A.D. 1154, Pārśvasena Bhaṭṭāraka repaired the ruined Basti of Śāntinātha at Holakere.[203] Earlier still, Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga Nityavarṣa, who came to the throne in A.D. 968, had, according to a record found in a ruined temple at Danavulapadu, Cuddapah district, caused a pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Śāntinātha.[204] General Recarasa set up in the year 1200 A.D. the god Śāntinātha at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa and made over the Basadi to his guru Sāgaranandi Siddhāntadeva.[205] There was a Śāntinātha Basadi at Belur also.[206]

At Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūḍabidure and Veṇūr in the sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkara images we obtain images of Śāntinātha also.

In the ceilings of the Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharia and in a ceiling in front of Cell no. 12 at Vimala Vasahi, Abu, we find scenes of not only the five main events of the life of Śāntinātha (*pañca kalyāṇakas*) but also scenes from some of the noteworthy previous existences of this Jina.[207] Śāntinātha was a *Cakravartī* ruler before he became a monk and a Tīrthaṅkara. So amongst such scenes we also find the different *ratnas* of a *Cakravartī* emperor. In one of his previous births as king Megharatha, the soul of Śāntinātha offers his whole flesh to a falcon in order to save the life of a dove who sought refuge with Megharatha. This is a famous ancient theme popular in the Brahmanical as well as the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures. In Brahmanical legend king Śibi protects the dove by offering his whole body to be weighed in balance against the body of the dove. In all the scenes from the life of Śāntinātha both at Kumbharia and at Vimala Vasahi we do find this scene of king Megharatha weighing his body in the balance. Two long wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf manuscript, painted with a series of scenes from the previous existences and the last existence of Śāntinātha, are preserved in *Dehlāṇā Upāśraya no bhaṇḍāra*, Ahmedabad. The paintings covering all the four sides of these two long *paṭṭikās* were done in Jalor in Marvad (south western Rajasthan) in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era,[208] in c. 1260 A.D. The scenes include this incident of Megharatha offering his whole body to save the life of the dove.

17. SEVENTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: KUNTHUNĀTHA

Kunthu was the son of Sūrasena and Śrīkāntā ruling in Hastinapura, according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti calls them king Sūryasena and queen Śrīmatī, the names being almost similar to Sūra and Śrīdevī given by Hemacandra. Golden in complexion, Kunthu had descended from the Sarvārthasiddhi Vimāna, his birth nakṣatra being Kṛttikā.[209]

Kunthu was so called because, according to Hemacandra, the Jina's mother saw (in dream) a heap of jewels known as Kunthu, while he was in her womb.[210]

Kunthu obtained kevalajñāna under a Tilaka-tree. Ramachandran[211] calls it Bhilaka which is probably a misprint or an incorrect ms. reading since all texts including the Samavāyāṅga and the Tiloyapaṇṇatti read Tilaka. Svayambhū was the chief gaṇadhara of Kunthu according to Uttarapurāṇa and Tiloyapaṇṇatti. Śvetāmbara text Samavāyāṅga sūtra agrees with this tradition. Name Sāmba given by other Śve. traditions seems to be a later tradition. Both Svayambhū and Sāmba are appellations of Śiva. Kunthu's chief female āryikā was Bandhuvatī according to Samavāyāṅga sūtra and Dāminī according to other Śve. traditions. The Digambaras call her Bhavitā.

The goat is the *dhvaja* or cognizance of Kunthu in both the traditions. Gandharva and Vijayā or Jayā were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively according to Digambara traditions except the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which gives the name Mahāmānasī for Vijayā yakṣī. According to Śvetāmbara writers Gandharva and Balā were the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively of this Jina. Kunthunātha obtained mokṣa on the Mt. Sammeta. He was also a *Cakravartī* before he became a monk.

According to Jinaprabha sūri, tīrthas of Kunthunātha and Aranātha existed near the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā.[212]

Bronze images of Kunthunātha are found in the Aluara hoard of Jaina bronzes now in the Patna Museum (Mu. nos. 10675, 10689 to 10693). All Aluara bronzes are of the Digambara tradition which worships the Jina figures without any garment on them. The goat is shown on the pedestal in the above figures which are in a standing posture. The Aluara bronzes date from about the eleventh century A.D. In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa,[213] we have figures of this Jina sitting in padmāsana with the goat symbol in the centre of the simhāsana. At Pakbira, W. Bengal an image of Kunthu (c. 10th-11th cent.) is also found along with images of Mahāvīra, Ṛṣabha, Neminātha and Śāntinātha.[214]

Niraj Jain has referred to a big standing image of Kunthunātha at Bajrangagaḍha, Guna, M.P., dating from c. 12th century A.D.[215] In the Urwahi group of rock-cut sculptures at Gwalior we have two sculptures of Kunthu with the goat cognizance.

No. 85 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, is a beautiful *Caturmukha* sculpture of standing Tīrthaṅkaras. On one side is Kunthunātha with a figure of a goat on the pedestal. On each side of this Jina is a small figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana. The sculpture dates from c. 7th-8th cent. A.D.

A sculpture of Kunthunātha standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*, obtained from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in the Shivpuri district Museum (Mu. no. 12). The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D. These sculptures from Narwar belong to the Digambara tradition.

In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is a standing figure of Kunthunātha, nude in appearance, installed in samvat equal to 1144 A.D., probably hailing from Arthuna, Rajasthan. The yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and the yakṣī Ambikā stand by the sides of the cāmaradharas in this sculpture.

At Nagda in the vicinity of the Ekalingji temple there is a Jaina temple known as Padmāvatī Mandira and two more Jaina temples one of which is known as Adbhudji temple. Of this only the garbhagṛha and the antarāla remain containing a colossal image of Śāntinātha set up in V.S. 1495. A few more sculptures are lying here of which two were recognised by Cousens as Tīrthaṅkaras Kunthunātha and Abhinandana.[216]

An epigraph from Guḍar in Shivpuri district, M.P., dated in V.S. 1206 (A.D. 1149) refers to installation of images of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, and Aranātha.[217]

Jainism was popular in the early part of the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Several temples of Tīrthaṅkaras and Mānastambhas of beauty were erected. In the reign of Harihara II in c. 1395 A.D.,

Immadi-Bukka, a minister of this ruler, constructed a *caityālaya* at Kurnool enshrining an image of Kunthu Tīrthaṅkara.[218] Images of Kunthu are found at places like Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūḍabidri and Veṇūr where images of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras are set up in some shrines. These shrines are often known as Tīrthaṅkara Basadis.

In Tamil Nadu also, the fact that images of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras singly or in group were installed by donors is known from "the appellation *caturviṁśati-sthāpaka* of the donor Vasudeva-siddhānta-bhaṭarar met with in a grantha inscription near a niche containing the elevation of a Jinālaya with a sculpture of Supārśvanātha on a boulder in the rock called Nagamalai at Veralur in Madhurantakam Taluk, Chingleput district. In a few cases only the names of the Tīrthaṅkaras are mentioned in the inscriptions, like Vardhamāna from Tirupparuttikuṇṛam, Vimala-Śrī-Ārya-Tīrtha (i.e., Vimalanātha) from Kil-Sattamangalam, Pārśvanātha from Aivarmalai and Ponnur, Kunthunātha from Karandai and Ādīśvara from Ponnur."[219]

In Cell no. 33, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, there is an image of Kunthunātha installed as the main image (*mūlanāyaka*) in the cell. The image was installed in samvat 1394 (inscription no. 117 of Muni Jayantavijaya). In Cell 39 an image of Kunthu was installed in samvat 1245 (inscr. no. 134 of Jayantavijaya).

18. EIGHTEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ARANĀTHA

Aranātha, the eighteenth Tīrthaṅkara, was the son of king Sudarśana and queen Mitrā or Mitrasenā of the city of Hastināpura in the Kurujāngala country. He was born in the Puṣya nakṣatra according to Uttarapurāṇa and in the Revatī nakṣatra according to Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita. He descended upon this earth from the Jayanta Vimāna according to the Digambara belief and from Sarvārthasiddhi Vimāna according to the Śvetāmbaras.[220]

Since his mother saw in a dream a spoke of wheel (*ara*) while the Jina was in his mother's womb, the father of the Jina named him Ara.[221] Golden in complexion, Aranātha had the cognizance or *dhvaja* of *Nandyāvarta* symbol according to the Śvetāmbaras and fish according to the Digambaras.[222] According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, the symbol was *Tagara-kusuma*.[223] Ara became a Cakravartī emperor.

Aranātha obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a mango-tree. Kumbha was his chief gaṇadhara and Yakṣilā the chief āryikā according to all Digambara texts except the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which gives Kunthusenā for Yakṣilā. According to the Samavāyānga sūtra, they were Kumbha and Puṣpāvatī respectively. Ramachandran notes Rakṣilā for Puṣpāvatī.

Ara obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Kubera and Jayā were his attendant śāsanadevatās according to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, Khendra and Ajitā according to other Digambara traditions and Yakṣendra (or Yakṣeśa or Yakṣeṭ) and Dhāriṇī according to Śvetāmbara writers.

Subhūma Cakravartī lived in the time of Aranātha. Jaina versions of the Paraśurāma story are available in the accounts of this Cakravartī. Nandisena and Puṇḍarīka, the fifth Baladeva and Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa) of Jaina mythology also lived in this age.

Jinaprabha sūri notes that tīrthas of Kunthu and Ara exist at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[224] This suggests that temples dedicated to these two Jinas existed at Prayāga (Allahabad) and/or Kauśāmbī nearby.

A fragmentary pedestal of a Tīrthaṅkara image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow Museum (Mu. no. J.20) was supposed to have belonged to a sculpture of Aranātha since the words *Arhat Nandyāvarta* were read in the inscription on this pedestal. It was argued that since Nandyāvarta is regarded as the *lāñchana* of Aranātha, the pedestal belonged to an image of Aranātha. K.D. Bajpai corrected the reading of the inscription and showed that the Arhat Munisuvrata is referred to.[225] Bajpai's reading is correct. I have checked it and am convinced of it. Besides, the earlier interpretation of naming a Tīrthaṅkara from his *lāñchana* has no support in Jaina traditions. Again only the Śvetāmbaras give Nandyāvarta as the cognizance of Aranātha while the Digambaras believe that fish was his *lāñchana*. The finds from

Kankali Tila show that they belong to an age when Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism had not much advanced even if it had already started.

V.S. Agrawala describes Mathura Mu. no. 1388 thus: "Pedestal (ht. 8") consisting of crossed legs of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. On the front side between two crouching lions is a symbol composed of *mīna-mithuna* heads with open mouths from which a string is pendant. The sign of fish is according to the Digambaras the cognizance of the Tīrthaṅkara Aranātha, the eighteenth Jaina Arhat . . . Judging from its style the pedestal belongs to the Gupta period. Obtained in the Bajna Excavations in January 1918."[226]

No. 861 in the Lucknow Museum, from Sahet-Mahet (ancient Śravasti), U.P. shows the fish cognizance on the pedestal. Niraj Jain has noted that a big standing image of this Jina with the fish *lāñchana* dated in 1145 A D. exists at Navāgaḍh (Tikamgaḍh), M.P.[227] In temple no. 1 on Madanpur hill there is a standing figure of this Jina inscribed in 1053 A.D., according to Darbarilal Kothia.[228] There is also a standing Aranātha in temple 2 at the same place and dates from 1147 A.D. Niraj Jain has also noted a standing Aranātha at Bajrangagadh, dated in 1179 A.D.[229] All the images belong to the Digambara tradition. An epigraph from Gudar in the Shivpuri district, dated in 1206 V.S.=1149 A.D., refers to the installation of images of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha. We have already referred to the images of these three Jinas installed in the sanctum of the Jaina temple at Arang, M.P.

At Deoli, Purulia district, there was a *pañcāyatana* group of temples. From this area was discovered a life-size statue of Aranātha.[230]

In the Bārābhuji and the Mahāvīra Caves at Khandagiri, Orissa, we find figures of Aranātha sitting in padmāsana with the fish symbol shown in the centre of the simhāsana.[231] All the sculptures in these caves belong to the Digambara tradition.

In Karnataka images of Aranātha are found in the sets of 24 Jina-images at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mudabidure and Veṇūr. In the Madras Museum (no. 2499) is a sculpture of Jina sitting in padmāsana with the fish symbol in the centre of the pedestal. The Jina figure represents Aranātha.

19. NINETEENTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: MALLINĀTHA

There are two different Tīrthaṅkaras bearing the title of Mallinātha—one is a male while the other is a female. Unlike the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambaras do not believe that a woman can obtain mokṣa or kevalajñāna and hence the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha, a female in the Śvetāmbara traditions, is worshipped as a male by the Digambaras. It is indeed difficult to decide which tradition is older and more reliable, but if the tradition of Nāyādhammakahāo is to be accepted as more ancient and authentic, then the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara was a female. According to the Nāyādhammakahāo, Malli was one of the most beautiful princesses of her age.[232] Nāyādhammakahāo is a canonical text acknowledged by the Śvetāmbaras; modern research shows that this canonical text, as available today, is not earlier than c. fourth century A.D., the age of the Mathura council under the leadership of Ārya Skandila.

According to the Digambara traditions, Mallinātha was the son of king Kumbha and queen Prajāvatī of Mithila in the Vanga country. He descended on this earth from Aparājita Vimāna, his birth took place in the Aśvini nakṣatra. He was golden in complexion and *kalaśa* (water-pot) was his *dhvaja* or cognizance. Uttarapurāṇa says that he was called Malli as he had conquered the wrestler *(malla)* in the form of infatuation.[233]

Mallinātha obtained kevalajñāna under an Aśoka tree (Jhonesia Ashoka). He had a following of 28 gaṇadharas with Viśākha at their helm while Bandhusenā led the community of nuns of his tīrtha. Mallinātha obtained mokṣa on Mt. Sammeta. Kubera and Aparajitā (Varuṇa and Vijayā according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively. In the Śvetāmbara tradition they are known as Kubera and Vairoṭyā or Dharaṇapriyā.

In the Śvetāmbara traditions, Malli is said to have been the princess of king Kumbha and queen Prabhāvatī of Mithila, born in the Aśvini nakṣatra. Except the sex, almost all other details about Malli given above are common in both the Jaina traditions.

In the Śvetāmbara tradition, several kings are said to have attacked Mithila with their armies in order

to carry off this most beautiful princess but the learned and pious Malli succeeded in dissuading them from this act and reforming them all after which she renounced the worldly life and ultimately obtained kevalajñāna. For reforming these kings, the princess is said to have ordered casting of a life-like golden statue of herself, hollow inside, stuffed with all sweets and eatables covered with a lid at the top concealed under a lotus device on the head of the statue. When the kings were summoned into the hall they first saw the statue which was so beautiful and life-like that they mistook it for the real princess. The princess, entering by another door, opened the lid and the hall was filled with foul smell of rotting eatables in the statue. Giving analogy of this statue Malli told the kings that all appearances were false and that the body of even a beautiful lady was after all constituted of bone, marrow, flesh, blood, pus etc. The lesson carried its desired effect. Nāyādhammakahāo narrates this incident.

In Śvetāmbara traditions, Malli is described as bluish (*nīla*) in appearance. She had 28 gaṇadharas with Kumbha as their leader and Āryā as the chief nun according to Samavāyānga sūtra. According to other texts they were Abhiṣeka and Bandhumatī.

According to Hemacandra, this Jina was called Malli because, when she was in her mother's womb, the mother had a pregnancy desire for flower-garlands.[234]

Padma, the Cakravartī, lived in this age. Nandimitra, the Baladeva and Datta, the Vāsudeva also lived in this age. Malli obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. According to Jinaprabha sūri, a tīrtha of Malli existed on Mt. Śrī-Parvata.

A rare specimen of the female form of Mallinātha is preserved in the Lucknow Museum.[235] Unfortunately the head is mutilated and lost. The cognizance, water-pot, in the centre of the seat is much defaced. The dhyāna mudrā and padmāsana posture, and the developed breasts make it quite certain that the sculpture represents Tīrthaṅkara Malli according to Śvetāmbara tradition. On the back the braid of hair (*veṇī*) is well preserved. There are lotus marks on palms of hands of the Jina. The sculpture (no. J.885) was obtained from Unao (Unnava) in U.P. This is the only specimen, so far discovered, of Malli image in female form. It is interesting to note that as yet no Malli image in any Śvetāmbara shrine is known to have breasts or any mark of a female's braid or dress. And the Lucknow Museum sculpture referred to above does not date from the Kuṣāṇa or Gupta period. It is generally assigned to c. ninth century A.D.

Nagpur Museum no. B.18 is a sculpture of Mallinātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana. The cloth hanging on the simhāsana shows an embroidered figure of a water-pot. Like other sculptures in the Museum, obtained from different areas of Maharashtra, this figure, of mediaeval period, seems to have belonged to the Digambara sect.

Another stone sculpture of Malli, of c. 10th century A.D., showing him sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana, is preserved in the Tulasi Samgrahalaya, Ramvan, Satna, M.P. Here also the *kumbha lāñchana* is shown on the cloth hanging. A sculpture of standing Mallinātha, of Digambara tradition, from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in the Shivpuri district Museum (Mu. no. 13) and dates from c. 12th century A.D.

Amongst sculptures from Karitalai, M.P. in the Raipur Museum, M.P., is a *Dvi-tīrthika* white stone sculpture of Mallinātha and Munisuvrata.[236] In the National Museum, New Delhi, is a metal *Pañca-tīrthika* sculpture of Malli (no. 47.109/170). On either side of the simhāsana are Kubera and Dharaṇa-priyā, the yakṣa couple attending on the Jina. The inscription on the back is dated samvat 1531 (Vikrama) and samvat 1427 (Śaka).[237]

In the Bārābhuji cave and the Mahāvīra-gumphā, Khandagiri, Orissa, we have figures of Mallinātha sitting in the padmāsana on simhāsana with the pot symbol in the centre of the throne.[238] No dharma-cakra is shown in these sculptures. In the Khajana Building Museum, Golconda, A.P., Mallinātha carved on highly polished black basalt is shown standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.[239]

In the North Arcot district, T.N., Tirumalai, called Vaikavur in inscriptions, has, on its hill, a Jaina temple complex dedicated to Mallinātha and Nemīśvara.[240] At Karkal, Karnataka, there is a famous Caturmukha-Basti built in 1586-87. "Each of its four doors opens on three black stone images of three Tīrthaṅkaras, Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata, of identical size and shape."[241] There is beautiful image of

Mallinātha (c. 12th cent. A.D.) in the Kere-Basti, Mūdabidure.[242] Sculptures of this Jina are also available in the Bhandara Basti and the Suttalaya of Gommata at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa and in the groups at Mūdabidure and Veṇūr.

20. TWENTIETH TĪRTHAṄKARA: MUNISUVRATA

Munisuvrata was the son of king Sumitra and queen Padmā of the city of Rājagṛha, born in the Śravaṇa nakṣatra, having descended on this earth from Prāṇata heaven, according to Uttarapurāṇa and Aparājita Vimāna according to Śvetāmbara tradition. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti agrees with the Śvetāmbara and other traditions in giving the above names of Parents of this Jina, but Uttarapurāṇa says that the Jina's mother was called Somā.[243]

Since during pregnancy, the queen-mother was devoted to religious practices (*suvratā*) like a pious monk (*muni-vat*), the Jina was called Munisuvrata by the king.[244] Munisuvrata obtained kevalajñāna under a Campaka-tree (Michelia Champaka). He had a following of eighteen gaṇadharas with Malli as their head while Puṣpavatī or Puṣpadattā was the chief nun of his Order.[245] According to Samavāyāṅga sūtra they were Kumbha and Amilā respectively.[246]

Munisuvrata had a dark complexion and his recognizing symbol was a tortoise (*kūrma*) according to both the sects. He obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

His śāsana yakṣa was Varuṇa (Bhṛkuṭi according to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti). His yakṣiṇī was Bahurūpiṇī according to Digambara traditions and Naradattā according to the Śvetāmbaras.

Hariṣeṇa, the Cakravartī, lived in this age. Rāma (called Padma) and Lakṣmaṇa, the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva respectively and heroes of the Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa story, also flourished in this age.

According to Jinaprabha sūri an idol of Munisuvrata with a crown of priceless gems was worshipped at Bhṛgupattana (modern Broach or Bharucha in Gujarat). Tīrthas of Munisuvrata also existed at Pratiṣṭhānapura, Ayodhyā, Vindhya mountain, and Māṇikyadandaka.[247]

A fragmentary pedestal of a sculpture supposed to have been of *Arhat Nandyāvarta—Aranātha*, found from Kankali Tila, Mathura, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.20). The specimen shows a bas-relief with a *tri-ratna* symbol in the centre surmounted by a dharmacakra. The right half of the pedestal is mutilated and lost, only a headless figure of a nude Jaina monk, with a piece of cloth held in the raised left hand covering his nudity, remains. To the left of the *tri-ratna* symbol are four standing females, three of them, dressed in similar garments, hold in their right hands long purse-like objects with an ornamental lotus-bud or *cāmara*-like tops. The fourth female, younger and of smaller stature, has her hands folded in adoration. There is a two line inscription on the upper rim of the pedestal and a one line inscription at base.[248] The date in the inscription is read as 79=157 A.D. by Buhler and others and as 49 by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw. The last part of the second line in the upper rim reads: *Arahato Munisuvratasa pratimā nirvartayati*, and the last part of the line in the lower rim reads: *pratimāvo dve thupe devanirmite*.

Thus the pedestal belonged to an image of Munisuvrata installed in the Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathura, in the year 127 or 157 A.D.

A stūpa of Munisuvrata existed at Viśālā (Vaiśālī ?) according to the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi which gives the story of the *Thubha* in illustration of *Pariṇāmikī Buddhi*. The Āvaśyaka Niryukti merely gives the catch-word *thubha* which suggests that the author of the Niryukti knew of the stūpa of Munisuvrata at Viśālā.[249]

An interesting image of a Jina, in the old Jaina temple, Vaibhāragiri, Rajgir, and dating from c. ninth century A.D., has, on a cot below the pedestal of the Jina, a figure of a reclining lady (*see Fig. 70A*). On the evidence of a reclining lady shown below the figure of Munisuvrata, in the row of yakṣīs in the Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, Debala Mitra showed that in the case of the Vaibhāragiri image just described, the Jina should be identified as Munisuvrata.[250] Debala Mitra cited a few more images known to her. One of them belongs to Shri Bejoy Singh Nahar of Calcutta, and another of

Barabhuji cave referred to above. According to Shri Nahar his figure was obtained from somewhere in Bengal by the late Shri P.C. Nahar. Debala Mitra writes: "A third fragmentary sculpture discovered at Rajghat (Varanasi) and now in the Ashutosh Museum of Fine Art, University of Calcutta, shows a lying female below the pedestal of a *lāñchana*-less Jina figure, the upper part of which is missing . . . The cognizance immediately to the left of the wheel of the Vaibhāra specimen is too small to be readily noticed . . . the relief is so low that it is almost invisible in the photograph published here . . ."[251]

About forty-three years back the present writer had seen one small sculpture in the vicinity of Temple 12, Devgadh, which showed, as in the image in Nahar's collection, a Jina in padmāsana in the upper panel and a lady reclining in the lower panel. The figures were somewhat worn out. Now the Jina can be identified as Munisuvrata in view of what Debala Mitra proved.

Another interesting sculpture, obtained from Kauśambi, and dating from c. ninth century A.D., is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 560). Pramod Chandra, in his *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, pl. CXXXI,* and p. 143, describing it writes: ". . . The central projection of the pedestal has a *cakra* flanked by two crouching lions, the recesses at the sides accommodating sunken panels containing images of a pot-bellied yakṣa and a yakṣī. The lotus on which the Tīrthaṅkara sits has a narrow rectangular panel in the centre in which is placed the image of a reclining lady . . ."

What Pramod Chandra described as yakṣī, on the left end of the pedestal, seems to be a female devotee with folded hands and the reclining lady mentioned above may be the yakṣī Bahurūpiṇī. Thus the Jina from Kauśambī referred to above can be identified as Munisuvrata. In the State Museum, Dhubela, M.P. are some Jaina sculptures from Mau and Nowgong. Amongst them is a black granite image of Munisuvrata,[252] seated in padmāsana, the upper part being damaged. The pedestal contains an inscription saying that the image was installed in samvat 1119 by one Sulhana of the *Golāpūrva-kula*. The Jaisinghapura Jaina Archaeological Museum, Ujjain, preserves two black stone images of Suvratanātha (nos. 49 and 56) from Ashta and Karcha, with inscriptions in twelfth century characters.[253] Tiwari refers to a sculpture of this Jina in temple 20, Khajuraho.[254]

In the Raipur Museum, M.P., are *Dvi-tīrthika* images from Karitalai having short inscriptions incised at the bottom of pedestals. Amongst them we have pairs of Ajitanātha and Sambhavanātha, Puṣpadanta and Śītalanātha, Dharmanātha and Śāntinātha, and Mallinātha and Munisuvrata. *Dvi-tīrthikas* of perhaps all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras were installed at Karitalai, just as it seems that individual images of all the 24 Jinas were perhaps installed at Narwar, M.P.[255]

The Central Museum, Jaipur, preserves an elegant early mediaeval sculpture of black stone representing Munisuvrata standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture. This and another similar sculpture of standing Neminātha were found from Narhad near Pilani, Rajasthan. The Neminātha image is in the National Museum, New Delhi.[256]

National Museum no. 48.427 is a metal *pañcatīrthi* of Munisuvrata with Varuṇa and Naradattā as the yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. The tortoise cognizance is also shown. On the back is an inscription dated samvat 1509.

Muni Viśālavijaya has published an inscription on a Jina image in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, which shows that the image of Munisuvrata was prepared at the instance of Pāhaḍa of Prāgvāṭavamśa, in samvat 1145 = A.D. 1088 (Muni Viśālavijaya, *op cit.*, p. 144). Muni Viśalavijaya has also published (*op. cit.*, p. 136) an inscription from *Devakulikā* no. 6 in the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, which says that an image of Munisuvrata was gifted by Śreṣṭhī Āśadhara in samvat 1276.

In cell no. 11 of Vimala Vasahi, there is an image of Munisuvrata with Sarvānubhūti and four-armed Ambikā as yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. The sculpture was installed in samvat 1200 according to the inscription on it. There is also a Munisuvrata Jina in cell 31 of the Vimala Vasahi.

In the Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia, there is, at present, a stone slab (*śilā-paṭṭa*) representing the *Aśvāvabodha-samalikāvihāra-tīrtha*. The panel originally belonged to the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, where half of this slab is still preserved. The paṭṭa is dated in v.s. 1338 = 1281 A.D. by an inscription incised on it. A similar paṭṭa is also preserved in cell no. 19 of the Lūṇa Vasahi built by Tejpala at Abu. The Lūṇavasahi-pata was installed in samvat 1335 by Āsapāla of Prāgvāṭa caste, according to an

inscription in cell 18 (see Jayantavijaya, *Arbuda-prācīna-Jaina-lekha-sandoha*, inscr. no. 297, p. 124). The paṭa in the Nemināthа shrine Kumbharia also has an inscription on it showing that the Munisuvrata-bimba with the Aśvāvabodha-Samalikāvihāra-tīrthoddhāra was installed in V.S. 1338. Except the date the rest of the inscription regarding the donor and the monk installing the sculpture is identical in both the inscriptions (see *Arbudācala-pradakṣiṇā-Jaina-lekha-sandoha*, inscr. no. 31). D.R. Bhandarkar first published the sculpture and gave a detailed account of the story of preaching the Aśva (horse) by the Jina, and the story of the *śakunikā* (*bird*) who was born a princess of Lanka in the next birth and who came to Broach to pay her respects to Munisuvrata whose shrine existed at the port of Bharukaccha.[257]

A stone slab (*paṭa*) of the type at Abu and Kumbharia exists in the Pārśvanātha temple at Jalor, as noted by Tiwari. Long ago this writer published a beautiful marble *paṭa* depicting the story of Aśvāvabodha and Śakunikā-vihāra from a temple in Cambay. This paṭa as well as the Abu and Kumbharia paṭas are now being published by U.P. Shah in the C. Sivaramamurti Memorial Volume.

A valuable interesting sculpture in black stone, found from near Agra, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.776). In the centre sits Munisuvrata in dhyāna mudrā on a cushion-like seat. Marks of *cakra* are seen on the soles of the Jina's feet and on palms of hands. The Jina has an *uṣṇīṣa* on top of his head. The triple umbrella is shown over the stem of the *Caitya*-tree. On each side of the Jina is a male fly-whisk bearer and a standing Tīrthaṅkara wearing *dhoti* (lower garment) thus showing that the sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. Over the standing Jina on each side is a male figure standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* on a lotus and wearing a crown and other ornaments. Obviously they are meant to be represented as Jīvantasvāmī images. Whether both such figures are meant to be of Mahāvīra as Jīvantasvāmī meditating in his home before *dīkṣā* or one only of Mahāvīra and the other of Munisuvrata as Jīvantasvāmī, we cannot determine. Over the triple umbrella is a miniature figure of a Jina in padmāsana placed in a small cell while on his right stands a four-armed Baladeva and on the left a four-armed Vāsudeva carrying the mace in his right hand (*Fig. 72*).

In the lower section is the lion-throne with the dharmacakra in the centre but without the deer flanking it. On the right side of the simhāsana is pot-bellied two-armed yakṣa carrying the citron and the bag in his two hands while on the left side of the throne is seated a two-armed Ambikā with a child on her lap. Below the dharmacakra is a tortoise, the cognizance of Munisuvrata. An inscription on the lowermost part of the sculpture says that this image of Munisuvrata was installed in samvat 1063=A.D. 1006.

The Caumukha Basti at Karkal in Karnataka, built in 1586-87 with images of Malli, Ara, and Munisuvrata facing each door, is already referred to before. Munisuvrata is installed in Pāṭhaśālā-Basti in Mūdabidure. Images of this Jina are also found amongst the different sets of 24 Jinas at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūdabidure and Veṇūr noted before.

21. TWENTY-FIRST TĪRTHAṄKARA: NAMINĀTHA

Naminātha descended from the Aparājita Vimāna of the Anuttara heavens, according to the Digambaras and from Prāṇata according to the other sect. Son of king Śrīvijaya or Vijaya and queen Vaprā (Vappilā—Uttarapurāṇa) ruling in Mithila, Nami was born in the Svāti nakṣatra.[258]

While the Jina was in his mother's womb, his father's enemies bowed down (*praṇam*) in submission whereat the king gave the name Nami (from *nam* to bow down) to the newly born would-be Jina.[259] He was golden in complexion.

The recognising symbol of this Jina is the blue-lotus. B.C. Bhattacharya[260] writes: "The emblem which is associated with this Jina is a blue-lotus or the Aśoka tree, according to the sectarian view of the Digambaras." Unfortunately he has not cited any text in support of the statement. No text known to us prescribes Aśoka-tree as the recognising symbol of Nami (or Nimi)nātha, nor is Aśoka his *Caitya*-tree, for Nami obtained kevalajñāna under a Bakula-tree (Mimusops elengi) according to all traditions.

Naminātha was followed by 17 gaṇadharas with Suprabha (Dig.) or Śubha (Śve.) as their leader. The chief āryikā was Mārgiṇī according to the Digambaras and Anilā according to the Śvetāmbaras.

Bhṛukuṭi and Cāmuṇḍī were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively according to Digambara sources. The Śvetāmbara texts call them Bhṛukuṭī and Gandhārī. The Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇatti however says that they were known as Gomedha and Bahurūpiṇī. Nami obtained mokṣa on Sammeta-Śikhara.

Jayasena, the eleventh Cakravartī of Jaina mythology, lived in this age. Jinaprabha sūri says that Nami was worshipped at Ayodhyā which is described as a mokṣa-tīrtha.[261]

Muni Jayantavijaya, in his *Tīrtharāja Abu* (p. 194), has noted a sculpture of Naminātha being worshipped in a cell in the Sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Caumukha temple, Acalagadh, Mt. Abu. An inscription on a pedestal preserved in *devakulikā* 45 of Vimala Vasahi refers to the setting of the stone sculpture of Naminātha by minister Yaśovīra in V.S. 1245=A.D. 1188 (inscr. no. 150, Śrī-Arbuda-Prācīna-Jaina-lekhasandoha). In the Pārśvanātha temple at Rohida, near Abu, Rajasthan, are a number of bronzes. Amongst them there is one dated samvat 1493 of Naminātha and another *Pañcatīrthī* metal image dated 1565 samvat, installed by Śrī-Samgha in Pattana-nagara (*Pra. Śrī-Samghena Pattana nagare*). It seems that the image was originally installed in Patan and later it seems to have been brought to Rohida (inscriptions nos. 575 and 594 in *Arbudācala-Pradakṣiṇā-Jaina-lekhasandoha*). In the bigger Śāntinātha temple, Radhanapur, North Gujarat, is a metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Naminātha installed in samvat 1517. Images of this Jina are also found at Śatruñjaya.

P.L. Gupta in the Catalogue of Antiquities, Patna Museum, has identified a stone sculpture from Palma in Manbhum district as representing Naminātha but S.K. Sarasvati doubts the identification and suggests that the image represents Ajitanātha.[262]

Kalidasa Datta has referred to a standing image of Naminātha of Śvetāmbara tradition found at Mathurapur near Raidighi, Bengal.[263] Tiwari has referred to an image of Nami in cell no. 19 of the Lūnavashi, dated in 1233 A.D.[264] This cell once contained the *Aśvāvabodha-Śakunikāvihāra-tīrtha-uddhāra paṭa* referred to above while discussing the iconography of Munisuvrata. I do not know whether after my visit in 1950-51 some image is transferred to this cell. Muni Jayantavijaya has not referred to any such inscribed image of Naminātha in Lūṇavasahī. He might have missed it.

A sculpture of Naminātha sitting is carved on the wall of Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa and another rock-cut figure of Nami is seen on the wall of the Mahāvīra gumphā nearby.

We have sculptures of Nami at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūdabidri, and Veṇūr in the groups of images of 24 Tīrthankaras.[265]

There is a sculpture of Naminātha in the group of big sculptures of the Urwahi group, Gwalior fort. A water-lily is shown as the cognizance. Bhagchandra Jaina in his *Devagaḍhu kī Jaina Kalā (Hindi)*, p. 74 refers to a big standing image of Naminātha (his fig. 62) at Devgadh, temple 28, with lotus symbol on pedestal.

22. TWENTY-SECOND TĪRTHAṄKARA: NEMINĀTHA (ARIṢṬANEMI)

Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, descended from the Jayanta Vimāna according to the Uttarapurāṇa and from Aparājita Vimāna according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Śvetāmbara texts. He was the son of Samudravijaya and Śivādevī of Śauripura and was born in the Citrā nakṣatra.[266] Neminātha was a cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra, the ninth Vāsudeva and Balarāma of Jaina mythology. Jaina legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma offer interesting comparison with the Hindu accounts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Harivamśa, Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata.

According to the Uttarapurāṇa, Indra called him Neminātha[267] because the Jina was as it were the spoke (*nemi*) of the Wheel of True Law. Hemacandra gives a similar explanation. According to another explanation offered by Śvetāmbara writers, he was called Ariṣṭanemi because while he was in the womb, his mother saw, in dream, a wheel of Ariṣṭa-jewels.[268]

Dark-blue in appearance, Neminātha had the cognizance of a conch according to both the sects. Nemi obtained kevalajñāna on Mt. Raivataka while meditating under a Vetasa-tree (reed-tree, bamboo-tree) according to the Kalpa-sūtra. The Uttarapurāna refers to the same tree when it calls it Mahāveṇu. Tiloyapaṇṇatti says it was a Meṣaśṛnga-tree. Nemi had a following of 11 gaṇadharas (18 acc. to Kalpa-

sūtra) with Varadatta as their chief according to both the sects. Yakṣī or Yakṣiṇī was the leader of the āryikās. There were besides some well-known āryikās like Rājīmatī and Kātyāyanī. Nemi obtained nirvāṇa on Ujjayanta (Urjayanta) or Mt. Girnar, identified as Raivataka of old texts.

According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, Pārśva and Kuṣmāṇḍī were the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively of Neminātha. According to others they are known as Gomedha and Ambikā (same as Kuṣmāṇḍī). The Digambaras sometimes describe Sarvāṇha as the yakṣa of Neminātha.

Jinaprabha sūri says that Neminātha was worshipped at Śauryapura in the *Śaṅkha-Jinālaya*, in the city called Pātala, in Mathura, Dvarakā, Simhapura and Stambhatīrtha (Cambay in Gujarat). At Cambay he was known as *Pātāla-linga-Neminātha*.[269]

Scenes from the life of Neminātha have been very popular in Jaina art. Nemi (also called Ariṣṭanemi), a very brave prince, was, from the very beginning, a person of a pious nature and averse to worldly pleasures. He was reluctant to marry. Ultimately, his marriage with princess Rājīmatī, daughter of king Ugrasena, was arranged. When the marriage procession was going towards the bridal pavilion, with the bridegroom Nemi in a chariot, Ariṣṭanemi saw a large number of animals captured in a yard by the wayside, apparently with a view to kill them for serving the guests with meat. He shuddered at the idea of the impending great animal slaughter for which sin his own marriage was responsible, and decided to give up marriage and instead become a Jaina recluse. He immediately ordered his charioteer to turn back and, going on the Mt. Raivataka (Girnar), took *dīkṣā* as a Jaina monk. Rājīmatī the bride, a pious lady following the Indian ideal of womanhood, regarded Neminātha as her husband though not formally married (but already the engagement has taken place), and following Nemi's footsteps, became a Jaina nun. Rathanemi, a younger brother of Neminātha, also became a Jaina monk.

Once upon a time, on Mt. Girnar, when at dead of night there was a heavy downpour of rains, Rājīmatī, the nun, took shelter under a cave, and, taking off all her drenched clothes, began drying them. A flash of lightning revealed her naked lovely form to Rathanemi who also had taken refuge in the same cave. Rathanemi's weak mind was tempted to enjoy sexual pleasure but Rājīmatī, the pious nun, explained to him that desire to have her was like licking what was vomitted by another person. This saved the situation and Rathanemi repented for his evil thought. This incident between Rathanemi and Rājīmatī forms the theme of a very old ballad in the Jaina canonical text called the Uttarādhyayana sūtra.[270] Belief in Ariṣṭanemi thus goes back to some centuries before the Christian era.

The historicity of Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi is linked up with that of Kṛṣṇa the hero of Harivamśa, Bhāgavata, etc., since both of them are cousin brothers according to Jaina Purāṇas. The Uttarādhyayana sūtra ballad is certainly an ancient one as shown by Charpentier.[271] An Ariṣṭanemi is known to Vedic literature though his identity with the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara cannot be confidently asserted.[272]

As stated before, scenes from the life of Neminātha have been very popular in Jaina art. Paper-board covers to hold mss. for reading have sometimes painted on them the scene of marriage procession of Neminātha. Wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts are found painted with scenes from the life of Neminātha. We have already referred to such book-covers with scenes from the life of Śāntinātha. In the collections of the L.D. Institute of Indology are book-covers with scenes from the life of Mahāvīra as also covers with the scenes from the life of Pārśvanātha.

In one of the ceilings of the *bhamati* of the Lūṇa Vasahi built in the thirteenth century by Tejpala at Abu, we have scenes from the life of Neminātha, and in another ceiling some scenes from the early life of Kṛṣṇa at Gokula. In one of the ceilings of the *bhamati* (corridor) of the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, we have scenes from the life of Naminātha, carved in the eleventh century A.D. Of the same age is another ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia, depicting scenes from the lives of Śāntinātha and Neminātha. In a ceiling in front of cell no. 10, Vimala Vasahi, we have a scene[273] of the water-sports (*jala-krīḍā*) of Kṛṣṇa's queens, Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, and also the scene about testing the valour between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha, and the scene of marriage procession etc. The scenes in the Lūṇavasahi ceiling are elaborate and include scene of fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha besides the marriage procession, a scene of marriage of Nemi and Rajimati in the marriage pandal, and their returning home in a palanquin and the scene of renunciation of worldly life (*dīkṣā*) of Neminātha etc.[274]

Scenes of the main events in the lives of Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are also found in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra, already described by Coomaraswamy, Brown, Moti Chandra and others. For detailed accounts from the previous lives and the last life of these Tīrthaṅkaras one may refer to Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (Śve.) and the Mahāpurāṇa (Ādipurāṇa+Uttarapurāṇa) of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (Dig.) and the Harivamśa of Jinasena. One may also refer to the Paumacariyam of Vimala sūri.

The earliest known images of Neminātha are from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow and Mathura museums. One of them, no. J.8 in the Lucknow Museum, had an inscription on its pedestal dated in the year 18, expressly stating that the Jina represented is Ariṣṭanemi. According to Lohuizen-de Leeuw, this date is with the figure of 100 of the Kaniṣka's era omitted which means that the image is dated in 118 = 196 A.D. The cognizance is not shown on the sculpture and the Jina is identified only with the help of the inscription.[275] V.S. Agrawala has referred to another sculpture, no. 2502 in the Mathura Museum,[276] with figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa shown on the right and the left side respectively of the Jina. Four-armed Baladeva carries the plough in one hand while another is placed on the *kaṭi*. Symbols of the two remaining hands are broken. In the two remaining hands of the four-armed Kṛṣṇa, are the *gadā* (mace) and the *cakra* (discus).

No. J.121, Lucknow is another early sculpture of standing Neminātha dating from c. late fourth century A.D. On the right of the Jina stands a four-armed Balarāma with five snake-hoods overhead and carrying the wine cup (*caṣaka*) in one of his hands. To the left stands Kṛṣṇa showing the *gadā* and the conch in two hands. Symbols of the other hands are not distinct. No. 37.2738 in the Mathura Museum, dating from c. tenth century A.D., is a similar sculpture of Neminātha with four-armed Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa standing on his right and left side respectively. Heads of the Jina, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are mutilated and lost. As we have suggested in the previous chapter, Nos. J.117 and J.60 in the Lucknow Museum cannot be certainly identified as Neminātha. The snake-hooded figure on the right may be just a nāga figure. Besides in J.117 the figures on the right as well as the left have their two hands folded. We have shown in the last chapter that *mālādharas, kuṇḍadharas and Nāgas* are enjoined as attendant figures in a sculpture of a Tīrthaṅkara. Mathura Museum no. 2502 is a sculpture of Neminātha since the figure on his right showing a plough can be identified as Baladeva and the one on the left with the *gadā* and the *cakra* must be Kṛṣṇa. No. J.47 in the Lucknow Museum also represents Neminātha sitting in padmāsana. Here the figure on the right shows the plough, the mace and the wine cup, and is therefore Balarāma while the figure on the left, four-armed, shows the *gadā*, the *abhaya mudrā*, etc. These are sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period. No. B.77 in Mathura Museum represents Nemi with conch symbol.

The Vaibhāra giri, Rajgir, sculpture of Neminātha sitting in padmāsana with the conch cognizance on each side of the dharmacakra (shown as *cakrapuruṣa*, a Gupta period motif) shown in the middle of the simhāsana has a small inscription mentioning Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra . . . and with the help of the paleography of the inscription is rightly assigned by Rama Prasad Chanda to the reign of the Gupta Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II.[277]

A sculpture on the Vipula giri, Rajgir (Indian Museum Photo-negative no. 635) shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, on a big *viśva-padma*, with an attendant standing cāmaradhara on each side. In the centre of the simhāsana is a dharmacakra with a conch on each side. A sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus (Photo no. 646, Indian Museum, Calcutta) with a dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal was found on Udayagiri, Rajgir. On two sides of the wheel are still visible portions of the conch. The Jina has a small uṣṇīṣa on top of the head. There is also a sculpture of Neminātha on the eastern wall of Temple no. 1, Ratnagiri, Rajgir. Here also the conch is placed on each side of the dharmacakra in the centre. The Jina sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana. A plain halo, triple-umbrella and a big cushion at the back of the Jina are shown. Instead of twigs or leaves of a Caitya-tree hanging from two sides of the *chatratraya*, two ends of what looks like a piece of cloth are shown hanging on both the sides (*Indian Museum, Negative no. 641*).

Tiwari identifies no. 212 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, as Neminātha sitting on a simhāsana. This is really placed on top of a tall tree. On one side of the tree is a standing male figure hold-

ing a flower or a cāmara (?) in his right hand while with his left hand he holds a vessel.[278] But just below it sits a child with a raised right hand which reaches the vessel. On the left of the tree stands a female with a child held by her left hand and a flower-like object held in her right hand. No *lāñchana* of the Jina is shown. It is difficult to explain the Jina's position above the tree if this is a *kalpa-vṛkṣa*. It cannot be a *caitya*-tree if the main object intended here is the Tīrthaṅkara because then he would be sitting *under a caitya-tree.* We believe that perhaps here also the Parents of a Jina are the main objects of worship intended to be represented. What Tiwari seems to have missed is the explanation of a child below the left hand of the male figure.

Tiwari says that since images of Nemi and Mahāvīra, earlier than ninth century, are not found in Gujarat and Rajasthan, this fact suggests somewhat limited (or relatively less) popularity of these two Jinas than of Ṛṣabha and Pārśva whose images of sixth-seventh century are found at Akota.[279] Unfortunately Tiwari is fond of drawing conclusions based on such a negative evidence. He perhaps does not know that there is in worship a beautiful image of Mahāvīra worshipped as Jīvantasvāmī at Nāndia, Rajasthan, near Abu and Sirohi area. This beautiful sculpture dates from the seventh century A.D. Here Mahāvīra is not shown with a crown etc. He is sitting in padmāsana. But Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition worships this image as Jīvantasvāmī. Again the find of two very early (i.e. one of late fifth and the other of sixth century) images of Jīvantasvāmī in the Akota hoard means worship of Mahāvīra himself in Gujarat. Jaina traditions associate Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa with Dvārakā and Mt. Raivataka (Girnar). Harivaṁśa of Jinasena, a Digambara writer, was composed at Wadhavan in Saurashtra according to the author himself. Harivaṁśa is the family of Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha whose account is the subject matter of Jinasena's famous Purāṇa.

There are about eight sculptures of Neminātha, assigned to the mediaeval period, in the Lucknow Museum. All except no. 66.53 belong to the Digambara tradition. When the yakṣa and yakṣī are shown in these images dating from the tenth to twelfth century, they are the yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and the yakṣī Ambikā. No. J.793 in the museum is a Neminātha obtained from Bateśvara near Agra. Here the Jina is accompanied by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, each two-armed. The conch is shown on top of the simhāsana, in the centre. No. O.123 in the Lucknow Museum is a black stone sculpture of Neminātha standing, from Chattarpur, M.P. with an inscription on the pedestal giving the date of installation as samvat 1208=A.D. 1151. At the end of the small inscription is carved a figure of the conch cognizance. The Jina is standing and wears no garment, but has hair-locks on shoulders.

A sculpture of Neminātha sitting on a simhāsana with the conch *lāñchana* carved on the lower rim of the throne and with cāmaradharas, mālādharas, triple umbrella, halo and the *Caitya*-tree as members of the *parikara* is preserved in the Mathura Museum. The dharmacakra is shown in the centre of the throne. No yakṣa and yakṣī are shown. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. The Lucknow Museum has a standing Neminātha from Maihar, M.P., with Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as the śāsana-devatās on one side of the Jina. In the parikara, as noted by Tiwari, there is a four-armed goddess showing the lotus in two hands and the *abhaya mudrā* and the *kalaśa* in the remaining hands. No. J.936, dated in 1177 A.D., is a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana and with Sarvānubhūti as attendant śāsana-yakṣa. There is no yakṣī figure, no *lāñchana*. Tiwari identifies this figure as Neminātha simply because Sarvānubhūti figures as the yakṣa. This is a rather doubtful procedure because we know that for a long time from c. sixth century upto the eleventh and sometimes a little later yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and variations of his form figure as yakṣa of any of the 24 Jinas, along with Ambikā as yakṣī even at Ellora, Abu, Kumbharia etc. This will be more clear in the chapter on Yakṣa Worship in Jainism.

No. J.858 in the same museum shows the cognizance as well as Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. The sculpture hails from Sahet-Mahet, the site of Śravasti, and is identified as Neminātha with the help of the cognizance.

There are more than two dozen sculptures of Neminātha at Devgadh, all of the Digambara tradition, including several figures showing Neminātha standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. In all cases when the cognizance is not given, nor is there an inscription, then merely on the evidence of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā we cannot identify such sculptures as definitely representing Neminātha. In our earlier writings

on Ambikā and on the introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jainism we have shown the association of this Śāsanadevatā pair with other Tīrthaṅkaras.

A beautiful specimen of a figure of standing Neminātha, of c. 10th cent. A.D., is preserved in temple no. 2, Devgadh. Here miniature figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are also shown standing on the right and the left respectively of the Jina. Lucknow Museum no. 66.53 of standing Neminātha, of Śvetāmbara tradition, has a similar arrangement of the figures of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on the sides of the Jina. Devgadh Temple no. 15 was known as Neminātha Jinālaya according to an inscription from this temple as noted by Bhagchandra Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 72 note.

There is a beautiful figure of Neminātha in padmāsana in the Bharatpur Museum. The conch is shown in the centre of his seat. There is no parikara, no throne, no pedestal.

A c. sixth century sculpture of standing Neminātha, obtained from Padhavali, M.P., is preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. On the pedestal, the conch symbol is on one side while the *cakra* is on the other end and between the two, near the *cakra* is a worshipper (*Fig. 52*).

A standing Neminātha from Narwar, M.P. is preserved in the Shivpuri district Museum, Shivpuri, M.P. The sculpture is assignable to the twelfth century A.D. A beautiful ornate simhāsana of another sculpture of Neminātha, also from Narwar, is preserved in the above museum. There is a small figure of a conch carved below the dharmacakra. Looking to the shape and size of the pedestal, on the analogy of other sculptures from Narwar it may be assumed that this simhāsana had on it a figure of Neminātha sitting in the padmāsana.

There is another sculpture from Padhavali in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. Here the Jina sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana. The conch symbol is carved on the lower end of the simhāsana.

A standing Neminātha from Gurgi, Rewa, is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. AM 498). The conch and the yakṣa and the yakṣī also are shown (*Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, fig. 287). No. K.14 in the Khajuraho Museum represents Nemi in padmāsana, with 23 other Jinas around, conch symbol and Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā on the pedestal.

In the Dhubela Museum, M.P., is a sculpture of Neminātha in padmāsana, probably from Shahdol (*JAA*, III, pl. 367B). Above him are 21 seated Tīrthaṅkaras in three rows and a standing Tīrthaṅkara by the side of the elephants on either side. Thus this is a *Caturvimśati-paṭa* of Neminātha. The central Jina is recognised with the help of the *śaṅkha lāñchana* on the ornamental pedestal. On the right extremity of the simhāsana is a two-armed yakṣa while on the left end is a beautiful standing two-armed Ambikā with her lion vāhana. The Dhubela Museum has an image of Nemi with his name given in the inscription on pedestal dated in 1142 A.D. Kielhorn has referred to an image of Neminātha in the Horniman Museum. The image is dated in 1151 A.D. The conch is shown on the pedestal and according to Kielhorn the conch figure occurs on the chest of the Jina also.

Of the two images unearthed a few years ago at Narhad near Pilani, Rajasthan, one, of Neminātha, is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (no. 69.132) while the other of Munisuvrata is in the State Museum. Jaipur. Neminātha stands in the *kāyotsarga* pose and shows cāmaradhara attendants standing near his feet. The conch cognizance of the Jina is carved on the base in front (*JAA*, III, plate 336B).

A bronze image of Neminātha, obtained in the Aluara hoard, is in the Patna Museum (no. 10688). Rock-cut figures of Neminātha are found on the walls of the Navamuni, Bārābhuji and the Mahāvīra caves at Khandagiri, Orissa. [R.P. Mohapatra, in his *Jaina Monuments from Orissa*, fig. 89, has illustrated a sculpture of Ambikā with a Jina above on simhāsana, from Jambhira, district Keonjhar. In cases like this the Jina can be identified as Neminātha because in the mediaeval period when different yakṣiṇīs for different Jinas were evolved and worshipped, Ambikā remained the yakṣiṇī of Neminātha.

Neminātha standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* on a big conch, from a temple [in Mūḍabidri, is illustrated in *Fig. 45*. This is a typical representation which reminds of the *Śaṅkha Jinālaya* at Sauryapura referred to by Jinaprabha sūri. There was a famous *Śaṅkha-Jinālaya* in the South. B.A. Saletore writes: "... in the 7th or 8th regnal year of Western Calukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-A.D. 696), a grant was made to the Jaina priest Udayadeva Pandita also known as Nīravadyapaṇḍita, who belonged to Devagaṇa sect attached to the Mūla Samgha and the *Śaṅkhabasti* at Puligere (modern Lakshmeś-

vara) . . ."[278] A *Śaṅkha basadi* existed at Huligere during the reign of Bukka Raya of Vijayanagara.[279] Perhaps because of the big *Śaṅkha* (conch, the cognizance of Nemi) on which Neminātha stood, as in *Fig. 45* (from Mūḍabidri), Neminātha came to be worshipped as *Śaṅkha-Jina* and a temple with such an image came to be known as *Śaṅkha-Jinālaya* or *Śaṅkha basadi*. Neminātha is installed as a chief deity in various temples in Tulu-Nadu (south Karnataka) at Koto-setti-Basti, Mūḍabidure, at Puruṣa-guḍḍe, at Kārkal, at Varāṅga etc.[280] Images of this Jina are also found in shrines where sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras are worshipped as at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Mūdabidure, Veṇūr etc.

At Kambaḍahalli in Karnataka, in the Pañcakūṭa-Basti there is a tri-kūṭācala nucleus. Of the three shrines in the tri-kūṭa complex, the central one facing north enshrines Ādinātha, the one facing east Neminātha, and the one facing west Śāntinātha (*JAA, II*, p. 218). The Pañcakuṭa-Basti at Markuli, of the time of Ballala II, erected in 1173 by his minister Bucchimayya, is for Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puṣpadanta and Supārśvanātha (*JAA*, II, p. 318).

In Tamil Nadu, the Poyagaimalai at Kuppalanatham and Karupannasami rock at Uttamapalaiyam have rows of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, Ādinātha, Neminātha and others.[281] In North Arcot district, the celebrated Jaina centre Tirumalai, called Vaikavur in inscriptions, has on its hill a Jaina temple complex dedicated to Mallinātha and Nemīśvara and is noted for a large monolithic image of Neminātha on the hill. It is also noted for its wall paintings as well as for fine sculptures of Kuṣmāṇḍinī, Pārśvanātha, Bāhubali and others.[282]

To the Nayaka phase belong later paintings in the Mahāvīra temple, at Tiruparuttikunram, of 16th-17th centuries. Scenes from the lives of Ṛṣabhadeva, Vardhamāna, Kṛṣṇa and his cousin Ariṣṭanemi, and the life of Neminātha himself are graphically painted with labels in Tamil clearly explaining each scene (*JAA*, II, pp. 388-89).

Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa according to Jaina Purāṇas, is associated with Dvārakā and Girnār (Mt. Raivataka) in Saurashtra, Gujarat. His images and scenes from his life, especially his marriage procession when he sees the animals caged for slaughter for his marriage feast and turns back and becomes a Jaina monk, are very popular in Gujarat and Rajasthan and many *Pāṭhās* (wooden and cardboard sheets for holding paper manuscripts) have paintings and embroidery work on cloth covering them. A very interesting frieze showing the marriage procession of Neminātha is in the collections of Shri Haridas K. Swali, Bombay (*JAA*, III, 438). It shows two horse-riders, a bullock-cart, trumpet-blower, drummer, a royal figure holding garlands, female figures, marriage pandal (*maṇḍapa*), house scenes, animals caged, scene of preparation of sweets etc. Traces of paint on the scenes are still preserved.

The Nāḍloi (Rajasthan) inscription of 1138 records a grant of 1/20th part of tax levied on incoming and outgoing merchandise of the city for the *pūjā* (worship) of Jina Neminātha (*JAA*, II, p. 240). The Neminātha temple at Kumbharia was built during the later part of Siddharaja's reign. The Neminātha temple on Girnar was built by Daṇḍa-Nāyaka Sajjana also in the reign of Siddharaja Jayasimha of the Chaulukya dynasty of Aṇahilapāṭaka or Patan, Gujarat. King Kumārapāla (1144-1174 A.D.), successor of Siddharāja, built at Patan a Kumāra-Vihāra sacred to Pārśvanātha with 24 *devakulikās*. He also built Kumāra-Vihāras, Jaina temples, at centres like Girnār, Śatruñjaya, Prabhāsa, Ābu, Khambhāt and in towns like Tharād, Īḍar, Jālor, Dīv, Māngrol etc. In memory of his father Tribhuvanapāla, he built the Tribhuvana-Vihāra, dedicated to Neminātha with 72 *devakulikās* and a *tri-vihāra* in 1160 (*JAA*, II, p. 303).

The Lūṇa-vasahi on Mt. Abu is a temple dedicated to Neminātha, built by Minister Tejapāla in memory of his brother. In the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the Lūṇa-vasahi is an image of Neminātha installed in Samvat 1394, and another in Samvat 1321. In this shrine there is also a rare image of Rājīmati who was to marry Ariṣṭanemi and who also became a Jaina nun. The image is dated in Samvat 1515. In the *devakulikā* no. 22 in Lūṇa-vasahi an image of Nemi was installed in Samvat 1293 by one Kumāraka of Candrāvatī (Jayantavijaya's *Arbudācala-Prācīna-Jaina-Lekhasandoha*, inscr. no. 307). Cell no. 23 in the same shrine was also dedicated to Neminātha (*ibid.*, inscr. no. 313), in V.S. 1293. In the same year one Lāhada set up an image of Neminātha in cell 39. In cell no. 10 of Vimala vasahi, Abu, an image of Neminātha was installed by Daśaratha, the son of Mahinduka, the grandson of Mantri Neḍha, and an

image of this Jina was installed in Cell no. 9, Vimala vasahi in Samvat 1382 by Jīvaka of Prāgvāṭa caste. In cell 12 an image of Nemi was installed in Samvat 1309 (Muni Jayantavijaya, *ibid.*, incriptions nos. 46, 47, 51, 62). Also in cell 43 an image of the same Jina was installed in Samvat 1302 (*ibid.*, inscr. no. 145).

In the Devakulikā no. 22 of the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is a figure of Neminātha in padmāsana installed in 1179 A.D. Of circa twelfth century an image of Nemi, obtained from Amarasar, Rajasthan, is preserved in the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner. All over Rajasthan and Gujarat temples and images of Neminātha are available at various places.

At Khajuraho, in the Chattarpur district, M.P., only two images of Neminātha have been identified so far; one, in modern temple no. 10, is in the sitting posture and his cognizance on the lowermost portion of the throne is much defaced. The second image lying in the open air museum (no. K.14) also represents this Jina in a sitting posture. Below the dharmacakra on the pedestal is depicted his conch emblem. With 23 miniature figures of other Jinas carved in the *parikara*, this image is thus a *Covīsī* of Neminātha. The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.

23. TWENTY-THIRD TĪRTHAṄKARA: PĀRŚVANĀTHA

Pārśvanātha is regarded as a historical figure. Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth or the last Jina, died two hundred and fifty years after the nirvāṇa of Pārśvanātha. This interval between the last two Tīrthaṅkaras is the same in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara accounts.[283] Again, the interval is not so extraordinarily long as to create doubts in our mind as in the case of any two other Tīrthaṅkaras.

Pārśva and his followers are referred to in the Jaina canons. According to the Ācārāṅga sūtra,[284] Mahāvīra's parents were lay followers of the Order of Pārśva and were adherents of the *Samaṇas*. The Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi refers to several monks of Pārśva's sect as contemporaries of Mahāvīra during his wanderings.[285]

Gośāla asked Municandra, a follower of Pārśva, how they could be called Samaṇa Nigaṇṭhas when they had so many possessions with them. These samanas indulged in certain activities which according to Mahāvīra constituted preliminary sin (*sārambha*). They put on clothes and also practised Jinakalpa towards the end of their lives. The Bhagavatī sūtra[286] records a discussion between Mahāvīra and Samaṇa Gāngeya, a follower of Pārśvanātha in Vāniyagāma. Gāngeya gave up the *Cāujjāmadhamma* (the doctrine of four-fold restraint) and embraced the *Pañcamahāvvaya* (the five greater vows) of Mahāvīra. The city of Tungiya is stated to have been a centre of the theras following the doctrine of Pārśva, who moved in a congregation of five hundred monks.[287] Udaya Peḍhālaputta was a Niggaṇṭha follower of Pārśva of the Meyajja (Sk. Metārya) gotra, who had discussions with Indrabhūti, the first Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra.[288] Keśī[289] is also referred to in the Uttarādhyayana where his discussions with Gautama Indrabhūti on the doctrines of Pārśva and Mahāvīra are recorded.[290]

As usual, some preceding births of this Jina are described by the Jaina Purāṇas. In one such existence, Pārśva was a Brāhamaṇa named Marubhūti and had a younger brother called Kamaṭha. From this birth, seeds of enmity between the two souls were sown and in each succeeding birth, except the last, Kamaṭha went on taking the life of Marubhuti.

In his last birth as Pārśva, the soul of Marubhuti was born as the prince of king Aśvasena and queen Vāmādevi of the city of Varanasi. The Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa gives Viśvasena and Brāhmidevi as names of Pārśva's Parents. According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti, they were Aśvasena and Varmilā. Pārśva was born under the asterism Viśākhā having descended upon this earth from Prāṇata Vimāna in the Ānata heaven.[291]

According to both the sects, the Jina was dark-blue in complexion and had the snake as his cognizance. According to the Śvetāmbaras, he was called Pārśva because his mother had seen, in dream, a black cobra passing by her side (*pārśva*) during the period of confinement.[292] When Pārśva grew up, he once saw a sage practising the *Pañcāgni-tapa*, a type of penance with burning logs of wood in four groups all around and the fifth fire being the scorching sun above. In one of the logs was a pair[293] of snakes which was being burnt alive. Pārśva rescued the snakes and remonstrated the sage who was no other than

the soul of Kamaṭha reborn as a *tāpasa*. The snakes, half-burnt, died immediately after Pārśva chanted before them the *Navakāra mantra* and were reborn as Dharaṇendra (Indra of the Nāgakumāra class of demi-gods) and his queen (Padmāvatī). Kamaṭha, after death, was reborn as a god called Samvara according to the Digambaras and Meghamāli according to the Śvetāmbaras.

King Prasenajit, son of Naravarman, the ruler Kuśasthala, had a beautiful daughter called Prabhāvatī who, on hearing the virtues of Pārśvanātha, fell in love with him and decided to marry him. Her parents agreed, but kings of neighbouring states of Kalinga etc., desiring to marry the princess, attacked Kuśasthala and besieged it. Pārśva, requested by Prasenajit, ran to his resue, subdued the opponents and married Prabhāvatī. According to Hemacandra, the ruler of Kalinga was a Yavana king.[294]

It is interesting to note that the snake, which is a special cognizance of Pārśvanātha, figures on the archway of Anantagumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa, and that two Yavana warriors are carved in relief in the Ranigumpha. The caves are generally regarded as Jaina, while some of the reliefs of the caves are identified by V.S. Agrawala as referring to the Udayana story. The reference to the Kalinga-Jina in the Hathigumpha inscription may be to an image of Pārśvanātha.[295] Readings of the inscription, however, are largely disputed and uncertain in several cases.

For thirty years Pārśva remained a householder and then renounced worldly ties, practised rigorous austerities and obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Dhātaki-tree (Grislea tomentosa). He had ten gaṇadharas with Svayambhu as their leader according to Digambara traditions and eight gaṇadharas with Śubha or Śubhadatta as the chief according to some Śvetāmbara traditions.[296] The Samavāyāṅga sūtra however calls him Dinna, while the Āvaśyaka Niryukti speaks of ten gaṇadharas.[297] Puṣpacūlā was his chief āryikā as stated by the Samavāyāṅga and the Kalpa-sūtra. According to the Digambaras she was known as Sulocanā (called Sulokā by Tiloyapaṇṇatti).

According to Tiloyapaṇṇatti Pārśva's yakṣa and yakṣiṇī were Mātanga and Padmā respectively while according to other Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions they were Pārśva and Padmāvatī.

Kamaṭha (also called Kaṭha) tāpasa who was reborn as Samvara (Dig.) or Meghamālī (Śve.) obstructed Pārśvanātha when he was practising penance. For seven days he poured heavy rains and made terrific noises and hurled stones etc. on him. In order to frighten Pārśvanātha he created lions, scorpions, terrific genii like Vetālas and others who issued fire from their mouths. But the great sage, unaffected by these obstructions (*upasarga*), remained steadfast in meditation. Dharaṇa, the Indra of Nāgakumāra gods, remembering the obligation of Pārśva in the previous existence, came to the rescue of the Lord and, standing behind the Jina, held a canopy of his seven snake-hoods over Pārśva's head, in order to protect the Lord's person from rains, stones, etc. His four queens staged dance with music before the meditating sage but the great sage was equally unmindful of this pleasure of music and dance and of the pain inflicted by Samvara (also known as Meghamālī). The villainy of the soul of Kamaṭha becoming fruitless, he repented, stopped all obstructions and bowing down before the Lord and begging his pardon, went away ashamed and repenting.[298] It is said that Meghamālī had so much flooded the area that water level rose upto the tip of the nose of Pārśva and that Dharaṇendra wrapping his coils all around the body of Pārśva and holding the hoods as a canopy over the sage's head lifted out of water the whole body of the sage.

Both the sects agree in giving a cobra as the cognizance (*dhvaja* mark or *lāñchana*) of Pārśva and generally represent five or seven snake-hoods over his head. The snake cognizance is shown on the pedestal and often coils of the snake's body are shown behind the body of the Jina either standing or sitting in meditation. The snake-hoods as well as the coils suggest Dharaṇa Nāga protecting the body of Pārśvanātha.

It will be remembered that Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, is said to have a canopy of one, three or nine snake-hoods. Hemacandra and others speak of seven snake-hoods held over the head of Pārśva; the difference in the number of hoods for Pārśva and Supārśva often helps us in identifying their images.

Amongst the earliest known images of Pārśvanātha are some sculptures obtained from the Kankali Tila, Mathura. The first is an Āyāgapaṭa, no. J.253 in the Lucknow Museum, assignable to the first

century B.C. on the evidence of the characters of the inscription on it. The Jina sits in the centre, in paryankāsana on a raised seat and has five snake-hoods overhead. Just above the hoods is a *chatra* with two garland-like festoons hanging on two sides. On each side of the Jina is a standing figure of a naked ascetic, one of whom has his hands folded in respect while the other carries an indistinct object. In view of our foregoing remarks about snake-hoods and in view of the remarks made earlier in discussing the iconography of Supārśvanātha, the Jina in this Āyāgapaṭa is identified as Pārśvanātha. Followers of Pārśva seem to have continued even after Mahāvīra for some time, and even when they were assimilated in one or the other of the Jaina sects, Pārśva has continued to be very popular in Jaina worship.

The attendant ascetics in this Āyāgapaṭa are the gaṇadharas of Pārśva, one of whom may be Śubha, Svayambhū or Dinna. It is noteworthy that these gaṇadharas are represented naked and carry no piece of cloth on one hand to cover their nudity whereas in other sculptures from Kankali Tila we often meet with figures of monks carrying such a piece on one hand. For example, in the Āyāgapaṭa representing the ascetic Kanha (fig. 21) we find Kaṇha Samana holding such a piece of cloth. In this Tablet which was the gift of Dhanaśrī in Samvat 95, the upper panel shows a Stūpa with two miniature figures of Jinas on each side; the figure on the left side of the Stūpa shows seven snake-hoods overhead and therefore is to be identified as Pārśvanātha.

Figure 23 illustrates a loose sculpture of Pārśva (no. J.39 in the Lucknow Museum), from Kankali Tila, showing seven snake-hoods over the head and the coils of snake on the back of the Jina. This sculpture formerly published by Coomaraswamy belongs to the Kuṣāṇa age.[299] Nos. J.69 and J.77 are sculptures of this Jina, from Kankali Tila, in the Lucknow Museum. Nos. J.96, J.113 and J.114 are loose heads of Kuṣāṇa age in the same Museum. No. B.62 Mathura Museum is another loose head of Pārśva from Kankali Tila. Marks of *svastika*, *śrī-vatsa*, *dharmacakra*, *triratna* etc. are also found on snake-hoods of this age.

A *Sarvvatobhadra Pratimā* (quadruple image) from the same site, no. B.70, Mathura Museum[300] shows, on one side, Pārśvanātha standing with a *śrī-vatsa* mark on his chest. There is no *uṣṇīṣa* and the hair on the head are arranged in schematic curls. Snake-hoods over head are mutilated and only partly visible. Another such sculpture of the Kusāṇa age is no. B.67 in the Mathura Museum. A third such sculpture (no. B.65) of *Pratimā Sarvvatobhadrikā* shows the Jina Pārśvanātha in a sitting posture upon a simhasana supported by couchant lions. The sculpture is later in age than the two Caturmukha images mentioned. There are similar quadruple images from Kankali Tila in the Lucknow Museum (e.g., nos. 230, 231 etc.). But in none of these sculptures are represented separately the attendant figures of Dharaṇendra and his queens. The Kalpa sūtra does not refer to the *upasarga* incident in the life of Pārśvanātha, so familiar to later texts and to representations in sculptures and paintings. But the association of Pārśva with snake undoubtedly dates from very early times and it is reasonable to acknowledge Pārśva's early association with the Nāga-cult (Serpent-worship) and/or with Nāga tribe. Mathura is known from Hindu sources as a haunt of the Nāgas (compare the story of subduing the Kālīya Nāga by Kṛṣṇa, popularly known as Kālīya-damana), and statues of Dadhikarṇa Nāga etc. are recovered from Mathura [301] Again, excavations at Sonkh nearby have revealed the existence of a Nāga shrine and a beautiful long panel with a Nāga king enthroned in the centre.

This association of Pārśva with the Nāga-cult and the fact that he lived in the eighth century B.C. should suggest a line of further investigation into the origin of his sect. It is said that the ancient city of Ahicchatrā was so called because at this place, as mentioned by Devabhadra,[302] Dharaṇendra came to worship Pārśva standing in meditation and in order to protect the Lord from the heat of the tropical sun the snake-king (*ahi*) held his hoods as an umbrella (*chatra*) over the Jina engaged in meditation. Since then the place, which was formerly known as Śivapuri, came to be called *Ahicchatrā*.[303]

Pārśva hailed from Varanasi and is reported to have widely travelled in eastern parts of India and in Kalinga. Both U.P. and Magadha were known to have been inhabited by Nāga tribes and by followers of the Nāga cult from ancient times. In the Vasudevahiṇḍi it is said that when Bhagīratha brought the Ganges to the plains abodes of Nāgas were swept away in the forceful current of the river.

The story of Kamaṭha's attack on Pārśva reminds one of the attack by Māra on Buddha, both

accounts are essentially similar. At the end of the attack both attain perfection, the supreme knowledge. Both themes have been popular in Indian art.[304]

The Jaina cave at Aihole, Bijapur district, Karnataka, contains one of the earliest known representations of the scene of attack on Pārśvanātha (*Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 121*). The relief shows Pārśva standing in meditation while Kamaṭha attacks him from upper left corner. Dharaṇendra shields Pārśva by holding his five snake-hoods over the head of the latter. His queen, represented in human form with a snake-hood above her head, stands on the right of the Jina and holds a big parasol over the lord. Behind the snake-queen is seen the head of another figure with a snake-hood above the head. The male figure sitting with folded hands on the left of the Jina represents the unsuccessful Kamaṭha bowing down and repenting. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

But perhaps the finest known and very elaborate sculpture of this theme of Kamatha's *upasarga* is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see *Frontispiece*). On both the sides of the standing sage are shown hosts of ferocious beings taking part in the attack at the bidding of Kamaṭha. The figures are carved in classical Gupta traditions. The sculpture is reported to have come from Bihar but it is not a specimen of Pala art as can be seen from the figure of the snake-queen holding a parasol (with a long handle) over the head of Pārśva. The sculpture is sometimes assigned to the 5th-6th cent. A.D. as in *Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 38 and 39,* but the rendering of the figure of the snake-queen suggests a post-Gupta date in c. early seventh century A.D.

Most of the early reliefs of this theme from South India are simpler than the Indian Museum specimen just discussed. As in the Aihole Cave panel there is only one figure attacking with a big rock, and not the army of goblins, etc. In the Jaina cave at Badami there is a big panel representing this scene of Kamaṭha's attack (*JAA, I, pl. 115*; *Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 128*) dating from late sixth or early seventh century A.D. The Nāga figure behind the snake queen shown in the Aihole relief is not found here. This big figure of Pārśva is a typical specimen of early Western Chalukyan art. There is a beautiful relief panel of this scene on a boulder at Tirakkol, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, which shows the treatment of this theme in Pallava art of c. eighth century A.D. Kamaṭha flying in the air carrying a big rock, about to throw on Pārśva, is shown here in the upper corner to the right of the sage while the snake queen holding the umbrella stands to the left and the kneeling figure of Kamaṭha filled with remorse is near the right foot of Pārśva standing on a double-lotus.

In the Pandyan territory, though a similar simple treatment of the theme is seen at places at Kilakkudu, Ummanamalai hill, Madura district, Samnar-Koyil, Anamalai, Madura district, at Karaikoyil and at Kalugumalai, Tinneveli district, yet one important departure from the Tirakkol and Badami reliefs lies in the beautiful and powerfully carved head and bust of the snake demi-god Dharaṇendra protecting Pārśva from behind and shown above the latter's body in the beautiful rock-cut relief at Kalugumalai (see *Fig. 50*, and *Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 1 and 37*), or at Samnar-Koyil, Kilakkudi etc. The Kalugumalai relief and the Samnar-Koyil reliefs date from c. eighth century A.D. The Karaikoyil relief (*Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 81*) of c. 8th century A.D. however follows the tradition of Badami and Aihole reliefs and does not show the human bust and head of Dharaṇendra. Among the row of rock-cut Jaina sculptures at the cave front at Annamalai (Madurai district) is a relief of this incident with the head and bust of Dharaṇendra protecting Pārśva.[305] In this relief the defeated Kamaṭha is kneeling on all fours before Pārśvanātha. The cave temple is known as *Samnar-Koyil* and probably dates from the eighth century. At Ummanamalai hill (Kilakkudi, Madurai district) one of a few relief sculptures shows Pārśva standing with head and bust of Dharaṇendra behind but omits the other figures like the snake-queen, Kamaṭha attacking and Kamaṭha repenting. But the head and bust of Dharaṇendra suggest that the relief was intended to indicate the incident of Kamaṭha's *upasarga*. At this place there is another rock-cut relief showing the other figures also but not the head and bust of Dharaṇendra. At Chitharal in Kerala we have a few rock-cut reliefs, one of these is a scene showing Kamatha (reborn as Samvara) hurling the rock, the snake-queen standing with the umbrella, and Kamatha praying after defeat.

The theme of Kamaṭha's attack became very popular among the Digambaras, especially in the South. At Ellora in the group of Jaina caves are found several big panels of this scene, usually more

elaborate and showing a host of attacking spirits of Kamaṭha's bidding carved on three sides of the figure of Pārśvanātha (*Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 136, 138, 142, 422; JAA, I, pl. 118A, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, December, 1970, p. 309, figs. 10, 11, 12*). It will be seen that in all these panels in the Ellora Jaina Caves, the figure ultimately sitting near the legs of the Jina and paying him respects with *añjali mudrā*, identified as the soul of Kamaṭha reborn as Samvara or Meghamālī, is here accompanied by a female. We might therefore regard this as an innovation by Ellora artists and identify this female as the queen of the demi-god Samvara or Meghamālī. In one of the panels at Ellora we find two smaller figures of females with half-snake and half-human bodies, by the sides of the standing snake-king holding the parasol. They may be some of the other queens of Dharaṇendra or attendants of the snake-queen. Whereas at Aihole and Badāmī Pārśva has a canopy of five hoods of Dharaṇendra, at Ellora he has a canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead.

Dhaky has published two beautiful elaborate sculptures of Santara art from south Karnataka, representing the theme of attack on Pārśva.[306] Both these stelas are in worship in the temple of Pārśvanātha at Humca (*J.I.S.O.A., new series, Vol. IV, pl. XVIII, fig. 9 and pl. XIX, fig. 13*). Dhaky has assigned them to the period of Vikrama Santara (c. 878 ?-920 A.D.). In *fig. 9* of *J.I.S.O.A., op. cit.*, Pārśva sky-clad stands on a double-lotus upheld by two handsome *nāgas* in human form thus suggesting that the body of Pārśva was lifted above the flood waters which had reached upto his neck (or chin). Behind the Jina is Dharaṇendra spreading his seven hoods over the sage's head to form a canopy sheltering Pārśva against the attacking hosts of Kamaṭha. On the right side of Pārśva absorbed in meditation we find a charging bull, a leaping lion, a demon shooting a dart and, above, another demon menacingly balancing a huge boulder aimed at the figure of the sage. To the left of the sage Kamaṭha's fury has sent a rushing tiger, a maddened elephant, a demon carrying a dagger in his right hand and releasing a venomous serpent with the left, and above him a *Kumbhāṇḍa* monster carrying a heavy mace over his shoulder. At the lower end, stand Dharaṇendra and his consort, on the right and the left respectively of the sage, the consort holding the long handle of the parasol passing behind the coils and hoods of the Nāga-king. At the base is depicted Kamaṭha, sobered after failing to shake Pārśva from meditation, remorseful at heart and bowing down asking for forgiveness; his consort on the opposite side, half-knelt, is shown raising her right hand in praise of the great sage.

The other stela, somewhat varying in detail but repeating the same theme, is the work of another craftsman. The closest analogues, iconographically speaking, of these two stelas are carved panels of the Indra-Sabhā cave at Ellora (*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., figs. 10, 12*).

An elaborate but different treatment of the theme is found in a c. ninth century sculpture from probably Madhya Pradesh, now preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A. (Museum no. 61 419, stone, 63-1/4 × 26-3/8 inches). It is a well preserved beautiful sculpture.[307] The topmost figures, in this image, with their heads mutilated and lost, show heavenly worshippers, gandharva-pair, conch-blower, etc. In the centre is the triple umbrella below which is the canopy of seven cobra-hoods of Dharaṇendra whose long coiled body is shown behind the whole, almost life-size figure of Pārśvanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*.

On the sides of the serpent-hoods are two flying celestial garland-bearers (*mālādharas*) whose head-dresses are similar to and derived from the headdress found on early Gurjara-Pratihara sculptures, both male and female figures, of which a typical specimen of c. late seventh century is seen on the bronze figure of a female chowrie-bearer (*cāmaradhāriṇī*) from Akota.[308] Below the flying garland-bearers (accompanied by their wives) are figures of *vyālas* standing on hind legs upon elephants, all atop a pilaster on each side.

By the side of this *vyāla* and elephant motif and the pilaster, females in various attitudes are shown on each side playing musical instruments or singing, or holding a lotus etc. They are *Nāginīs*, queens of the snake-king Dharaṇendra Nāga, who is protecting Pārśvanātha from the attacks of Kamaṭha and his hosts of goblins etc. Near the feet of the Tīrthaṅkara are standing two yakṣas carrying fly-whisks (*cāmaradhara yakṣas*), and four more snake-queens. It is likely that all the small figures of Nāginīs were not intended to represent queens of Dharaṇendra but were attendants of the queens.

Of about the same age as the Cleveland Museum Pārśvanātha and possibly hailing from Eastern Rajasthan is another sculpture, no. 59.202 in the National Museum, New Delhi. On both sides of the Jina are shown Nāgas and Nāginīs, half-snake and half-human, dancing, playing music or carrying garlands. The top portion is less elaborate than in the Cleveland image (*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., fig. 16*). The ornaments and drapery suggest that it may be somewhat earlier in age.

In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is preserved a partly mutilated sculpture, obtained from Arthuna (now in Rajasthan, formerly in the Banswada state). It is a beautiful specimen of Gurjara-Pratihara art with minute carving of the details on the skin of the cobra's body beautifully arranged to form a full back-rest or stela behind the Jina's figure. Dharaṇendra stands on the right while his chief queen stands on the left of Pārśva, with folded hands (*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., fig. 15*). They are recognised by the presence of a cobra-head over their crowns. Below, on the pedestal are more queens of Dharaṇendra, all shown with half-human and half-snake bodies.

The possibility of obtaining more examples of this theme from Digambara sites in Northern India cannot be ruled out. In fact a badly mutilated sculpture of this scene, dating from c. ninth century, preserved in the beautiful Mālādevi temple at Gyaraspur, in Madhya Pradesh, was discovered by Klaus Bruhn who kindly gave me its photograph which I have published in the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., p. 310, fig. 14*). It is however significant to note that scenes of attack on Pārśvanātha or on Mahāvīra are hard to obtain in Śvetāmbara sites. It is true that a ceiling of one of the shrines at Kumbhāriā, north Gujarat, giving incidents from the life of Mahāvīra shows different scenes of *upasargas* of Mahāvīra. It is also true that in the ceilings of the Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharia we find sculptured narration of scenes from previous births of Pārśva and Kamaṭha and scenes from his life as Pārśva including attacks by Kamaṭha's soul when Pārśva was meditating. Tiwari has noted a few scenes from Pārśva's life on the wall of the eastern Devakulikā of the shrine of Mahāvīra at Osia.[309]

In the ceiling in front of *Devakulikā* no. 16 at Lūṇa-vasahi, Mt. Abu, is carved the story of the origin of Hastikalikuṇḍa-tīrtha and the city of Ahicchatrā, connected with the life of Pārśva.[310] It is also true that in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra we have scenes of attack on Pārśva[311] but not a single loose relief sculpture like the ones described above is as yet found from Śvetambara shrines. It seems that the Śvetāmbaras tried to avoid carving such sculptures because in them they would be required to depict the figures of Pārśva or Mahāvīra as nude since they were practising rigorous austerities and observing total *aparigraha* as sādhus following the *Jinakalpa*.

Buddha is also associated with a snake—the Mucalinda Nāga who protected him during a storm. Images of Buddha with cobra-hoods over the head, as in the case of Pārśvanātha, are known from sites like Nagarjunikonda, Amaravati etc. Thus we have parallels in Buddhist art and traditions. In Hinduism, the snake Kālīya was subdued by Kṛṣṇa. But when Kṛṣṇa was born and was being immediately transferred by his father from prison to Gokul across the river Yamuna, the serpent Śeṣa is said to have acted as a canopy over the child Kṛṣṇa being carried in a basket and protected him from rains pouring at that time. Śiva is also associated with snakes. Viṣṇu rests on the coils of the great Śeṣa Nāga whose thousand heads are held as a canopy over the Lord.

During the Vedic period, we have the famous Indra-Vṛtra fight. Vṛtra, conceived as a snake, is malevolent, like Kalīya of the Yamuna river, and not benevolent like Dharaṇendra or Mucalinda. There is an ever existing contest between forces of light and darkness, between good and evil, between gods and demons, between forces of life and death. Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra, Buddha and Pārśvanātha represent forces of life and light, of good and immortality, while Vṛtra, Kālīya, Māra, Kamaṭha and others represent forces of evil, darkness and death.

Nāga with his thousand snake-heads represents mind with its innumerable evil instincts, attitudes, feelings, tempers, and thoughts. When subdued, reformed and sublimated the same mind is transformed from a malevolent to a benevolent force. Mythology of Buddha or Parśvanātha or of Śeṣaśāyi-Viṣṇu, Śiva and baby Kṛṣṇa carried across the river Yamuna, represents an advancement upon the earlier Vedic conception of the Indra-Vṛtra contest. In later conceptions it is recognized that the mind which is a bondage and an obstacle can be transformed into a protector, friend or benefactor. So says the Gita:

mana eva manuṣyāṇām kāraṇam bandha-mokṣayoḥ (the same mind is the root-cause of bondage as well as emancipation).

There are some sculptures of Pārśvanātha which do not show Kamaṭha's hordes attacking the sage but which show the queen of Dharaṇendra standing on one side of the sage and holding an umbrella with a long handle as in the relief panels from Ellora etc. Of this type is a sculpture of Pārśva standing, obtained from Bujgarh, Mandsore district, M.P., age c. 10th century A.D., now in the Bhanpura Museum, no. 42 (American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, photo no. 234.3). Of course Dharaṇendra with his coils at the back and the cobra-hoods over the head of the Jina figures in all such sculptures. In the Mathura Museum there is a sculpture (no. 1505) from Kosi Kalan showing Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana on a lion-throne with a canopy of seven cobra-hoods overhead and a male standing *cāmaradhara* on the right side. On the left of the Jina stands the Nāga queen in graceful *tribhaṅga*, holding the umbrella. The sculpture dates from c. late seventh century. Of about the same age, perhaps somewhat earlier, is a beautiful sculpture of this Jina in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, obtained from Gyaraspur, M.P. Here also the Jina sits in padmāsana on a lion-throne and has a canopy of seven cobra-heads. A male *cāmaradhara* stands on each side. Behind the chowrie-bearer on the left stands snake-queen holding the umbrella with a long handle. These sculptures may be regarded as suggestive of the scene of Kamaṭha's attack.

Lucknow Museum no. G.310 shows Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana and having a canopy of seven snake-hoods above which is seen one umbrella and still above the usual triple umbrella. Usually the umbrella held by the snake queen is shown above the triple umbrella as in the Gyaraspur image just discussed. In this sculpture, a human figure of a Nāga with three snake-hoods overhead stands on the right of the Jina waving a chowrie with his raised left hand, while to the left of the Jina stands the snake-queen with three snake-hoods overhead and holding the umbrella with her raised right hand.

In the last cave at Ellora is a small relief panel sunk into the wall. Pārśva stands in meditation on a lotus. Dharaṇendra's coils are shown behind the Jina's body. There is a canopy of seven snake-hoods above which is the umbrella with a long handle held by the snake-queen standing on the right of the sage. To the left of Pārśva stands a figure of a *tāpasa* in *añjali mudra* and carrying a water-vessel with his right hand This could be Kamaṭha humbled and repenting.

Klaus Bruhn, besides discussing Pārśva images at Devgadh in his book, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, contributed a paper entitled *Further Observations on the Iconography of Pārśvanātha*,[312] and discussed unusual images, one from a temple in Golakot and two images from Devgadh. In all the three sculptures there is a figure of a *Ṛṣi* standing on the right of Pārśva standing in meditation The standing *Ṛṣi* carries a water-vessel in his left hand and the right hand raised in the *abhaya mudrā* carries an *akṣamālā* (rosary of beads). Of the two Devgadh figures, one is in a panel on the door-frame of temple no. 18 while the other, a loose piece, is badly mutilated and both the hand-attributes of the standing *Ṛṣi* have disappeared. In view of the Ellora figure discussed above we might identify this Ṛṣi-like figure as that of Kamaṭha tāpasa.

No. 2502 in the Madras Museum is a well preserved sculpture of Pārśva sitting in the *ardhapadmāsana* under a canopy of seven snake-hoods crowned by a triple umbrella. On each side behind the Jina stands a towering male figure with both hands folded and having a big cobra-hood above the crown on his head. Obviously these are supposed to be attendant figures of Nāgas. We have already seen that some Jaina texts do refer to Nāga figures attending upon the Jina image. The Jina image may be of any Tīrthaṅkara. So this sculpture need not be regarded as referring to the Kamaṭha-upasarga.

We have referred to some old images of Pārśva from Kankali Tila, Mathura, which date from the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kuṣāṇa period. Of perhaps first century B.C., or early first century A.D. is a partly corroded and mutilated bronze of Pārśva standing with a canopy of seven snake-hoods, obtained in the Chausa hoard, now preserved in the Patna Museum (Arch. no. 6531), illustrated in figure 8. A metal image of Pārśvanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, illustrated in figure 3, dates from c. first or second century B.C. as we have argued elsewhere.[313] There is one more bronze of Pārśvanātha standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, in the Chausa hoard

preserved in the Patna Museum (Arch. no. 6533). The Jina stands on a rectangular pedestal. All along his back are a serpent's coil with the cobra-hoods broken and lost. All the standing Jaina bronzes in this hoard are Digambara, i.e., they show no garment on the person of the Jina. These standing figures are mostly of the Kuṣāṇa age.

Pramod Chandra published a stone sculpture of standing Pārśva from Patna, now in Shri Kanodia's collection. The image shows snake's coils all over the back of the Jina. The sculpture dates from c. fourth century A.D.[314] At Sira Pahari near Nachna Kuthara, Madhya Pradesh, is a standing Pārśva image assignable to c. fourth century A.D. There is an almost circular canopy of seven hoods behind the head of the Jina. Over the hoods is a single umbrella. Thick coils of the snake, carefully arranged one above the other on the back of the Jina, leave no intervening space and form as it were an artistic stela behind the figure of the Jina (*JAA, Vol. I, pp. 129-130, pl. 64*).

Parśva images show what Klaus Bruhn calls "hood-circle" in a conventional manner or unconventional manner. The snake coils behind the body of the Jina are indicated either in a cursory manner or they are missing altogether (see Bruhn's *The Jina Images of Deogarh, fig. 225)* or in an unconventional manner as in *Bruhn's Deogarh, figs. 338, 339*. The Rajgir image (see *Bruhn's fig. 341*) seems to show two snakes. But the two smaller snakes near the shoulders of the Jina in *Bruhn's fig. 338* (drawing of a Vasantagaḍh image of Pārśvanātha) are actually two queens of Dharaṇa or Dharaṇa and his queen in añjali mudrā. Bruhn's figure 260 shows a standing Pārśva flanked by two theriomorphous Nāgas. Here Pārśva has no canopy of snake-hoods nor coils behind his body. This is a very rare type of Pārśvanātha image (Bruhn's p. 198).

An image of standing Pārśvanātha, no. J.100 in Lucknow Museum, is assignable to c. 4th-5th cent. A.D. On the right of the Jina is a male figure and on the left a female with a snake-hood overhead (a *Nāginī*) holding an umbrella with both the hands. In the Puḍukkoṭṭai Museum, Tamil Nadu, is a bronze image of standing Pārśva with five snake-hoods overhead and coils of the snake on the back. With thin, slender limbs and typical nigroid face, the style of this bronze obtains comparisons with the style of Nilgiri terracottas in the British Museum and to some extent with the archaic style of face (and limbs) of the Mohen-Jo Daro and Chhahnu-Daro dancer figurines and the bronze figure of Chalcolithic period from Adicchanallur. We have assigned this bronze to a period around third or fourth century A.D.[315]

In the Tulasi Samgrahālaya, Ramvan, Satna, M.P., is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in dhyāna mudrā on snake coils. Two fly-whisk bearers attend on him. The image is assigned to c. 5th-6th cent. A.D.[316]

Of about 600-625 A.D., we have from Akota (Gujarat) an important bronze image of Pārśva gifted by a śrāvikā of the Nivṛti kula according to an inscription on the partly mutilated pedestal. Pārśva stands on a lotus pedestal in *kāyotsarga* pose (*Akota Bronzes, pls. 17a, 17b*). The arrangement of the dhoti folds is analogous to that on the Jina installed by Jinabhadra obtained in the Akota hoard (*ibid., pl. 12b*), assigned to c. 550-600 A.D. Both are modelled in the same style though the head of the latter is more beautiful. Dharaṇendra, the snake-king who protected Pārśva from the attack of Kamaṭha, is shown with a beautiful coiled body and seven snake-hoods held like a chatra over the Jina. The two Nāga figures on top of the pedestal also represent Dharaṇendra and his chief queen, both wearing ekāvalis. They have half-human and half-snake bodies and their tails are entwined into a fine knot (*nāga-pāśa*) in the centre. Dharaṇendra on the right has one snake-hood overhead and holds an indistinct object in each hand, the right hand extended a little was perhaps meant to show the *abhaya mudrā*. Dharaṇendra's queen on the left end of the pedestal also shows the *abhaya mudrā* with her right hand and holds a lotus-like object in her left hand. In front of the pedestal are small standing figures of the (eight) planets excluding Ketu. On a lower level in the centre and on a full-blown inverted lotus motif is the *dharmacakra* flanked by a deer on each side.

A type of Tri-Tīrthika image of Pārśvanātha became very popular probably from the seventh century in Gujarat and Rajasthan. A beautiful Tri-Tīrthika brass or bronze image of Pārśvanātha, gifted by the *arjikā* Khambhili in c. middle of seventh century A.D., is obtained in the Akota hoard (*Akota Bronzes*, pls. 22, 23a, 23b). The image is almost completely preserved except for the seven partly mutilated hoods of the snake-canopy and the haloes of the two Tīrthaṅkaras standing on the sides of Pārśva seated in

padmāsana in the centre. Silver is inlaid in the eyes, on the cushion and in the drapery hanging on the simhāsana. The simhāsana of Pārśva is placed on a broad pedestal. In the centre is the dharmacakra with two deer. From the sides spring two lotuses with long stalks on which stand two Tīrthaṅkaras—Ṛṣabhanātha on the right and Mahāvīra (?) on the left. On top of the big pedestal, on its right end, sits a two-armed figure of yakṣa Sarvānubhūti showing a citron in his right hand and the *nakulikā* (money-bag) in his left. On the corresponding left side sits a figure of two-armed yakṣī Ambikā carrying an *āmra-lumbi* (mango-bunch) in her right hand and holding the child on her lap with the left hand. Both the yakṣa and the yakṣī sit on full-blown lotuses springing from the sides of the pedestal. In the centre of the simhāsana is the dharmacakra flanked by two deer. On a lower level, on top of the pedestal are heads of the eight planets. Introduction of planets, either on pedestals as in Western India or on two sides of the Jina-figure as in Eastern India, is seen from c. seventh century A.D. and may have started a little earlier in the latter half of the sixth century after Varāhamihira's works on astronomy and astrology became popular. The treatment of the knot of tails of Dharaṇa and his queen is also a favourite motif of Western Indian artists. For another Tri-Tīrthika metal image of Pārśva from Akota and assignable to about the same age, see *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 25. Fig. 26a from the same book is a single image of Pārśva with snake-coils on his back and the canopy of hoods broken, inscribed and gifted by Sagabharjikā in c. 625 A.D. In this image as well as in *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 30b, 31a, 32c, 46a, the attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī are Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, each two-armed and carrying the same symbols. These images are Eka-Tīrthika images of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmasana and date from the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. *Akota bronzes*, fig 34 is an image of Pārśva standing with Dharaṇa and his queen, half-human, half-snake, each in *añjali mudrā*, shown at ends on top of the pedestal with their tails tied in a typical *nāga pāśa* in the centre.

More elaborate and ornamental Tri-Tīrthika metal sculptures however are found in the Vasantagadh hoard (*Lalit Kala*, nos. 1-2, pp. 55ff, pl. XIII, fig. 12; *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 49, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, figs. 11-12 of Paper 26). One of these is dated in Samvat 726 and another in Samvat 756 (=699 A.D.). These brass or bronze images also are silver studded as in the Akota bronze mentioned. Besides the figures seen in *Akota Bronzes*, pl. 25 mentioned above, a standing four-armed Vidyādevi is added on each end behind the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī figures. A similar very elaborate and well preserved Tri-Tīrthika metal sculpture of Pārśva is also found in the Akota hoard (*Akota Bronzes*, pls. 54, 55). Inscription on the back shows that it was installed by one Regata. Paleographically the inscription can be assigned to c. 890-920 A.D. Beautiful small figures of a male and a female donor are also added on the pedestal. A very beautiful Tri-Tīrthika metal image of Pārsva, showing similar composition, formerly in Kaḍi (Gujarat), has now reached the Los Angeles Museum, U.S.A. (*Akota Bronzes*, fig. 56a). It was installed in Bhṛgutīrtha (modern Bharuch, Gujarat) in Śaka year 910 (A.D. 988) by Pārśvilla gaṇi. (For a few more Tri-Tīrthika bronzes from Akota, see *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 56b, 57b, 60.) *Figure 87*, illustrated in this book, is a beautiful Ṣaṭ-Tīrthika bronze of Pārśva with an artistic toraṇa in front, dated in V.S. 1088 (A.D. 1031).[317] Fig. 68, *Akota Bronzes*, is an Aṣṭa-Tīrthika image of Pārśva with seven miniature Jinas installed in niches on the toraṇa.

Pārśvanātha has been popular in Western India, in fact in the whole of India. At Chārūpa in North Gujarat there is an early stone sculpture of Pārśva installed in c. eighth century A.D. In Patan, North Gujarat, is the famous temple of Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha, the image was formerly worshipped in Pañcāsarā, the capital of Cāpotkata rulers of Gujarat. The temple of Pārśvanātha at Śaṅkheśvara, north Gujarat, is very popular amongst devout Jainas of Gujarat. At Bhiladiyāji in the Banaskantha district, North Gujarat, is a popular Tīrtha of this Jina. Temples and images of Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha are at many places in Gujarat.

At Dhank, Saurashtra, Gujarat, is a rock-cut figure of Pārśva standing without any garment on his person (Digambara tradition) and attended by smaller figures of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā (both two-armed) by his sides. The relief dates from c. seventh century A.D.[318] In Rajasthan, about 40 miles from Ṛṣabhadeva (Kesariyāji) tīrtha, near Vichhīvāḍa on a hill is a shrine of Nāgaphaṇā-Pārśvanātha. The image in worship is a two-armed Nāgarāja sitting in the lalitāsana and having a canopy of seven snake-

hoods. On his head is a miniature figure which seems to be of a Jina in padmāsana. If this miniature figure is of a Jina (and not of Buddha) then the Nāgarāja can be identified as a figure of Dharaṇendra as the Jainas have done. The sculpture seems to date from c. sixth century A.D. Further exploration on the hill is necessary as this seems to be a promising early Jaina site of about the sixth century A.D.[319]

Between Kuśalagadh and Kāliñjara, in the Banswada district, Rajasthan, is a Jaina shrine of Andeśvara-Pārśvanātha on a small hill. Pārśvanātha is so called because of the place-name of Andeśvara. The sculpture dates from c. 12th-13th cent. A.D.[320] Between Zalavad Road station and the Zalrapatan town, Rajasthan, is a place known as Nasiyān which has a shrine of Pārśvanātha. The inscription on the sculpture shows that it was installed in Samvat 1226 (1169-70 A.D.). This is a Covīsī sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in the padmāsana. On two ends of the lion-throne are figures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of Pārśva.[321]

In the Bhilvada district, Rajasthan, near a place called Parauli, is a shrine of Cambaleśvara-Pārśvanātha. It is said that the temple was formerly known as Cūleśvara-Pārśvanātha. Situated on a small hill and with beautiful natural surroundings of Aravalli hills around it, the temple belongs to the Digambara sect. The sculpture in the sanctum was installed in Samvat 1007, i.e. A.D. 950.[322]

In the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of Mahāvīra shrine, Osia, are two figures of Pārśva seated on coils of the snake. On the wall of *Devakulikā* no. 1, of this shrine, is a figure of seated Pārśva, of about eleventh century A.D., accompanied by Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. Tiwari has noted that in the balānaka of Mahāvīra shrine, Osia, is a sculpture of Pārśva seated in padmāsana and dated in the Samvat year equivalent to 1031 A.D. On two ends of the pedestal are two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī each with snake-hoods overhead. In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is an interesting sculpture of this Jina with four more miniature Jina figures each with three snake-hoods overhead. On side of the central image of Pārśva is a cāmaradhara with three snake-hoods overhead. On the pedestal are figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. The sculpture is assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. and hails from Bharatpur.[323]

In Jesalmer, Rajasthan, there is a temple of Pārśvanātha consecrated in A.D. 1416.[324] The image is said to have been brought from Lodravā village near Jesalmer. At Lodurva (same as Lodravā) itself there was a gorgeous temple of Pārśvanātha which was destroyed during the upsurge of Ghori in A.D. 1152. A new temple was built for this Jina in A.D. 1615.[325]

A big stone plaque of Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha with intertwined coils all around the standing figure of Pārśva, installed in the famous Dharaṇa-vihāra temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, was published by U.P. Shah in J.I.S.O.A. (old series), Vol. VI (*Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 79).

In cell 23 of Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is an image of Pārśva dated in 1179 A.D. A twelfth century sculpture of this Jina in standing posture is preserved in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of this shrine. Here Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā figure as śāsana-devatās but they have been given snake-hoods overhead. In the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, there is a standing Pārśvanātha dated in 1157 A.D. and accompanied by Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā on the ends of the simhāsana. In the parikara are some four-armed figures including Vidyādevīs like Apraticakrā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Sarvāstra-Mahājvālā, Rohiṇī and Vairoṭyā. This practice of carving miniature figures of Vidyādevīs on two sides of the Jina in small niches of the pillars supporting a toraṇa or a simple semi-circular arch seems to have been popular in Western India during eleventh and twelfth centuries as can be seen from various specimens at Kumbharia and Abu. In the Ṣaṭ-tīrthika bronze of Pārśva, dated in V.S. 1008, from Vasantagadh (*Akota Bronzes*, fig. 63a), the two-armed standing females also seem to be Vairoṭyā and other Vidyādevīs. We also find Apraticakrā, Rohiṇī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vairoṭyā, etc. on a sculpture of standing Ajitanātha, dated in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1126), in worship in the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia.[326] Similar miniature figures are also found on door-frames of cells in these temples.[327]

In the Devakulikā no. 4, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, is a sculpture of Pārśva dated 1188 A.D. and accompanied by Pārśva yakṣa and Padmāvatī yakṣī. In cells 25 and 53 of the same shrine there are images of Pārśvanātha. An image of this Jina was installed in cell 1 in Samvat 1389, the image is lost but the parikara and throne etc. with inscription remain (Jayantavijaya, *Arbudācala-Prācīna-Jaina-Lekhasamdoha*, inscr. no. 25). Similarly, we find that images of Pārśva were installed in cells 11, 39, 44, and 54 in

Samvat 1245, s. 1319, s. 1245, and s. 1222 respectively (*ibid.*, inscriptions nos. 55, 135, 147, 171 respectively). It is not necessary to list here a large number of stone and metal images of this Jina from various temples in different States of India. No complete survey of all images of all the different Jinas in each and every Jaina temple of India is made. It is therefore not advisable every time to draw final conclusions regarding beginning and/or popularity etc. of images of each and every Jina in the different States of India. However from a study of different sites and museums and a few temples in each State it seems that Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva, Mahāvīra and to a lesser extent Śāntinātha were more popular in Jaina worship. This is supported by two famous verses in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*:

Jinasya mūrttayo=anantāḥ pūjitāḥ sarvasaukhyadāḥ/
Catasro=atiśayairyuktāstāsām pūjyā viśeṣataḥ// 25
Śrī-Ādinātho Nemiśca Pārśvo Vīraścaturthakaḥ/
Cakreśvari-Ambikā Padmāvatī Siddhayiketi ca// 26

Rūpamaṇḍana, adh. VI, vv. 25-26, p. 45

In the museum at Kota, Rajasthan are four sculptures of Pārśva assignable to c. 9th-10th cent. A.D., obtained from Ramgadh and Ataru. Similarly there are seven images of mediaeval period in the museum at Bikaner. Bronzes from Lilvādevā, North Gujarat, preserved in the Baroda Museum, include three beautiful bronzes of Pārśva—one datable in the 11th cent., another assignable to c. end of 8th century and a third elaborate Tri-Tīrthika dated in V.S. 1093 gifted by one Māikā of Siddhasena-Divākara-gaccha in the Nāgendra kula.[328]

The National Museum, New Delhi has a few interesting bronzes of Pārśvanātha. No. 68.89 in this museum is a c. 8th century bronze of Pārśva in padmāsana with Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as śāsanadevatās. Dharaṇendra and his queen, each with a snake-hood overhead with half-human and half-snake body, spring from the coils on the back of the Jina and have both the arms folded in *añjali mudrā*.[329] No. 64.357, No. 64.355 and No. 63.37 are Tri-Tīrthika bronzes of Pārśva from Western India; the first is assignable to late 11th cent. A.D., the second is dated in Samvat 1112, and the third in Samvat 1126. No 63.1081 is a single image dated in S. 1180.[330] We have already referred to the elaborate stone sculpture from Rajasthan, in the National Museum (no. 39.202), showing Pārśva standing with a background of snake-coils and having in the *parikara* small figures of snakes playing on vīṇā and veṇu.

From Astal Bohr, Rohtak, was discovered a fine sculpture of Pārśva standing with a canopy of seven cobra-hoods. The sculpture dates from c. 8th-9th cent. A.D.[331] Two cāmaradharas stand near the legs of the Jina. In front of these two are two smaller standing females, one carrying a lotus and the other holding a sword. In front of these females are smaller seated figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. In another sculpture from the same spot, Pārśva sits in padmāsana on a lion throne. There are two standing attendant cāmaradharas, flying garland bearers, triple umbrella etc. The Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods. A cloth hanging on the pedestal shows, in the centre, small half-snake and half-human figures of Dharaṇa and his queen sitting in *añjali mudrā*. On two ends of the throne are two-armed figures of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

In the Lucknow Museum there are several images of Pārśvanātha. Of these nos. J.846, J.859, J.882, G.223, G.310, no. 48.182, no. 40 121 are assignable to a period ranging from eighth to tenth cent. A.D. No. J.794 from Vaṭeśvara, Agra district, represents Pārśva in *kāyotsarga* pose and is assignable to c. 11th cent. A.D. Yakṣī Padmāvatī figures on the lion-throne and has five snake-hoods Dharaṇendra yakṣa with five snake-hoods figures on one end of the simhāsana. No. G.223 dated in 1196 A.D. shows Pārśva with hair-locks on shoulders and standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. The snake cognizance is shown on the pedestal.

There are several images of Pārśva at Devgadh. In most of them he is shown in a standing posture. Sometimes he is attended by Dharaṇa's queen holding the umbrella and a cāmaradhara with snake-hoods overhead. In Pārśva images from temples 6 and 9, Devgadh, the Jina shows hair-locks on shoulders. We have already noted before some sculptures of Pārśvanātha from Devgadh discussed by

Klaus Bruhn. There are also some images of Pārśva in Devgadh temples 3, 4, 8, 9, and 12.

Image no. 2874 from Kagarol in Mathura Museum shows Pārśva with figures of the usual two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. This is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on coils of the snake Dharaṇendra holding a canopy of cobra-hoods from the back. On the ends of the pedestal are figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

In the State Museum, Bhanpur, M.P., there is a sculpture (Mu. no. 36) of Pārśvanātha assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. obtained from Bujgund, Mandsore district. Surface of the pedestal and parts of attendants are mutilated but it is a beautiful sculpture with artistic representation of the canopy of snake-hoods over Pārśva's head. In the same museum there is another sculpture (Mu. no. 290) of this Jina from Hinglajgadh, assignable to c. 9th century A.D. Beautiful coils of snake are shown at the back. Cāmaradharas standing on lotuses on two sides of the Jina are mutilated but beyond them on lotuses sit lay Jaina worshippers. Near the right end of the simhāsana is a two-armed yakṣa showing a purse in one hand and having three snake-hoods overhead. On the corresponding left end is a four-armed yakṣī with three snake-hoods, carrying a lotus in the right upper hand and showing the *abhaya mudrā* with the right lower one. Symbols of the two left hands are mutilated.

An early interesting sculpture of Pārśvanātha with seven snake-hoods is found at Tumain, district Guna, M.P. Pārśvanātha sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana and is attended on each side, not by a cāmaradhara or a Nāga, but by an elephant carrying, in its raised trunk, a lotus-bud with a long stalk. The upper parts of this sculpture are badly mutilated; however, on the left upper end is seen a figure of an elephant. Perhaps there was an elephant on the other side and both the elephants were performing an *abhiṣeka* on the Jina. The sculpture is assignable to the seventh century A.D.

The Jaina cave at Udayagiri near Vidisha has on its wall a relief sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana, with an attendant standing on each side of the Jina. The sculpture is badly worn out and mutilated. An inscription in this cave records its excavation in Gupta Era 106 (reign of Kumāragupta I) along with a figure of Pārśvanātha. At Kahaon in U.P. is a free-standing pillar, a mānastambha, with an inscription dated in G.E. 141, and having a standing figure of Pārśvanātha at base and four Jina figures on top.[332]

A beautiful sculpture of Pārśva standing is preserved amongst the ruins at Budhi Chanderi (Old Gwalior State negative no. 51/81). On two ends near the simhāsana are small figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. The sculpture is assignable to c. 9th century A.D. A Tri-Tīrthika sculpture of standing Pārśva, obtained from Bhojpur, Raisen district, and assignable to 10th-11th cent. A.D. is preserved in the Vidisha Museum (no. 349/1287). On the pedestal is the snake cognizance and coils of snake are along the back of the Jina. Near the feet are two devout worshippers who may be the donors of the image. A beautiful Pañca-Tīrthī of Pārśva standing, with cāmaradharas on two sides of the mutilated legs of the Jina, is preserved in the State Museum (no. G.D.P. 81) at Gandharvapuri, Dewas district, M.P. It was obtained from the same place, and dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. A sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmāsana on a cushion placed on a simhāsana is found at Paḍhāvali (old Gwalior State negative no. 784). The front rim of the cushion-like device shows a twisted design which may be of the snake's body. On two sides of the Jina are standing attendants, the one on the left side is badly mutilated. The attendants are Nāga figures with snake-hoods over head. The figure on the right side, better preserved, shows in his raised left hand an object which is a lotus or a kumbha. All the four small figures of standing Jinas in this sculpture show snake-hoods overhead and thus this is a rare example of Pañca-Tīrthī of Pārśvanātha with all the five Jina figures representing the same Jina, namely, Pārśvanātha. On the cloth hanging on the centre of the simhāsana is a miniature figure of a gaṇadhara or an ācārya sitting. Such a practice was very popular in mediaeval period in M.P. as can be seen from various sculptures obtained from Shivpuri, Hinglajgadh, etc.

A Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana (old Gwalior State negative no. 61/93) preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, has on its pedestal a four-armed yakṣī on the right end and a figure of Ambikā yakṣī (two-armed) on the left end. In front of the cloth hanging on the centre of the simhāsana is a small figure of Kṣetrapāla, two-armed and standing and

holding a stick-like object in the right hand and a dog with a chain with the left hand. The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.

A Covīsī sculpture of Pārśvanātha standing, preserved in the Jhansi Museum, shows, on the right end of the pedestal, a small figure of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and on the left end a two-armed Ambikā. The sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. There is a partly mutilated but finely carved sculpture of Pārśva in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, a Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa, from Narwar, in the Shivpuri Museum, M.P. (no. 15), with a small figure of a gaṇadhara in the centre of the simhāsana. The sculpture dates from c. 12th-13th cent. A.D.

A sculpture of Pārśvanātha, with full parikara and figures of eight planets in a row on top of the simhāsana and below the cushion on which the Jina sits in padmāsana, hails from Jabalpur district and is preserved in the Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, M.P. The sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. On the right end of the pedestal is a four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa with a snake-hood over head. His left hands show the snake (?) and the water-pot. The right hands are mutilated. On the corresponding left end of the pedestal is sitting the four-armed yakṣī Padmāvatī with three snake-hoods over the crown. Her right upper hand holds an indistinct object, the right lower hand is in the *abhaya mudrā*. Symbols of the two left hands are mutilated. On the cloth hanging on the centre of the pedestal is the snake cognizance of this Jina.

In the Jardine Museum, Khajuraho, is a sculpture (no. 1668) of Pārśva sitting with six more Jina figures. There are about ten sculptures of Pārśva at Khajuraho. Five of them show Pārśva sitting on coils of the snake. In temples 28 and 5, Khajuraho, are two sculptures of Pārśva in a standing posture. On two sides of the Jina are attendant cāmaradhara female figures with three snake-hoods above each of them. In the Jardine Museum image noted above there is a cāmaradhara Nāga on one side and a Nāgī holding an umbrella over the Jina from the other side. No. K.68 in the Khajuraho Museum has four-armed Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī as the yakṣa and yakṣī and has 20 other Jina figures in the parikara. An image of Pārśva in temple 5 is more elaborate and shows on two sides of the sitting Jina two cāmaradhara yakṣas and two more figures of cāmaradhara yakṣa and yakṣī near the latter, each having seven snake-hoods. Śāntidevi figures in the centre of the pedestal. According to Tiwari, No. K.9 in the Khajuraho Museum is a sculpture of Pārśva with 46 other miniature Jina figures in the *parikara* and figures of 4 planets on the pedestal.[333]

In the Pañcamatha temple, Singpur, Shahdol district, M.P., is a stone sculpture of standing Pārśva with two cāmaradharas near the legs and a canopy of snake-hoods overhead, surmounted by triple-umbrella etc. Coils of the snake are shown at the back of the whole body. The snake cognizance is shown on the pedestal. No yakṣa and yakṣī are carved. The sculpture dates from c. middle tenth century A.D. An Eka-Tīrthī sculpture of Pārśva standing is preserved at the Collector's bungalow, Shahdol, M.P The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent A.D. Here the tail end of Dharaṇendra's coils is shown on the pedestal to represent the snake cognizance of Pārśvanātha.

At Rajgir in Bihar are some interesting sculptures of Pārśvanātha. A ninth century sculpture of this Jina on Udayagiri, Rajgir, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana on a viśva-padma with typically arranged coils of the snake on his two sides and below the viśva-padma with a central *nāga-pāśa* knot. A beautiful almost circular canopy of finely carved cobra-hoods rises from the back. No other member of the *parikara* is shown.[334] Indian Museum, Arch. Section, Neg. no. 680 shows a photograph of an architectural piece from Rajgir. The Jina sits in padmāsana in a niche with an ornamental caitya-arch above, assignable to c. sixth century A.D. Over the arch, in a row, are small figures of three Jinas sitting in padmāsana. The Jina figure in the niche has five snake-hoods overhead and below his seat is a dharmacakra flanked by a conch on each side. The Jina in the niche can be identified as Pārśvanātha whereas the conch cognizance flanking the dharmacakra is not prescribed for Pārśva images in any Jaina tradition, the conch is unanimously regarded as the *lāñchana* of Neminātha. This sculpture therefore demonstrates that the cognizances were not yet finally settled up to the sixth century or that this is a case of mistake of the sculptor. Since there is one more such case at Rajgir we have to prefer the first alternative. There is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana, preserved in the old Jaina temple at Rajgir, illustrated as

Fig. 24 in this book. Part of the pedestal is mutilated but we find an elephant just to the left of the place where the dharmacakra was but is now mutilated. Thus here also the cognizance of Pārśva is not seen but instead an elephant is flanking the dharmacakra. There are four planets on each side of the Jina. In eastern India the planets are shown on two sides of the Jina, in central and western India they are generally placed on top or bottom of the pedestal. In temple no. 7 at Vaibharagiri, Rajgir, there is one more sculpture of Pārśva of a somewhat later date. The Jina sits under a canopy of seven snake-hoods on a simhāsana. There is no dharmacakra and no cognizance. On the right end of the pedestal is a female with folded hands and three snake-hoods overhead. On the left end is a male worshipper carrying a garland.[335]

Large Jaina ruins exist in the village Chatra (Charra) near Purulia in the Manbhum district. Built into the walls of a late Hindu temple are Jaina sculptures of c. 10th-11th centuries, including images of Parents of a Jina, Śāntinātha, and monumental figures of Pārśvanātha and Ṛṣabhanātha.[336] Pārasanātha village, Ambikanagar, Kedua, Barkola, Harmashra and Dharapat in Bankura district, West Bengal have several Jaina ruins of temples and sculptures. The village of Pārasanātha, northwards after crossing the confluence of Kumari and Kangsvati rivers, is named after the shrine of Jina Pārśvanātha. Here are lying fragments of a gigantic sculpture of this Jina. That the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha was greatly venerated by the Jainas of this district is corroborated by the presence of this deity enshrined in temples at Bahulara and Dharapat situated near Vishnupur, now worshipped as Manasī-devī. In *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 38, we have illustrated a sculpture of Pārśvanātha from Bahulara, showing him standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* with miniature figures of four planets on each side. On the pedestal are small figures of Dharaṇendra and his queen, half human with tails of their lower snake-half tied into a *nāga-pāśa* knot in the centre. Pārśva has coils of the big snake at the back with a canopy of seven snake-hoods held over his head.[337]

Worship of Pārśva was also popular in Bihar. Amongst Aluara bronzes in the Patna Museum we have two images of Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana and two more bronzes representing him in the standing posture (Patna Museum, nos. 6531, 6533, 10678, 10679).[338]

Worship of Pārśvanātha remained popular in Orissa also. There are several reliefs of Pārśva in the Bārābhuji, Navamuni and Triśūla caves at Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa. In the Navamuni cave, right wall, is a relief of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a double lotus under a canopy of seven snake-hoods. On two sides are two cāmaradharas and below the double-lotus, in the centre is a partly defaced figure which looks like a *kumbha* (water-pot). On the right and left ends of this are figures of Dharaṇendra and his queen, half-snake and half-human with snake-hoods overhead. Dharaṇendra has his hands folded in *añjali mudrā* while his queen at the other end (also sitting) carries the long handle of the umbrella held over the Jina. What is especially noteworthy is the crown-like motif on the head of the Jina. It may be a *jaṭā* or *usnīṣa* on the head of Pārśva. In cave 7, there is another figure of Pārśva sitting on a double lotus. Below the lotus is a dharmacakra carved like a lotus to the right of which is a figure of Dharaṇendra sitting with folded hands while to the left is a small rudely carved *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. At the left end is the snake-queen sitting with folded hands. In the Bārābhuji cave is a figure of standing Pārśva with coils of the snake all along the back of the Jina who has a fine canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead. On two ends near the legs of the Jina are Dharaṇendra and his queen, both with folded hands and having half-snake and half-human bodies.[339]

On a wall of the Bārābhuji cave is another figure of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a big double-lotus which has a thick long stalk. The stalk seems to have been mistaken for a snake by Tiwari.[340] At two ends the two lions standing on their hind legs seem to represent the simhāsana. To the right of the lotus stalk is a half-human half-snake figure with folded hands. A little below this relief is a relief of Padmāvatī, the yakṣī of Pārśvanātha.

Arun Joshi has published a sculpture of standing Pārśva from Khijjinga, Orissa. There are three standing miniature Tīrthaṅkaras on each side of Pārśva. Snake-hoods are partly mutilated. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. This sculpture is thus a Sapta-Tīrthika image of Pārśva.[341] There is a sculpture of standing Pārśva at Badasahi in Mayurbhanj district. R.P. Mohapatra has published

some more sculptures of this Jina in his *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 56 from Kakatpur in the Orissa State Museum, Bhuvaneśvara, fig. 58 from Śiśupālagadh in the same museum, figs. 70, 72 from Cuttack Jaina temple, fig. 79 bronze from Bhanpur, fig. 78 from Pratapnagari, district Cuttack, fig. 90 from Ana and figs. 93, 94 from Sainkul, fig. 92 from Vaidakhia and figs. 82, 84 from Podasingidi, all in Keonjhar district, fig. 88 from Gadachandi Vaidakhia, Keonjhar district, figs. 100, 101 from Ayodhya, district Balasore, 105, 107 from Baripada, district Mayurbhanj, 108 from Khuntapal, district Mayurbhanj and fig. 110 Sapta-Tīrthika standing Pārśvanātha from Khiching in the Khiching Museum, discussed also by Arun Joshi, referred to above. Mohapatra's fig. 135 is partly mutilated on its right half. The sculpture is obtained from Jamunda, Koraput district, and is now in the Jeypore Museum. Pārśva sits in the padmāsana on a simhāsana and has a standing cāmaradhara on each side. In the centre of the simhāsana sits four-armed Padmāvatī with three snake-hoods overhead. On the left side of the simhāsana is a two-armed Nāginı with folded hands. There is no dharmacakra.

Two figures in sitting position in Bada Jagannatha temple, Baripada, have canopies of nine and thirteen snake-hoods. The one with 13 snake-hoods may be of Pārśvanātha (Mohapatra's fig. 105) while the other with nine hoods could be of Supārśvanātha. Fig. 107 of Mohapatra from Jagannatha temple, Baripada shows Pārśvanātha standing with snake-hoods overhead, coils of snake at back, planets and cāmaradharas on two sides and on the pedestal the lower snake-halfs of the bodies of Dharaṇendra and his queen are tied into a *nāga-pāśa* knot at the centre of the pedestal just below the double-lotus on which stands Pārśvanātha. Of this iconographic type is the beautiful standing Pārśva figure from Ayodhya, Balasore district, illustrated by Mohapatra, op. cit., fig. 100. Here on the right end of the pedestal we have a female worshipper sitting with folded hands in front of a vessel of flowers or sweets (?) while on the corresponding left end is a similar object and flaming objects only. The cāmaradharas on the sides of Pārśvanātha in the image from Vaidakhıa now in the State Museum, Bhuvaneśvara, stand on elephants. The Pārśvanātha image of Vaidakhia is depicted with figures of Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Mahāvīra and Candraprabha each having his cognizance clearly carved below his figure.[342] For another standing Pārśvanātha from Ayodhya, see *Fig. 47 illustrated in this book.*

In Maharashtra also there are several images of Pārśvanātha. Pārśva was very popular at Ellora as can be seen from several reliefs of this Jina in the Jaina caves at Ellora. Sculptures of Pārśvanātha are found at Erandol in East Khandesh. There is a Digambara Pañcatīrthī of Pārśva with two Jinas standing by the sides of Pārśva and two above the standing Jinas. Coils of the big snake with five-hoods are seen behind the figure of Pārśvanātha. There are no members of the usual *parikara*, the beautiful sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. All the Tīrthaṅkaras in this rare sculpture have snake-hoods over their heads (Photo Negative no. 8390 of 1934-35, Western Circle, Arch. Survey of India). There is a sculpture of Pārśva in padmāsana at this site. Here also the two standıng Tīrthaṅkaras by the sides of Pārśva have snake-hoods over their heads. There are two more sitting miniature Jina figures above but since the top portions over their heads are damaged it is difficult to say with certainty whether they had snake-hoods overhead or not. Pārśvanātha here sits on a sımhāsana having in its centre a dharmacakra flanked by a male and a female worshipper.

From Ankai Tankai, in Maharashtra, several beautiful Jaina sculptures of Western Chalukyan influence and assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. were found. Most of them are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. One of these is a beautiful sculpture of Pārśva standing under a canopy of five snake-hoods (as in both the sculptures from Erandol discussed above) and a caitya-tree above. Near the shoulders are flying garland-bearers and near the legs are small figures of cāmaradharas. Stylised marks of hair are shown on the shoulders. In a Pañcatīrthī sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana preserved in the Nagpur Museum (no. B.23) we also find hair-locks on the shoulders of Pārśvanātha. There is also in this museum a standing Pārśva with coils of cobra behind his back and seven cobra-hoods above. The sculpture hails from Rajnakin Khinkhini, Akola district, and dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. No other member of the *parikara* is shown.

A beautiful sculpture of Pārśva in *ardha-padmāsana* with a fine canopy of seven snake-hoods and snake-coils behind serving as a sort of back-rest is in worship in the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Yamakana-

maradi in Belgaum district. The sculpture is assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. A later sculpture of standing Pārśva, with a canopy of five snake-hoods and the coils of Dharaṇendra behind, is in worship in Pañca Basadi, Stavanidhi, Belgaum district, Chikkodi Taluq. The Jina here stands under an arch supported by two pillars on tops of which in niches are two small sitting Jina figures. Near the right leg of Pārśva sits four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa while on the corresponding left end sits four-armed Padmāvatī yakṣī, both of them having a snake-hood above the crown. The sculpture dates from c. 13th cent. A.D.

A somewhat earlier and more beautiful sculpture of Pārśva, from neck upwards and with feet and pedestal also broken, is preserved in the museum at Bidar and hails from Basavakalyana in the Humnabad Taluq of Bidar district. This is a *Covīsī* Digambara sculpture with rows of sitting Tīrthaṅkaras on two sides and an attendant male cāmaradhara on each side. A much later figure of standing Pārśva with four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī near his legs is in worship at Rona in Dharwar district. Here small figures of sitting Jinas are shown in the hollows of the toraṇa arches above and one more row on lotuses springing from them, thus making this a Caturviṁśati-Paṭṭa image of Pārśvanātha. Another late sculpture of standing Pārśva with four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī is in worship in the Ādinātha Basadi, Mugadd in Dharwar district. Another Eka-Tīrthī of Pārśvanātha with a canopy of seven hoods and four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī sitting near the legs is found from Lakkundi in Dharwar district. The beautiful sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.

Of about thirteenth century is a standing Pārśvanātha with standing four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī by the side of his legs in worship in Sankesvara Basadi in Dharwar district. A much later stone sculpture of Pārśva sitting on a big seat is preserved in the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Here also four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa and Padmāvatī yakṣī are standing on two sides of the high seat.

A beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva with a fine circular canopy of seven snake-hoods is found from Lakkundi. The sculpture of fine Chalukyan style dates from c. ninth century A.D. There are no other members of the *parikara* nor a back slab. This is a sculpture in the round unfortunately broken below the knees. It is now preserved in the local museum. Of about the same age is a similar sculpture in the round with part of the snake-hoods mutilated and broken from below the knees. It is found from the site of the ancient Jaina Tīrtha Kulpak in the Nalgonda district. It is now preserved in the local site museum of Someśvara temple. Kirit Mankodi has published two single figures of Pārśvanātha from the wall of the Jaina temple at Hallur in north Karnataka.[343]

A beautiful standing figure of this Jina with seven snake-hoods and coils of the snake behind his body is preserved in the Pañchakūṭa Basadi at Kambadahalli, Karnataka. In a small village known as Bellur on the way to Bangalore from Kambadahalli is a fine sculpture in the round of Pārśva sitting in *ardha-padmāsana* with five snake-hoods overhead and coils of the snake at his back. Dating from c. 10th century and of the style under the Gangas, this sculpture is said to have been brought here from Nagamangalam.

A beautiful early sculpture of Pārśva seated in the *ardhapadmāsana* against a back seat made of a horizontal bar supported by two dwarf pillars with lions standing on hind legs is found from a ruined Basadi at Bankur, Chitapur Taluq, Gulbarga district. Between the back-rest and the body of the Jina are the coils of the seven-hooded Dharaṇendra at the back of the Jina. From two ends of the back-rest spring two cāmaradhara yakṣas. There is a triple umbrella over the snake-hoods. The sculpture dates from c. 8th cent. A.D.

There is a beautiful sculpture of Pārśvanātha standing with coils of Dharaṇendra at the back in worship in a shrine at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. The canopy of seven snake-hoods is arranged in an almost complete circle. The sculpture is a beautiful specimen of the Ganga art of c. 10th cent. A.D.

Of c. late 11th century is a fine sculpture of Pārśva standing preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*see fig. 46*). Four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa and Padmāvatī yakṣī are sitting on two sides near the legs of the Jina. The sculpture hails from northern Karnataka.

Of about the 11th cent. A.D. there is also a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in the *ardhapadmāsana* against the back-seat with a horizontal bar supported by two pillars. On the back of the Jina is also a big cushion. Two cāmaradharas are shown springing as it were from the back-seat. In all these cases the Jina has canopy of seven snake-hoods. This sculpture is preserved in a shrine in Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. In

the Bhandare Basti at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa in the set of 24 standing Tīrthaṅkaras we find an image of Pārśvanātha standing with four-armed Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī standing on his two sides near the legs (*see fig. 78*). Such figures of this Tīrthaṅkara are in worship in the sets of Jinas in the Suttālaya of Gommata, Śravana Beḷagoḷa, at Venur, Kārkala, and other places in South Karnataka. Dhaky has published two beautiful sculptures of Pārśvanātha sitting from temples in Humca. They are specimens of Śāntara art of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D.[344] Dhaky has also published a sculpture of standing Pārśvanātha from Hiriya Basadi at Gerrosoppe in Karnataka. Four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī stand near the legs of the Jina. The Jina is worshipped as Caṇḍogra-Pārśvanātha. The sculpture is assigned to c. 14th-15th cent. A.D.[345] An inscription refers to Caṇḍogra-Pārśvanātha of Hiriya Basti.[346] A twelfth century sculpture of the same iconographic type is preserved in the site museum at Halebid (Basti-Halli).

C. Sivaramamurti has published an exquisitely carved elaborate sculpture of standing Pārśvanātha from Karnataka, in his *Panorama of Jaina Art, South India*, fig. 18. The Jina stands under an illikāvalaya-toraṇa arch supported by two pillars. In front of the pillar on the right is sitting four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa and on the left side of the Jina is the four-armed Padmāvatī. Of Western Chalukyan style and assignable to c. 11th-12th cent. A.D., the sculpture hails from Pattankuḍi in Karnataka.

P. Gururaja Bhatt has listed several images and temples in Tulu-Nadu, South Karnataka; for example, Mudabidri in the Guru-Basti, the Mathada-Basti, the Tīrthaṅkara-Basti, in the Hosangadi-Basti at Hosangadi, in the Jaina Basti at Belli-bidu, in Venur in the Kelagına-Basti and the Tīrthaṅkara-Basti, in the Dodda-Basti at Aladangadi, the Tīrthaṅkara-Basti at Bangavadi, Chikka-Basti at Buleri-Puddabettu, Jaina Bastis at Arikallu, Kudi-bailu, Mijaru, etc., in the Pārśvanātha Basti at Manjeśvara, in Hallara-Basti and Adda-keri Basti, Bommaraja-Basti etc. at Karkala, and so on.[347] He has also illustrated some stone and metal images of this Jina in his book *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, pl. 409, figs. a, b, pl. 413, fig. c, pl. 417, fig. b, pl. 418, fig. a, pl. 420, fig. b, pl. 423, fig. a, pl. 425, fig. a, pl. 431, fig. b, pl. 432, fig. b, etc.

We have already referred to some sites in Tamil Nadu which have rock-cut reliefs of the scene of attack of Kamaṭha. Besides these there other reliefs and sculptures of this Jina found from different sites. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, fig. 83 illustrates a standing Pārśva with attendant cāmaradharas in worship at Tirumalai. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. Here Pārśva has a canopy of five snake-hoods. His fig. 43 illustrates Pārśva seated with five snake-hoods in recess in the side wall of the front wall of the Pallava period cave at Sittannavasal, Tiruchirapalli district. The sculpture dates from the seventh century A.D. A beautiful head of this Jina with five snake-hoods from Chettipatti is illustrated by Sivaramamurti in his fig. 61. This is a Chola sculpture of c. 9th cent. A.D. In the National Museum, New Delhi is preserved a beautiful Chola period sculpture of Pārśva standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* with five snake-hoods overhead. *The Jina is flanked by padma and śaṅkha nidhis*. This is a very rare type of Tīrthaṅkara image assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D., illustrated by Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

The Madras Museum has two partly mutilated sculptures in the round of Pārśvanātha from Danavulpadu in Cuddapah district. Sivaramamurti's figs. 55, 56 and fig. 69 are illustrations of rock-cut Jaina reliefs from Vallimalai in Andhra Pradesh. They include sculptures of Pārśvanātha, assignable to 9th-10th cent., Chola-Pallava transition style. In the Khajana Building Museum, Golkonda, is a colossal sculpture of standing Pārśva, carved in the round, assignable to c. 9th century A.D. Another big free standing Pārśva sculpture from Pattancheru, A.P., assignable to 11th cent. A.D., is preserved in the Government Museum of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad. In the office of the Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad there is an interesting black stone *Covīsī* of Pārśvanātha standing under a canopy of seven snake-hoods. Two small figures of cāmaradharas stand on elephants by the side of Pārśva's shoulders. On both the sides and on top are small figures of other 23 Jinas in sitting postures. On two ends of the back stela, near the legs of Pārśvanātha are standing four-armed figures of the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. The sculpture is assigned to c. 12th cent. A.D. At Durgakonda, Ramatirtham, Vizagapattam district, is a figure of Pārśva standing on a full-blown lotus. The sculpture dates from c. latter half of the eleventh century A.D. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, figs. 282, 282A, 534 illustrate a beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva from Penukonda, Anantapur district, A.P. The sculpture is assignable to

c. 11th cent. A.D. and is a fine specimen of Western Chalukyan art. Sivaramamurti's fig. 285 illustrates rock-cut seated Pārśva with princely attendant and his consort, believed to be Mallamadevi and Betana, from Hanamkonda, assignable to 12th-13th century, of art under the Kakatiyas. Fig. 288 from Hanamkonda is a rock-cut standing Pārśva, Kakatiya, c. 12th-13th cent. A.D., and Sivaramamurti's fig. 289 is of a standing Pārśva from Hindupur, Anantapur district.

Pārśvanātha is said to have visited the Kadambari forest where there was a mountain named Kali with a tank (kuṇḍa) nearby. Here an elephant worshipped him. King Karakaṇḍu, of Campa[348] nearby, knowing this, visited the spot but by this time Pārśvanātha had left the place. The king was dejected but on digging near the spot a beautiful jewel-image of the Jina was discovered which was then installed in a big shrine and the image came to be known as Kalikuṇḍa-Pārśvanātha. Even today, almost all over India, there are several shrines of Pārśvanātha known as Kalikuṇḍa-Pārśvanātha temples. Since Pārśvanātha is invoked for obtaining various desires, especially in different Tantric rites, he is verily regarded as a Cintāmani, a wish-fulfilling gem, and a Tantric diagram known as Cintāmani-Yantra is also worshipped.[349] Often some images of this Jina are called Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha and temples are named after him. There is no special iconographic significance behind these names.

Artists introduced some variations in the representation of the canopy of snake-hoods for Pārśvanātha. Thus a Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha image came into being. This enabled the artists to create beautiful arch-like hoods or a thick cluster of hoods over the head of the Jina. At Śatruñjaya there is a Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha sculpture of late mediaeval period. A painted Paṭa of Sahasraphaṇā Pārśvanātha was published by Sarabhai Nawab in Jaina Citrakalpadruma, Vol. I. A big stone plaque, with an inscription dated in V.S. 1903 (A.D. 1847) installed in the Caumukha shrine at Ranakpur is illustrated in *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 79.

Stambhana-Pārśvanātha, worshipped at Cambay (Khambhat) in Gujarat, is so called because, originally, Nāgārjuna, a great Jaina monk pupil of Pādalipta, is reported to have solidified mercury with the help of miraculous power of an image of this Jina. The process of solidifying is called stambhana, whereby the image was known as Stambhana-Pārśvanātha and in course of time it was installed in Cambay.[350]

Pārśvanātha is an eminent deity in Jaina Tantra. He is especially invoked for protecting a worshipper from supernatural beings like Bhūta, Preta, Śākinī, Vetāla, etc.,[351] from epidemics and other mishaps and for fulfilling various desires of the worshipper. Pārśvanātha is the deity par excellence of the Jaina Mantraśāstra.[352]

Jinaprabha suri gives the following list of various shrines of this Jina situated at different places: Navanidhi-Pārśvanātha at Ajagraha, Bhavabhayahara-Pārśvanātha at Stambhanaka, Viśvakalpalatā-Pārśvanātha at Falavardhikā (modern Falodhi in Rajasthan), Upasargahara-P. at Karaheṭaka (Karhad in Maharashtra), Tribhuvanabhānu-P. at Ahicchatrā, Śrī-Pārśvanātha at Kalikuṇḍa and Nāgahrada, Viśvagaja-P. at Kukkuṭeśvara, Chāyā-P. on the Mahendra mountain, Sahasraphaṇī-Pārśvanātha on the Omkara parvata (on the banks of Narmada, in M.P.), Bhavyapuṣkarāvartaka-P. at Dandakata in Varanasi, Pātālacakravarti-P. in the Mahākāla shrine (Ujjain), Kalpadruma-P. at Mathura, Aśoka-P. at Campa and Śrī-Pārśva on the Malayagiri.[353]

Scenes from the life of Pārśva are found in Kalpasūtra miniatures and in paintings on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts. One such book-cover is preserved in the collections of the L.D. Institute of Indology. Scenes from Pārśva's life including some from his previous births are carved, with labels, in ceilings in the Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha temples at Kumbharia and in a ceiling of a *devakulikā* (*no. 16*) of Lūṇavasahī, Abu. Tiwari thinks that on the wall of the eastern *devakulikā* of Mahāvīra shrine, Osia, there are scenes from the life of Pārśva.

24. TWENTY-FOURTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: MAHĀVĪRA VARDHAMĀNA

The twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was a senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries of Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru of Magadha.[354]

According to traditional Śvetāmbara calculations, the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, at the age of 72, falls in 527 B.C.[355]

Mahāvīra was born as the son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā, leaders of the Jñātṛ clan of the Kṣatriyas of Kuṇḍapura (Kuṇḍagrāma), probably a suburb of the ancient city of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha country. Śvetāmbara Jaina accounts show that Mahāvīra was first conceived in the womb of Devānandā, a Brāhmaṇa lady residing in another suburb of Vaiśālī, known as Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma. Seeing that no Jaina Patriarch was ever born of Brāhmaṇa blood, Śakra-Indra ordered his Commander of Infantry, Harinegameṣin or Negameṣin by name, to transfer the embryo to the womb of Triśalā, wife of Kṣatriya chief Siddhārtha. This Śvetāmbara legend of the Transfer of Embryo is not known to Digambara sources who describe Mahāvīra as the son of Prince Siddhārtha and his wife Priyakāriṇī, ruling at Kuṇḍapura.[356]

According to Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, Triśalā was the sister of king Cetaka of Vaiśālī,[357] the capital of Videha and was, therefore, known as Videhadinnā (Videhadattā). The Digambara Purāṇa Harivamśa (of Jinasena), composed in 783 A.D., addresses the mother of Mahāvīra as both Triśalā and Priyakāriṇī. According to this text as well as the Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra, Priyakāriṇī was the daughter of Cetaka.[358]

Golden in appearance, Mahāvīra descended from the Prāṇata heaven, in the Hasta nakṣatra according to Śvetāmbara belief and in the Uttrafālgunī according to Harivamśa. His parents called him Vardhamāna or the prosperous one because wealth, fame and merit of his family began increasing with his birth. Gods called him Mahāvīra or the Great Hero on account of his great valour, fortitude and hardiness in enduring hardships.[359] He was also known as Jñātṛ-putra or the Scion of the Jñātṛ Sect of the Kṣatriyas.

An incident demonstrating his great valour in childhood is narrated by Jaina texts. Śvetāmbara accounts call it Āmalakī-krīḍā (the game known as Āmalakī) and describe it as follows:

Vardhamāna was playing the Āmalakī game near a tree with a group of lads when a god came to test the valour of the young would-be Jina. He first assumed the form of a big snake and went round the stem of the tree. All the boys except Vardhamāna were frightened and ran away while Vardhamāna boldly approached the cobra, caught him and threw him away.[360] According to Digambara account, god Sangamaka, who came to test the valour of Vīra, assumed the form of a huge snake and entwining his body round the whole length of the stem of the tree frightened the lads playing on the branches Vīra, unperturbed, danced on the cobra's hoods (compare the Hindu legend of Kṛṣṇa dancing on the hoods of the Kāliya snake). The god was pleased at the courage and valour of the Lord and called him Mahavīra.[361] Śvetāmbaras narrate one more test taken by this god. Leaving the form of a cobra, Sangamaka assumed the form of a human lad and joined the boys in their new game called the Tindusaka,[362] played between two boys every time wherein the victor was to be carried on shoulders by the vanquished. The god was defeated and Vardhamāna mounted himself on the former's shoulders. Immediately the god assumed the form of a Piśāca (demon) and grew taller and taller. Undaunted, Vardhamāna gave with his fist such a strong blow on the back of the Piśāca that the latter was obliged to give up all further attempts at mischief. The god then praised Vardhamāna and called him Mahāvīra.[363]

In school, Indra came in the form of a Brahmaṇa and asked Mahāvīra certain difficult questions on grammar which were immediately answered by young Mahāvīra, to the surprise of the teacher and other pupils. Indra informed the teacher that Mahāvīra was a would-be Tīrthaṅkara.[364]

According to Śvetāmbara belief, Mahāvīra was married to a princess named Yaśodā from whom he had a daughter Priyadarśā or Aṇojjā by name. Aṇojjā was given in marriage to one Jamāli who later became a disciple of Mahāvīra and was responsible for the first schism in the Jaina Church.[365] The Digambara sect does not believe that Mahāvīra was ever married but according to some scholars the difference is due to a misunderstanding of certain verses in the Paumacariyam, the Padmacarita of Raviṣena and the Āvaśyaka Niryukti.[366]

According to both the sects, Mahāvīra took dīkṣā at the age of thirty. The Śvetāmbaras say that his parents died when he was 28 years old; at the request of his elder brother Nandivardhana and others he stayed at home for about a couple of years. During this period he spent his time at home in observance of vows and in standing in meditation.[367] The Kalpa-sūtra says. "A year before the Jinas retire from the

world, they continue to give away their property in charity, from the rising of the Sun. One crore and eight lacs of gold is his gift at the rising Sun, as if it were his daily meal. 388 crores and 80 lacs were given in one year."[368] Mahāvīra similarly gave charities for one year. Then the Laukantika gods approaching him requested him to propagate the religion. Mahāvīra, mounting on a palanquin called Candraprabhā, went to a garden outside the city, removed all ornaments etc., and plucked out his hair in five handfuls.[369]

According to the Digambara sect, Mahāvīra practised rigorous austerities for twelve years. An obstacle (*upasarga*) from Mahādeva or Sthāṇu, created with a view to test Mahāvīra's steadfastness, at Ujjain in the cremation ground known as Atimuktaka-smaśāna, is narrated by the Uttarapurāṇa.[370] Śiva tried to frighten Vardhamāna with forms of Vetālas etc., but the sage remained unperturbed and steadfast in meditation at which Mahādeva called him a great hero (Mahā-Vīra) and praised in many ways. This Digambara account suggesting some strong Śaivite opposition has its parallel in the Śvetāmbara account of *upasargas* from yakṣa Śūlapāni (one with trident in hand, a name of Śiva) at Asthikagrāma, known as Vardhamānapura (modern Burdwan).[371]

Says the Kalpa-sūtra: "The Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted alms in the hollow of his palms."[372]

Śvetāmbara texts, Kalpa-sūtra, Āvaśyaka Niryukti and Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi, as also later commentaries and biographies of Mahāvīra, give more interesting details about Mahāvīra's itinerary which have been discussed by Muni Kalyanavijaya in his *Śramana Bhagavāna Mahāvīra* and summarised by J.C. Jaina in his *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons.*[373]

In the second year after taking *dīkṣā*, on his way to Uttaravācāla and Śvetavī, Mahāvīra met a deadly huge serpent called Caṇḍa-Kauśika, whose very sight and breath were poisonous enough to kill any living being (*dṛṣṭiviṣa-sarpa*). But even repeated bites by the serpent bore no effect in the case of Mahāvīra and the serpent was converted. The snake then remembered his past existence and, following the Jaina path of virtue, died of starvation. The Jina's first meeting with Gośāla (leader of the Ājivika sect) took place at Nalanda in the second year of Mahāvīra's monkhood. In the fifth year Mahāvīra and Gośāla went to Haledduga from Sāvatthi. Here under a turmeric tree, while Mahāvīra was standing in meditation, his feet are said to have been burnt by some fire. Wandering they both reached Corāya Sanniveśa from which place they went to Kalāmbuka Sanniveśa where both were tied and beaten by one Kālahasti and were later on set at liberty by Megha. Then both of them proceeded to the country of Lāḍha (Rāḍha).[374] Here Mahāvīra had to endure various kinds of sufferings.[375] Dogs were let loose on them and they were molested in various ways. While leaving the country, two thieves, in a border village, tried to assassinate them but were saved at the intervention of the god Śakra. They then went to Bhaddiya or Bhaddiyapura. In the sixth year Gośāla went away and Mahāvīra wandered alone. At Sālisīyagāma he met with an *upasarga* from a Vyantara demi-goddess Kaṭapūtanā.[376] It seems that this Śāliśīrṣa was a centre of worship of this child-devouring deity and that Mahāvīra met with some opposition from worshippers of these Bāla-grahas.[377] Again Gośāla joined Mahāvīra. In the ninth year both of them proceeded to Lāḍha and wandered in Vajjabhūmi and Subbabhūmi where Mahāvīra had to undergo all sorts of tortures. Sometimes people set dogs on him and did not give him shelter. The ninth rainy season was spent in this country. In the eleventh year Mahāvīra went to Sānulaṭṭhi from Śrāvastī and thence to Dṛḍhabhūmi, a land of the Mlecchas. From here he proceeded to Paḍhālagāma and stood in meditation in the Polāsa caitya. A god, Sangamaka by name, thinking that no human being can stand divine tests, created obstacles (*upasargas*) and caused unbearable severe pain to the person of Mahāvīra, with several insects, ants, scorpions, lions, elephant etc. as also by blowing terrific winds, by throwing heavy stones and weapons on him and so on.[378] For six months from here the god followed Mahāvīra and put obstacles even in obtaining alms from local population. But all his attempts to deviate Mahāvīra from his path failed. In the thirteenth year Mahāvīra went to Chhamānigāma where a cow-boy left his two bullocks by the side of Mahāvīra meditating and entered the village. The bulls ran away. Returning, the cow-boy inquired of Mahāvīra about his animals but the sage, in meditation and observing silence (*mauna-vrata*), gave no reply. Enraged, the villager thrust a long nail in each ear of the sage. Mahāvīra then

went to Madhyama-Pāvā where a physician, Kharaka by name, removed the nails and cured the wounds. Next, Mahāvīra proceeded to Jambhiyagāma (Jṛmbhikāgrāma) on the northern bank of the river Ṛjupālikā (Ujjupāliyā). In the field of the householder Sāmāga, in a north-eastern direction from the Veyāvatta shrine (i.e. shrine of Vaiyāvṛtta=yakṣa), under a Śāla tree (Shorea Robusta), Mahāvīra obtained Kevala-jñāna during deep meditation in a squatting position with knees up (*ukkuḍa-jānu*), known as *Godohikā* position.[379]

Representations of some of the *upasargas* suffered by Mahāvīra are available in miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra,[380] but stone plaques depicting these are rare. However in a ceiling slab of a bay in the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia, and in the Śāntinātha temple at the same place we find, elaborately carved with appropriate labels incised below each figure, scenes from previous births as well as this birth of Mahāvīra. The reliefs date from the eleventh century A.D. These reliefs include scenes of *upasargas* of Mahāvīra, but unlike the *upasargas* by Kamaṭha to Pārśvanātha, the *upasargas* suffered by Mahāvīra did not become popular in Śvetāmbara and Digambara shrines.

According to both the sects, Mahāvīra had eleven Gaṇadharas headed by Gautama Indrabhūti. Candanā or Candanabālā is reported to have been the head of Mahāvīra's order of nuns. According to the Digambaras, Mahāvīra obtained Nirvāṇa at Pāvāpura in the Manohara-vana, on a jewelled platform (*mahāmaṇiśilā*) in the midst of a lake.[381] According to the Śvetāmbaras, Mahāvīra died in the town of Pāpā (Pāvā) in king Hastipāla's office of writers. In that night in which Mahāvīra died, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśi and Kośala, the nine Mallakis and the nine Licchavis instituted an illumination [382] This is now celebrated as *Dīpāvali Parva*, according to the Jainas.

Mātaṅga was his yakṣa and Siddhāyikā the yakṣiṇī according to both the sects, though the symbols held by them are different in the two traditions.

A pedestal of a Jina image, with only the feet of the Jina left on it, obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Mu. no. J.2). There is no trace of a cognizance anywhere on the pedestal or below the feet of the Jina but the inscription on the pedestal records, after an invocation to Siddhas, the setting up of an *image of Arhat Mahāvīra* in the *temple of the Arhats*.[383] The image is dated in Samvat 299. Referred to the era of 57 B.C. it would be dated in 242 A.D., but if referred to the era of 78 A.D. the date would be 377 A.D. The pedestal with the inscription is partly mutilated but it seems that the daughter of Okharikā and the lay sister of Ujhatikā and Okhā and Sirika and Śivadina were amongst the donors of this image as well as the *Devakula* referred to in the last line of the inscription.[384] J.E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw referred the inscription to the old Śaka era of 129 B.C. and read the date as 199 A.D.[385] But as R.C. Sharma has proved the date is 299. When referred to the old Śaka era this date would then be 170 A.D.

Another noteworthy image of Vardhamāna is the one set up by Okharikā, daughter of Damitra (Demetrius) in the year 84 of the reign of Vāsudeva The sculpture was obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, and is now in the Mathura Museum (no. 490). The date would be equivalent to 162 A.D. acc. to its usual calculation in the era of 78 A.D. Then Okharikā of this inscription and Okharikā of J.2 Lucknow Museum just discussed could be contemporary or identical.[386] This sculpture is also mutilated with only the pedestal and the crossed legs and palms of hands remaining. A lotus and a cakra are carved on the soles of each foot as marks of a Mahāpuruṣa. In the centre of the simhāsana is a dharmacakra on pillar on two sides of which are two worshippers sitting with folded hands. Next in order on the right is standing a naked Jaina monk with a piece of cloth hanging from his hand and concealing his nudity. The monk further seems to have carried a broom (*rajoharaṇa*) in one of his hands. Two more standing males represent lay Jaina worshippers (*Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper no. 6*, fig. 16). On the corresponding left side of the dharmacakra stands a lady with an object in one hand (possibly a *rajoharaṇa*) and two more ladies with hands folded in adoration represent Jaina female lay worshippers (śrāvikās). Thus the pedestal shows worship of the Jina above and/or the dharmacakra by all the four constituents of the Jaina Samgha, namely, the sādhu, the sādhvī, the śrāvaka and the śrāvikā. The dharmacakra is placed on a pillar in this and many other specimens from Mathura. The conception of cakra-pravartana, religious or political, was common to all sects.

Nos. J.14, J.16, J.22, J.31, J.53 and J.66 from Mathura in the State Museum, Lucknow, are also images of this Jina, called Vardhamāna in the inscriptions on them, and date roughly in the Kuṣāṇa period. In the inscription on J.2 noted above the Jina is called Mahāvīra. *Figure 78 illustrated in this book* is no. J.16 in the Lucknow Museum. Of the images and fragments of images of Mahāvīra discovered from Mathura of the Scythian period, one is dated in the year 50 (?) (Luders List, no. 50), another in the year 20 (Luders list, no. 28), a third in the year 5 of Kaniṣka (*ibid.*, no. 18), a fourth in the year 29, while one more gives the year 22 (*ibid.*, no. 31).[887]

A dated specimen of Mahāvīra image of the early Gupta period, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is published by R.D. Bannerji in his *Age of the Imperial Guptas.* It shows the Jina seated in dhyāna mudrā on a lion-throne having two lions standing near its ends and a dharmacakra placed on a small platform in the middle. On both sides of the Wheel of Law are devotees with folded hands. The inscription shows that it was dedicated at Mathura, in the Gupta year 113, by a Jaina lady named Samāḍhyā.[888] There is neither a recognizing symbol nor a yakṣa pair on the pedestal of this sculpture of early Gupta period (433 A.D.).

In Chhabi Vol. I, U.P. Shah published a beautiful sculpture preserved in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi (no. 161). The Jina sits on a high pedestal in front of which is spread a big part of a large double lotus suggesting that the Jina sits on the *viśva-padma.* The motif can also be interpreted as a carpet or an embroidered cloth spread over the seat. There is a standing cāmaradhara on each side of the Jina and a mālādhara on each side of the halo. On the lower end of the pedestal in the centre is a dharmacakra flanked by two lions. Near the end of the pedestal on each side is a small seated Jina figure. This is thus a Tri-Tīrthika image of Mahāvīra, assignable to c. sixth century A.D. The image is said to have been found in Varanasi.

Two Jīvantasvāmī images of Mahāvīra, assignable to sixth century A.D. obtained from Akota near Baroda (Vaḍodarā), published in *Akota Bronzes*, pp. 26-28, are illustrated as *Figs. 29, 30 in this book.* Of these fig. 30 can be assigned to c. 500 A.D. Many later images of Jīvantasvāmī-Mahāvīra are found from places like Ośia, Jodhpur, Sirohi, etc. which have been referred to and discussed in Chapter 2 above. A beautiful seventh century sculpture of Mahāvīra in padmāsana is being worshipped as Jīvantasvāmī in the sanctum of the Jaina temple at Nāndiā, Rajasthan.

A relief sculpture of Mahāvīra standing is seen among the group of rock carvings at Dhank, Saurashtra, Gujarat. The lion cognizance of Mahāvīra is carved in the centre of the simhāsana represented by two more lions at the two ends of the seat. The Jina sits in padmāsana and is attended by two standing cāmaradharas on two sides. Over the head of the Jina is a triple-umbrella with branches of the Caitya-tree carved on its sides. Below the figure of the lion cognizance is a dharmacakra with its rim facing us, very much weather-worn and not easily recognisable. The relief dates from c. seventh century A.D.

All the Jainas in India take pride in calling themselves followers of Mahāvīra. He is popular throughout India. Temples and images of Mahāvīra are found all over India wherever Jainism has spread and survived.

A relief sculpture of Mahāvīra in the sanctum of the Jaina Cave at Aihole is noteworthy. It shows the Jina seated in *ardha-padmāsana* in front of a big cushion placed against an architectural device of a horizontal cross-bar supported by two pilasters and having makara-motif at the ends of the bar. There is a cāmaradhara on each side behind the figure of Mahāvīra. There is one more male figure on each side standing with both the hands folded in adoration. The pedestal shows three lions, two at the ends suggesting that this is a simhāsana and one in the centre. On the right side of the throne is a bust of a female (?) with folded hands and five snake-hoods overhead while on the left is another bust with one snake-hood overhead. There is a simple *prabhāvali* behind the head of the Jina and a triple-umbrella above. The sculpture is interesting as an old specimen from Karnataka and shows an early stage in the iconography of Tīrthaṅkara sculptures. The attendant figures with snake-hoods cannot be identified, but they seem to be Nāga attendants mentioned in early Jaina texts and referred to before. The sculpture certainly represents Mahāvīra because of the lion cognizance in the centre of the pedestal.

Absence of the Caitya-tree and other members of the *parikara* as well as of the yakṣa and yakṣī may be noted. This elaborate sculpture dates from c. seventh century A.D. or earlier.

In the sanctum of the Badami Jaina cave (cave no. IV) is another beautiful elaborately carved sculpture with Mahāvīra sitting in *ardha-padmāsana* in the centre, and resting against a big cushion behind which is the back-seat with a horizontal bar resting on two dwarf pillars. Lions standing on hind legs are attached to these pillars while the bar has *makara*-ends. The Jina has a plain halo and sits under a triple umbrella and a Caitya-tree. On two sides of the tree are flying mālādhara (garland-bearing) couples. The simhāsana shows, besides the two lions at the ends, a lion in the centre, facing us. The central lion is the cognizance of Mahāvīra. Behind the back-rest stand two male cāmaradharas. The sculpture dates from c late sixth century A.D. and is an early iconographic specimen from Karnataka. Representation of the lion cognizance in the centre instead of the usual dharmacakra in north India is typical of all sculptures of Mahāvīra in the different areas of South India but there are a few exceptions which cannot be explained satisfactorily at present. One such case is fig. 235 in *Panorama of Jaina Art, South India*, showing seated Pārśvanātha with chowrie-bearers, Calukya, 11th century, from Candragiri. The Jina sits on a cushion with lotus petal design, placed on a simhāsana having in all five lions in different compartments. The Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods and represents Pārśvanātha. But in the centre of the simhāsana is the lion cognizance. It is just possible that the sculpture of Pārśva is placed on a simhāsana which once had on it a sculpture of Mahāvīra. Another such case is of a sculpture of Pārśvanātha, Calukya, from Humcha in Shimoga district, illustrated as fig. 248 in *Panorama of Jaina Art, South India*. A third case is of fig. 285 in the same book illustrating rock-cut seated Pārśvanātha, with princely attendant and his consort, Kakatiya, from Hanamkonda, A.P., which shows a central lion on the simhasana. In this case there is no question of replacement of another sculpture on a pedestal of Mahāvīra. So this is one of the exceptional cases. Of course in most cases the lion in the centre would indicate that the Jina above is Mahāvīra Of this type is a very important Jaina bronze in the Brooklyn Museum, published as fig. 10, Paper no. 26, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 269ff. This is a late Pallava bronze with inscription on three sides of the simhāsana with three lions in three compartments. The bronze dates from late 8th or early 9th century A.D. In the same paper, fig. 33, U.P. Shah has published a bronze image of Mahāvīra with a Kannada inscription, from the collection of Shri Bijoy Sinh Nahar, Calcutta. The image shows four-armed yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra. The bronze dates from c. 10th century A.D. Fig. 61 in the same paper is another bronze of Mahāvīra from south Karnataka, now preserved in Musee Guimet, Paris. The yaksa and yaksī in this case are two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā On one side of Mahāvīra (seated in the centre) stands Pārśvanātha with seven hoods above head while on the left stands Bāhubali in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*.

In C. Sivaramamurti's *Panorama of Jaina Art*, referred to above, we find several sculptures and rock-cut figures of Mahāvīra with the lion in the centre of the simhāsana, instead of the dharmacakra. *In this book fig. 73* shows two rock-cut figures of Mahāvīra with a separately carved figure of two-armed Sarvānubhūti on the right side, and Ambikā with lion vehicle on the extreme left. These reliefs from Vallimalai, Chittoor district, A.P., date from c. 9th-10th century A.D. Sivaramamurti's figures 74, 75 illustrate rock-cut sculptures of Mahāvīra at Kalugumalai, Tamil Nadu. They are of c. 8th-9th century, Pandyan style. Fig. 95 in the same book illustrates an early relief from Chera territory, Chitharal, Kerala, dating from c. 7th-8th century A.D. and fig 181 is of seated Mahāvīra from Hemavati, c. 9th century A.D , Nolamba style.

In a ceiling of the Pañcakūṭa Basti, Kambadahalli, Mandya district, Karnataka, is an elaborately carved sculpture of Mahāvīra sitting in *ardha-padmāsana* with seated figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā on the right and the left side respectively of the simhāsana. Full parikara is shown. The whole relief is in the centre of the ceiling and on all sides of this relief are figures of the eight Dikpālas in separate compartments. The whole ceiling panel dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. (*Fig. 49 in this book*).

Figure 442 of Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, illustrates a Tri-Tīrthī bronze of Mahāvīra from Hunchalige in Gulbarga district, and fig. 484 a bronze *Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa*, c. 12th cent A.D., from Yadwad in

Belgaum district, while fig. 490 is a stone sculpture of seated Mahāvīra from Humcha, Shimoga district, Karnataka.

The Jaina cave at Badami has two more big relief panels of Mahāvīra standing. In addition to the *lāñchana*, in the centre of the simhāsana, are found, near the feet of the Jina, figures of a yakṣa and a yakṣiṇī. One of these panels is a big *Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa* assignable to c. 10th century A.D.

Sculptures of Mahāvīra are found at Annavasal and Marudar in Tiruchi district, at Villivakkam in Chingleput district, at Chettipatti in old Puḍukkoṭṭai territory, Tamil Nadu, also at Mavilapatti in the same district, at Korkai and Tenkarai in Tinnevelly district, at Karadipatti in Madurai district, at Peddatumbalam in Bellary district, at Sailada in Ganjam district, and many other places in south India. In Karnataka at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Venur, Mudabidri, etc. sculptures of Mahāvīra standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī by the sides are found amongst the groups of images of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras and even separately in temples as at Kambadahalli, Akkana-Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa etc.

In Gujarat and Rajasthan there are several temples and images of Mahāvīra at Ośia, Ghāṇerao, Abu, Śatruñjaya, Akoṭā, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Surat, Bharatpur, etc. No. 279 in Ajmere museum is from Katara in Bharatpur district and is dated in 1004 A.D. Two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī figure on two ends of the simhāsana; there is a nude standing Jina on either side of Mahāvīra seated in the centre. There is an image dated 1186 in a niche on the wall of the Neminātha temple at Kumbharia. In *devakulikā* no. 24 of Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is an image of Mahāvīra dated 1179 A.D. An image of Mahāvīra was installed in V.S. 1212 in cell 47 of Vimala Vasahi, Abu, according to an inscription on the pedestal. There is an image of this Jina installed in V.S. 1394 in cell no. 50 of the same temple. Also in cell 57 an image of Mahāvīra was installed in V.S. 1394.

In the State Museum, Lucknow, there are about five images of Mahāvīra. No. J.808 has a yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. No. J.880 in the same museum is dated in 1007 A.D. This is a Pañca-tīrthī of Mahāvīra with Mahāvīra sitting in the centre with other Jinas standing. In no. J.782 we find a two-armed goddess standing in the centre of the pedestal instead of the dharmacakra. This sculpture from Itava is dated in 1166 A.D. There is a figure of standing Kṣetrapāla on the left end of the sculpture. According to Tiwari, figures of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī are also found in this sculpture.

At Devgadh there are a few sculptures assignable to c. 12th century A.D. They not only show the lion cognizance but also show the yakṣa and yakṣī on most of the pedestals. In temple 1, there is a sculpture of Mahāvīra assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. In temple 11, on an image dated =1048 A.D. we also have figures of Ambikā and Padmāvatī. Mahāvīra has hair-locks on his shoulders. Mahāvīra sculptures here are also sometimes *Pañca-Tīrthika*, or have also 2 or 4 or 8 or 15 or 20 more Jina images. There is a fine sculpture of Mahāvīra on a wall of the Mālādevi temple, Gyaraspur.

At Khajuraho Mahāvīra is generally found in a sitting posture. Sometimes he has Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣī. In temple no. 2 at Khajuraho, on a sculpture of this Jina dated =1092 A.D., we have a figure of a four-armed goddess (Śāntidevi ?) besides the four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal.

In the cave adjoining the Son Bhandar cave at Rajgir, Bihar, there is a relief sculpture of Mahāvīra on the back wall. Ravindra Nath Choudhari has noted a standing Mahāvīra figure at Dharpat temple in Viṣṇupur, Bankura district.[389] Five bronze figures of Mahāvīra are preserved in the Aluara hoard in the Patna Museum. A Mahāvīra image from Carmpā, Orissa, is preserved in the State Museum, Bhuvaneshwar.[390] In the Bārābhuji Cave, Khandagiri, we have a relief of Mahāvīra.[391]

A Dvi-Tīrthī of Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra is in the British Museum, London. It seems to have hailed from Orissa. A Dvi-Tīrthī of Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra (c. 12th cent. A.D.) from Narwar, M.P. is in the Shivpuri Museum, M.P. A standing Mahāvīra from Bilhari, Jabalpur district is in the Rāṇī Durgāvati Museum, Jabalpur.

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Kalpasūtra describes the lives of all the 24 Tirthaṅkaras, for which see Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, S.B.E., vol. XXII, pp. 217-311 for life of Ṛṣabha. Lives of only Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahavira are given in greater detail. Being the earliest known source for lives of the Jinas, it would be interesting to compare this source with later accounts For a standard text of Kalpa-sūtra refer to *Pavitra Kalpa-sūtra* edited by Muni Punyavijayaji with a very early *Cūrni* by Agastyasimha sūri.
3 वृषभोऽयं जगज्ज्येष्ठो वर्षिष्यति जगद्धितम् ।
धर्मामृतमितीन्द्रास्तमाकार्षुर्वृषभाह्वयम् ॥
वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मस्तेन यद्भाति तीर्थकृत् ।
ततोऽयं वृषभस्वामीत्याह्वास्तैनं पुरन्दरः ॥
स्वर्गावतरणे दृष्ट स्वप्नेऽस्य वृषभो यत ।
जनन्या तदयं देवो आहूतो वृषभाख्यया ॥
—*Ādipurāṇa*, 4.160-162
Note that the *Padmacarita* (*Padmapurāṇa*), 3 219, following the Śvetāmbara tradition, says that name was given by the parents; cf.
सुरेन्द्रपूजया प्राप्तो प्रधानत्वं जिनो यतः ।
तस्त ऋषभमभिख्या निन्यतु पितरौ सुतम् ॥
Also cf
तस्मिन्गर्भस्थिते यस्माज्जाता वृष्टिर्हिरण्मयी ।
हिरण्यगर्भनाम्नासौ स्तुतस्तस्मात्सुरेश्वरैः ॥
op. cit, 3.216
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5. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, sūtra 30, p. 135; *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, p. 142 *Triṣaṣṭi.*, I.3 66-71.
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7. Cf.
सपलम्बजटाभारभ्राजिष्णुर्जिष्णुराबभौ ।
रूढप्ररोहशाखाग्रो यथा न्यग्रोधपादपः ॥
—*Harivaṁśa*, 9.204
चिरं तपस्यतो तस्य जटा मूर्ध्नि बभुस्तराम् ।
ध्यानाग्निदग्धकर्मेन्धननिर्यद्धूमशिखा इव ॥
—*Ādipurāṇa*, 1.9
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53. गर्भस्थितस्य मातास्य नाक्षद्यूते जिता मया ।
    इति सूनोरजित इत्यकार्षीन्नाम भूपतिः ॥
    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva 2, 2.579

    In his commentary of *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1.26, Hemacandra explains the name as:

    परीषहादिभिर्न जितः इति अजितः,
    यद्वा गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन् द्यूते राज्ञा जननी न जितेत्यजितः ।

    Also compare *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 1080.

    Also cf.:

    इंदियविसयकसायाइएहिं घोरतरंगवेरीहिं ।
    न जिओ मणयं पिअओ भण्णइ अजिओ जिणो तेण ॥ ५४७ ॥
    —*Ceiavandaṇa-mahābhāsa*, p. 99
54. *Cf.*:

    पापैः क्वापि न जीयतेऽयमिति वा दुर्वादिभिर्वाखिलैः ।
    नमान्वर्थमवाप्तवानिति विदां स्तोतस्य पार्श्वं भवन् ॥
    —*Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 48
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65. For example, in the Digambara Jaina Temple at Vateśvara (Bateśvara), about 70 km S.E. of Agra, a 5 ft high black stone image of Ajitanātha sitting in padmāsana, brought from Mahoba, is installed and worshipped. It was originally consecrated in v.s. 1224 by Jalhaḍa father of Ālhā-Udala—see fig. 18 in *Bhārata ke Digambara Jaina Tīrtha, Part 1, Uttara Pradesh*. The Mālava Prāntiya Digambara Jaina Saṃgrahālaya has about a dozen sculptures of Ajitanātha from Badnavar, Gondalmau and other sites.
66. *Triṣaṣṭi., vol. II (GOS, vol 77)*, pp. 225ff for all details of Sambhava according to Śve. tradition. *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 49 for Digambara version.
67. शं सुखं भवन्त्यस्मिन्स्तुते शम्भवः । यद्वा गर्भगतेऽप्यस्मिन्नधिकसस्य-सम्भवात् ।

    —Comm. of Hemacandra on *Abhi. Cin.*, I.36

    Cf.:

    सम्भवे तव लोकानां शं भवत्यत्र शम्भव ।
    विनापि परिपाकेन तीर्थकृन्नामकर्मणः ॥

    —*Uttarapurāṇa*, 49.20
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77. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva 3 2; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 50; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.522ff.
78. अभिनन्द्यते देवेन्द्रादिभिरित्यभिनन्दनः ।

    —*Abhi. Cin.*, I.26 and comm.

    Also see *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.2.63.
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    —*Abhi. Cin.*, I.26 and comm.

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86. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, pp. 64ff, fig. 39. Also see his *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves* for references to all Jaina sculptures in these caves.
87. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi), p. 99.
88. *Observation on some Chandel antiquities, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVIII, no. 4, p. 288.
89. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.4 (GOS, Vol. 7), p. 244; *Uttarapurāṇa* (also

published under the title *Mahapurāṇa, vols. I-III*, by the Bhāratīya-Jñānapīṭha, Delhi), parva 52; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.522ff, pp. 217ff for details about this Jina.

90. पद्माशयदोहदोऽस्मिन्मातुर्गर्भगेऽभवत् ।
पद्माभश्चेत्यमुं पद्मप्रभ इत्याह्वयत्पिता ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.4.51

91. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.916, p. 264; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.4.64; *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 157.

91a. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 71.

92. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti, op. cit.*, pp. 217ff; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III, sarga 5; *Uttarapurāṇa* (also called *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena), parva 53; *Kālalokaprakāśa*, 32.454ff.

93. Cf.:
सुप्तमेकफणे पञ्चफणे नवफणेऽपि च ।
नागतल्पे ददर्श स्व देवी गर्भे प्रवर्धिनि ॥ ३० ॥
गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्सुपार्श्वाऽभूज्जननी यत् ततः प्रभोः ।
सुपार्श्व इत्यभिधान प्रतिष्ठ प्रत्यतिष्ठिपत् ॥ ४८ ॥
पृथ्वीदेव्या तदा स्वप्ने दृष्टं तादृग्महोरग ।
शक्रो विचक्रे भगवन्मूर्ध्नि कछत्रमिवापरम् ॥ ७९ ॥
तदादि चाभूत् समवसरणेष्वरेष्वपि ।
नाग एकफण. पञ्चफणो नवफणोऽथवा ॥ ८० ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.5.30, 48, 79-80

Also see Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit., pp. 43-44*.

94. गब्भगए ण जणणी जाय सुपासा तओ सुपासजिणो ।
—*Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 1083, comm. of Haribhadra, vol. III, p. 503.

95. According to *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.916ff. According to *Uttarapurāṇa*, 54.62, he shines like Priyaṅgu flower.

96. According to *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, Nandyāvarta is the cognizance of Supārśva.

97. Compare B.67, B.70 in the Mathura Museum.

98. Also see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 86, and no. J.77 from Kankali Tila in the Lucknow Museum showing the Jina (Pārśva) with seven snake-hoods.

99. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp 17-20

100. Also see Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pl. 12.

101. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 101, n. 3.

102. Shah, U.P., *Jaina Sculptures in the Baroda Museum, Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 29-30.

103. Tiwari, M.N.P., *op. cit* , p. 101

104. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

105. C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art* (New Delhi, 1983), figs. 127-128.

106. *Ibid.*, fig. 121. Fig. 81 represents Kamaṭha's attack carved on the rock at Karaikoyil (Pandya, 8th-9th cent.). Here Pārśva has a canopy of five snake-hoods, so also in fig. 1 from Kaḷugumalai (Pandya, 8th cent.), and fig. 44 from Tirakkol (Pallava, 8th cent.), or fig. 48 from Melsittāmur, south Arcot district, TN (Pallava-Chola transition, 8th-9th cent.), or fig. 85 from Kiḷakuyiḷkuḍi (Pandya, 9th cent.).

107. *Ibid.*, fig. 43.

108. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 102 identifies J.935 as Pārśvanātha.

109. Tiwari, *ibid.*, p. 102 and Vats, M.S., *A Note on Two Images from Banipar Maharaj and Baijanatha, A.S.I., A.R., for 1929-30*, p. 228.

110. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, identifies as Supārśvanātha.

111. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 85.

112. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 54; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva III, sarga 4.

113. Cf.:
गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्मातुरासीच्चन्द्रपानाय दोहदः ।
चन्द्राभश्चैष इत्याह्वयच्चन्द्रप्रभममुं पिता ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.6.49

Also cf..
कुले कुवलयं यस्य संभवे व्यक्तसत्तरां ।
यशस्तत्प्रचकाराख्यां सार्थं चन्द्रप्रभप्रभोः ॥
—*Uttarapurāṇa*, 54.173

114. Punnāga, probably Calophyllum inophyllum, a large tree of Coromandel coast with beautiful white fragrant blossoms and numerous stamens arranged in rows. —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, *vol. II* (Transl. GOS, vol. 77), p. 352.

115. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 29.

116. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54, 85.

117. Gai, G.S., *Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta, Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 1, pp. 46ff, and plate; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. XVIII, pp. 247ff.

118. For a sculpture of standing Candraprabha from Sonagiri, Rajgir, see *Voice of Ahiṃsā*, vol. 12, no. 9.

119. For Aluara bronzes in the Patna Museum, see Prasad, H.K., *Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum, Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Part I (Bombay, 1968), pp. 275-89. Mitra, Debala, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur, Orissa* (Delhi, 1978), figs 29, 32 Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 63. Fig. 62 shows a metal image of Candraprabha in padmāsana, from Acutarajpur. A. Ghosh (ed.), *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. II, plate 161, fig. A from Banpur and pl. 162, fig. B from Kakatpur.

120. *JAA*, vol. II, pl. 159, fig. A.

121 *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig 44.

122. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 84, fig 2; pl. 89, fig. 1; pl. 98, fig. 1

123. *Chandra, Pramod, Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum* (Poona, 1971), fig. 406.

124 Tiwari, M N P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna (Hindi)*, p. 103.

125. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 512ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 55; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III, parva 7.

126. कुशला सर्वविधिषु गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्जनन्यभूत् ।
पुष्पदोहदतो दतोद्गमोऽस्य समभूदिति ॥ ४९ ॥
सुविधि पुष्पदन्तश्चेत्यभिधानद्वय विभो ।
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.7.49-50

Also cf..
क्षाराभिषेकभूषान्ते पुष्पदंताख्यमब्रुवन् ।
कुन्दपुष्पप्रभाभासि देहदीप्त्या विराजितम् ॥
—*Uttarapurāṇa*, 55.28

127. Ramachandran, T.N., *Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples*, p. 192.

128. *Ibid.*; Burgess, J., *Digambara Jaina Iconography, Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, pp. 459ff, XXXIII, pp. 330ff.

129. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. II, pl. opp. p. 8.

130. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 85.

131. Gai, G.S., *op. cit.*

132. Shastri, Hirananda, *Some Recently Added Sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, no 11, p. 14.
133. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevis in the Khandagiri Caves*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta*, Vol. I, no. 1 (1959), p. 131, pl. IVA; Mohapatra, R.P , *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 89, fig. 1 and pl. 100, fig. 2.
134. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 56; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.8
135. राज्ञः सततमप्यङ्गं नन्दास्पर्शेन शीत्यभूत् ।
    गर्भस्थेऽस्मिञ्जिनि तस्य नाम शीतल इत्यभूत् ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, III.8.47
136. *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū 157 for a list of Caitya-trees of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.916-918, gives a list of all the 24 Caitya-trees Ramachandran, T.N., *op cit.*, pp 192f.
137. *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 157 calls them Ananda and Sulasa
138. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi), p. 105. He refers to Anderson's Catalogue, p. 206. It seems that Anderson could not identify the image correctly and somebody might have done the identification for him. Also see Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, 2nd ed , p. 47, note 1.
139. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 85.
140. Mitra, Debala, *op. cit.*; Mohapatra, R.P , *op. cit.*, pl. 89, fig. 2, and pl. 98, fig. 2.
141. Bhatt, P. Gururaja, ***Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*** (1975), plate 424(b).
142. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 57; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.1; Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 48.
143. जिनस्य मातापितरौ उत्सवेन महीयसा ।
    अभिधां श्रेयसि दिने श्रेयांस इति चक्रतुः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.1.88

    यथा गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्केनाप्यनाक्रान्तपूर्वा देवताधिष्ठितशय्या जनन्याक्रान्तेति श्रेयो जातमिति श्रेयांस ॥

    —*Comm. on Abhi. Cin.*, I 26ff

    For the story regarding this bed, see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 53; Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 47.
144. Bannerji, A., *Two Jaina Images*, *Journ. of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 28, part 1, p. 44.
145. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 89, 2 and pl. 102, 2; Mitra, Debala, *Journ of Asiatic Society*, *op. cit.*
146. Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 47.
147. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi), p. 105
148. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, 58; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV 2.
149. वसुपूज्य-जयादेव्यौ वासुपूज्य इति स्वयम् ।
    यथार्थं नाम चक्राते शुभेऽहनि जगत्पतेः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi* , IV.2.56

    वसोरिन्द्रस्य पूज्योऽयं वसुपूज्यस्य वा सुतः ।
    वासुपूज्यः सतां पूज्यः स ज्ञानेन पुनातु वः ॥

    —*Uttarapurāṇa*, 58.1
150. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 58.51-52.
151. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.2.359-60.
152. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p 85.
153. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi), p. 106. He refers to fig. 17 of his book but that is Candraprabha from Kauśambi. He also refers to Photographs nos. 59.36 and 102.6 of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, for the Shahdol image.
154. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevis in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, *op. cit.*, p. 131, pl. IVB; Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 89, fig. 2, and pl. 99, fig. 2.
155. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 212ff; *Uttarapurāna*, parva 59; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.3.
156. गर्भस्थे जननी तस्मिन्विमला यदजायत ।
    ततो विमल इत्याख्या तस्य चक्रे पिता स्वयम् ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.3.48
157. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 59.22.
158. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 85
159. Mitra, Debala, *ibid.*, p. 131, pl. IVB; Mohapatra, R.P , *ibid.*, pl. 90, fig 1, and pl. 100, fig. 1.
160. Tiwari, M.N.P., *ibid.*, p. 107 speaks of the same image.
161. A Ghosh (ed.), *JAA*, Vol II, p. 319.
162. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāna*, parva 60; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.4
163. गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्जितं पित्रा अनन्तं परबलं यतः ।
    ततश्चक्रेऽनन्तजिदित्याख्या परमेशितुः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi* , IV 4.47
164. Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, p. 194 Sahi according to *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.605, p. 219
165. Kinnara according to *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.945, p. 216
166. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.4.197.
167. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 85.
168. Mohapatra, R.P , *op. cit.*, pl. 90, fig. 1, and pl. 98, fig. 1.
169. *JAA*, Vol. III, p. 562.
170. Only the pedestal remains. Later in samvat 1394 an image of Kunthunātha was installed in the cell according to inscription no. 117 of Muni Jayantavijaya.
171. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāna*, parva 61; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IV.5.
172. गर्भस्थेऽस्मिन्धर्मविधौ यन्मातुर्दोहदोऽभवत् ।
    तेनास्य धर्म इत्याख्यमकार्षीद्भानुभूपतिः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi* , IV 5.49
173. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.1178-79, p. 298, *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū 157; Ramachandran, T.N , *op. cit.*, pp 194-95.
174. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p 86.
175. Diskalkar, D.B., *The Indore Museum* (Indore, 1942), p. 5.
176. A Ghosh (ed.), *JAA*, III, p. 591. The National Museum, New Delhi, has a metal *Pañca-tīrthī* of Dharmanātha made in samvat 1572, see *JAA*, III, p. 562.
177. Mohapatra, R.P., *op. cit.*, pl. 91, fig. 1; pl. 100, fig. 2.
178. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 63; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, V 1.
179. Burgess, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, pp. 459ff.
180. अथ शान्तिप्रियो देवः शान्तिरित्यस्तु नामभाक् ।
    इति तस्याभिषेकान्ते नामासौ निरवर्तयत् ॥

    —*Uttarapurāṇa*, 63.406

180a. अशाम्यदशिवान्यस्मिन्गर्भस्थे एव भूपतिः ।
    तस्य नामाकरोत्प्रीतः शान्तिरित्यात्मजन्मनः ॥

    —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, V.1.104

181. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.934-939, pp. 266-67.
182. Compare Mantra of Śāntinātha and Śānti-devī in *Ācāra-Dinakara*, Vol. I, p. 6 (first ed.):
 ॐ नमो निश्चिवत्वचसे भगवते पूजामर्हते······त्रैलोक्यपूजिताय······
 अजिताय···दुष्टग्रहभूतपिशाचशाकिनीनां प्रमथनाय तस्येति नाममन्त्र-
 स्मरणतुष्टा भगवती तत्पदभक्ता विजया देवी । ॐ ह्रीं नमस्ते etc.
 Also compare:
 ॐ नमः शान्तिदेवाय सर्वदुरितौघनाशनकराय सर्वाशिवप्रशमनाय दुष्ट-
 ग्रहभूतपिशाचशाकिनीनां प्रमथनाय etc.
 —*Laghuśānti*, 3-6
183. Cf.:
 स सन्ति सन्तिकरं सन्तिण्ण सव्वभया ।
 सन्ति थुणामि जिण सन्ति विहुड मे ॥
 —*Ajita-Śānti-stava*, v. 12
184. शान्तिं शान्तिनिशान्तं शान्तं शान्ताशिवं नमस्कृत्य ।
 स्तोतुः शान्तिनिमित्तं मन्त्रपदैः शान्तये स्तौमि ॥
 —*Laghu-Śānti-stava*, v. 1
185. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 85-86.
186. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 17, fig. 28; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26*, pp 125ff and plates; Kuraishi and Ghosh, *A Guide to Rajgir*.
187. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 17a, 17b.
188. *Ibid.*, figs. 11 and 74a for the Jina installed by Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, and fig. 41b for Ajitanātha. Figs. 34 and 31b and 36a show no dharmacakra motif at all.
189. *Luders' List*, no. 27. The image is now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Also see *New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura, Epi. Ind.*, I, pp. 371ff. As shown by J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 269f, the inscription belongs to the group in which the number for 100 is omitted and therefore gives a date 119=197 A.D.
190. Chandra, Pramod, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
191. Bruhn, Klaus, *Jaina Tirthas in Madhyadesh*, *Jaina Yuga (Bombay)*, Vol. I (Nov. 1958), pp. 32-33.
192. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 109.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
194. Chandra, Pramod, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
195. A. Ghosh (ed.), *JAA*, II, pp. 297-298, pl. 178.
196. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
197. Jain, Balachandra, *Dhubela Saṃgrahālaya ke Jaina Mūrtilekha*, *Anekānta*, Vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 244-45.
198. Jain, Niraj, *Bajarangagaḍh kā viśada Jinālaya*, *ibid.*, Vol. 18, no 2, pp. 65-66.
199. Das Gupta, P.C., *Archaeological Discovery in West Bengal, Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal*, no. 1 (1963), p. 12.
200. De, Sudhin, *Two Unique Inscribed Jaina Sculptures*, *Jaina Journal*, Vol. V, no. 1, pp. 24-26.
201. Tiwari, M.N.P., *op. cit.*, p. 108.
202. Saletore, B.A., *Mediaeval Jainism with special reference to Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 82-83.
203. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
204. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
205. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
206. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65, also p. 345 for an image of Śānti-Jina set up by Saluva Deva Raya at Gerasoppe.
207. Shah, U.P., *Jaina Jātaka Stories in Art*, in the forthcoming C. Sivaramamurti Memorial Volume. Also *Jain Stories in Stone in the Dilwara Temples. Abu*, *Jaina Yuga*, Sept 1959, also in *Jaina Yuga*, Nov. 1959.
208. Muni Śīlavijaya's book on these paintings is being published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. U.P. Shah's article on these two paṭṭikās is being published in the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay (forthcoming issue).
209. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 64; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.1.
210. दृष्टो देव्या गर्भगेऽस्मिन्कुन्थ्वाख्यो रत्नसञ्चयः ।
 कुन्थुरित्यभिधा तेन स्वामिनो विदधे पिता ॥
 —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.1.50
211. Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.
212. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
213. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves* (Delhi, 1981), pl. 92, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 1.
214. *JAA*, Vol. I, p 158.
215. Jain, Niraj, *Bajarangagaḍh kā viśada Jinālaya*, *Anekānta*, Vol 18, no. 2, pp. 65-66.
216. *JAA*, II, 343; Cousens, Henry, *Progress Report, Arch. Survey of Western India, for the year ending 1905*, p. 62.
217. *JAA*, III, p. 445
218. *Ibid.*, p. 450
219. *Ibid.*, p. 452.
220. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāna*, parva 65; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.2.
221. अर इत्यभिधानं च देव्या स्वप्नेऽरदर्शनात् ।
 —*Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.2.42
222. Burgess, on the evidence of Canarese (Kannada) dhyāna-ślokas, gives the deer symbol, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, pp. 460ff, but Ramachandran who also referred to some Canarese traditions, omits the deer and only gives the fish (Dig.) or Nandyāvarta (Śve).
223. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.605, p. 219. *Tagarakusuma*=fish according to translators of this text. Tagara plant is Valariana Hardwickii (Indian Medicinal Plants, p. 667). Tagara plant is not known to have been depicted as a cognizance of this Jina in any known sculpture.
224. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
225. *Luders' List*, no. 47. Nigam, M.L., *Glimpses of Jainism through Archaeology in Uttara Pradesh*, *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, p. 215 and fig. 2. *JAA*, I, p 53. For the corrected reading by K.D. Bajpai, see *Shri Mahavira Commemoration Volume*, I (Agra), pp. 189-190. Also see Leeuw, J.E. van Lohuizen-De, *The Scythian Period* (Leiden, 1949), pp. 281ff. The pedestal is no. J.20 in the Lucknow Museum. Smith, V.A., *Jaina Stupa . . .*, pl. VI.
226. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. 23, pts. 1-2, p. 57.
227. Jain, Niraj, *Navāgadh: Eka Mahatvapūrṇa Madhyakālina Jaina Tīrtha*, *Anekānta*, Vol. 15, no. 6, p. 277.
228. Kothia Darbarilal, *Hamārā Prācīna Vismṛta Vaibhava*, *Anekānta*, Vol. 14, August 1956, p. 31.

229. Jain, Niraj, *Bajarangagadh ka vitada Jinālaya*, *Anekānta*, Vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 65-66.
230. *JAA*, I, p. 157.
231 Mohapatra, R.P., *op. cit* , pl. 92, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 1.
232. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 66; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.6; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8 (Vaidya's ed.), pp. 90ff
233. मोहमल्लममल्ल व्यजेष्टानिष्टकारिण ।
करीन्द्रं वा हरिं सोऽयं मल्लिः शल्यहरोऽस्तु नः ॥
—*Uttarapurāna*, 66.1
234. गर्भस्थाया तत्र मातुर्माल्यस्वापदोहृदः ।
जज्ञे तदकरोत्तस्या नाम मल्लीति भूपतिः ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.6.52
235. Shah, U P , *A Rare Sculpture of Mallinātha*, *Acarya Vijaya Vallabhasūri Smṛti Grantha* (Bombay, 1956), p 128.
236. *JAA*, III, p. 591.
237. *JAA*, III, p. 562.
238. Mohapatra, R.P., *op. cit.*, pl. 93, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 2.
239. *JAA*, III, p. 575.
240. *JAA*, II, p. 227
241. *JAA*, II, p. 371.
242. Bhatt, P. Gururaja, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, p. 449.
243 *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 67; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.7.
244. अस्मिन्गर्भस्थिते माता मुनिवत्सुव्रता भवत् ।
मुनिसुव्रत इत्याख्यां तेनाऽस्य विदधे पिता ॥
—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, VI.7.141
245. Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.
246. *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 157. Also see Malavaniya, Dalsukh D., *Sthānāṅga-Samvāyāṅga*, pp. 696ff.
247. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
248. Nigam, M.L., *Glimpses of Jainism through Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh, Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, 1*, pp. 213ff, and fig. 2. Smith, V.A., *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, and fig. 2.* See note 225 above.
249. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, vv. 949-51; *Haribhadra's Vṛtti*, p. 437; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 567.
250. Mitra, Debala, *Iconographic Notes, Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta), vol. I, no. 1, p. 39, pl. III, fig. B
251. See note 250 above.
252. *JAA*, III, p. 578.
253. *JAA*, III, p. 588.
254. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 115
255. *JAA*, III, p. 591.
256. *JAA*, III, p. 572, plate 358B.
257. For detailed account about the stories connected with the *Paṭa*, see *Holy Abu*, by Muni Shri Jayantavijaya (transl. in English by U.P. Shah, Bhavanagar, 1954), pp. 100-105; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, parva VI, sarga 2; *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 20ff; Bhandarkar, D.R., *Jaina Iconography, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905-06*, pp. 141-149.
258. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 69; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, VII.
259. B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography* (2nd edn.), p. 57, noted that "according to the disputed opinion, the place was not Mithilā but Mathurā." He has however not cited reference to the disputed opinion against the Uttarapurāṇa tradition noted by him. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.546, Vol. I, p. 210 also gives Mithilā and not Mathurā. Cf.:
गर्भस्थे भगवति परचक्रनृपैरपि प्रणतिः कृतेति नमिः ।
—*Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, I.26ff and comm. of Hemacandra
Also see *Uttarapurāṇa*, 69.1 and 69.72.
260. Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 56.
261. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
262. Gupta, P.L., *The Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities* (Patna, 1965), p. 90; S.K. Saraswati in *JAA*, II, p. 265.
263. Datta, Kalidas, *The Antiquities of Kharl, Ann. Rep. of the Varendra Research Society, 1928-29*, pp. 1-11.
264. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
265. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 94, fig. 1 and plate 101, fig. 2.
266 *Tiloyapannatti*, 4.512ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parvas 70 & 71; *Triṣaṣṭi*, Nemicaritra; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 71; *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, of Jinasena, chp. 37ff.
267. अभिषिच्य यथाकामं अलङ्कृत्य यथोचितम् ।
नेमिं सद्धर्मचक्रस्य नेमिनामानभ्यधात् ॥
—*Uttarapurāṇa*, 71.46
धर्मचक्रस्य नेमिवन्नेमिः ।
—*Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, *op. cit.*
268. यस्माद्भगवति गर्भस्थे माताऽरिष्टरत्नमयं नेमिं स्वप्ने अद्राक्षीत् ततो अरिष्टनेमिः ।
—*Kalpasūtra-Subodhikā-ṭīkā*, p. 133
269. The title Pātāla-liṅga is interesting as Stambhatīrtha is also an ancient Śaiva site according to Purāṇas. Stambha=pillar.
270. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, ed. by Charpentier (Rathanemi Adhyayana), chp. XXII. Also see *Daśavaikālika sūtra*, 2.7-11.
271. *Ibid.*, Introduction
272. *Yajur Veda*, 9.25; *Ṛg Veda*, I.1.16; *Vedic Index* under Nemi and Ariṣṭanemi
273. For descriptions of such scenes in Vimala Vasahi and the Lūṇa Vasahi, see *Holy Abu*, pp. 67ff etc. Also see Sankalia, H.D., *Archaeology of Gujarat*, fig. 50.
274 *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Vol. I, figs. 180, 212-214.
275. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 268ff, fig. 63; *Ep. Ind., Vol. II—Further Inscriptions from Mathura—Inscr. no. 14.*
276. Agrawala, V.S., *Some Brahmanical Deities in Jaina Art, Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 91 and *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50-51.
277. Chanda, R.P., in *A.S.I., A.R., 1925-26*, pp. 125ff.
278. *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, p. 44, fig. 13.
278a. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43, 48-49.
278b. Saletore, B.A., *Mediaeval Jainism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28n, 42, 343.
279. *Ibid.*, p. 327, also see p. 346 for a Nemiśvara-Caityālaya erected by Yojana Śreṣṭhi at Gerasoppe. The builder was an ancestor of Ambavana Śreṣṭhi, a business magnate of the time of Saluva Immadi Deva Raya.
280. Bhatt, P. Gururaja, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, pp. 438-441. Also *ibid.*, pl. 412a, c, for figures of

Neminātha in the Śāntinātha-Basti, Bangadi; pl. 414a, for Nemi in sitting posture in the Neminātha-Basti, Hiriyangadi, Karkal; pl. 428b, c, for Neminātha in the Neminātha-Basti, Varanga.

281. *Jaina Art and Architecture (JAA)*, Vol. II, p. 229; also see p. 228 and pl. 135B.
282. *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 328-329.
283. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 216ff; *Pavitra Kalpa-Sūtra*, ed., Muni Puṇyavijaya.
284. *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, II.3.401, p. 389.
285. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 273. Uppala was a Pāsāvaccijja who after giving up monastic life became a householder and earned his living from fortune telling (*nimitta*) in Atthiyagāma. His two sisters Somā and Jayantī who had once joined Pārśva's Order are reported to have rescued Gosāla and Mahāvīra in the Corāyasannivesa (*ibid.*, p. 286). Municandra, who called himself a Samaṇa Nigaṇṭha, was a follower of Pārśva. Also see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 291.
286. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 9.32. For Kalasaveiyaputta, another follower of Pārśva, converted by Mahāvīra, see *ibid.*, 1.9. Puṇḍariya was a follower of the four vows, according to *Nāyādhammakahāo*, XIX.
287. Kaliyaputta, Mehila, Ānandarakkhiya and Kāsava were chief amongst them, *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2.5. For references to lay women and female ascetics of the order of Pārśva, see *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, *Nirayavaliyāo*, 4.
288. *Sūyagaḍaṅga sutta*, II.7.
289. *Rāyapaseṇaiya sutta*, sū 147f refers to him as a young monk of the Order of Pārśva and states that he knew the fourteen Pūrvas.
290. Jaina Sūtras (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XLV), pp. xiv-xxi. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, 23.
291. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, parva 73; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva 8; Siri-Pāsanāha-cariyam (Prakṛt) of Devabhadra sūri (Śve.); *Pārśvanāthacaritam* (Sanskrit) of Vādirāja sūri (Dig.).
292. तत्र प्रभो गर्भस्थे सति शयनीयस्था माता पार्श्वे सर्पन्तं कृष्णसर्पं ददर्श तत. पार्श्वेति नामकृति. ।

—*Kalpa-sūtra-Subodhikā*, p 128

स्पृशति ज्ञानेन सर्वभावानिति पार्श्वः । तथा गर्भस्थे जनन्या निशि सर्पो दृष्टः इति गर्भानुभावोऽयमिति मत्वा पश्यतीति निरुक्तत्वात्पार्श्व. । पार्श्वोऽस्य वैयावृत्यकर. यक्ष तस्य नाथ. पार्श्वनाथ. ।

—*Comm. on Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1.26ff

Also see *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 1091; *Siri-Pāsanāha-cariyam*, prastāva 3, p 152.

293. Siri Pāsanāha-cariyam, 3, p 167 speaks of only one snake who became Dharaṇendra after death. The Digambara texts speak of a pair of snakes.
294. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva 9.3.99ff.
295. Barua, B.M., *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, Orissa*, pp. 22, 23, 45. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vols. III, IV, XIII, read in line 13 a reference to this statue carried away by Nanda King, but B.M. Barua later, in *I.H.Q.*, XIV, p. 468, rejected the old reading.
296. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 73; *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.966, p. 271; *Kalpa-sūtra* (Puṇyavijayaji's ed.), sū. 160.
297. *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sūtra 157. Hemacandra in *Triṣaṣṭi.*, IX.3.358 calls him Ārya-Datta. Dinna (Pkt.)=Datta (Skt.).
298. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras give graphic accounts of this *Upasarga*. Below are cited a few passages which would help one to understand and interpret representations of this Jaina version of the Buddhist theme of "the Attack of Māra":

(1) रोषात्कृतमहाघोषो महावृष्टिमपातयत् ।।
व्यधात् तथैव सप्ताहान्यन्यांश्च विविधान्विधीः ।
महोपसर्गान् शैलोपनिपातान्तानिवान्तकः ।।
तद् ज्ञात्वावधिबोधेन धरणीशो विनिर्गत ।
धरण्या प्रस्फुरद्रत्नफणामण्डपमंडित ।।
भर्तारिमस्थादावृत्य तत्पत्नी च फणाततेः ।
उपर्युच्चैस्समुद्धृत्य स्थिता वज्रातपच्छम ।।

— *Uttarapurāṇa*, 73.137-41

Also see *Pārśvanāthacaritam* of Vādirāja sūri, canto XI, verses 51-87.

(2) पापाचारस्य दुश्चेष्टामुद्वीक्ष्य चारचक्षुषा ।
पद्मावत्या समं देवमुपतस्थौ फणीश्वर ।।
तस्य विस्तारयामास स धैर्यस्तवपूर्वकम् ।
स्फुरन्मणिरुचिस्फारस्फुटा (स्फटा) मंडलमण्डपम् ।।
. . . .

आविर्बभूव देवस्य तत्क्षणादेव केवलम् ।
. . . .

अनन्यशरणास्तदा प्रभुमुपेत्य बद्धाञ्जलि-
जिनेन्द्र जगतांपते जय जयाभिरक्षेति माम् ।
ननाम मुकुटोल्लसन्मणिमरीचिरुल्लिख-
न्नुर्वरां जगन्त्रयगुरुं विपुलबोधलक्ष्मीनिधिम् ।।

—*Pārśvanāthacarita*, of Vādirāja sūri, XI.77-81

According to this work the attacking demi-god was called Bhūtānanda.

(3) पार्श्वनाथमुद्योतु भेत्तुमद्रिमिव द्विप ।
समाययावमर्षान्धो मेघमाली सुराधम ।।
दंष्ट्राक्रकचभीमास्यान् श्रृण्याकारनखाङ्कुरान् ।
शार्दूलान्विगलद्दृशो विचक्रे तत्र सोऽमरः ।।
पुच्छैराच्छोटयामासुर्भूपीठं ते मुहुर्मुहुः ।
चक्रुश्च स्फारफूत्कारं मृत्योर्मन्त्राक्षरोपमम् ।।
. . . .

विकुर्वाणस्तत चापेतुर्गर्जन्तो मदवर्षिण. ।
उत्करा करिणस्तुङ्गा. पर्वता इव जङ्गमाः ।।
. . . .

हिक्कानादापूर्णदिक्का भल्लूकाः शूकवर्जिताः ।
अनेकशश्चित्रकाश्च क्रूरा यमयमूनिभाः ।।
शिला अपि स्फोटयन्त. कण्टकाग्रेण वृश्चिकाः ।
तद्वनानि निर्दहन्तो दृष्ट्या दृष्टिविषा अपि ।।
. . . .

वेतालान्कर्त्रिकाहस्तान्सविद्युत इवाम्बुदान् ।
उच्चैः किलकिलारावानुद्दण्डान् व्यकरोत्ततः ।।
प्रलम्बजिह्वाशिश्नास्ते सविसर्पा इव द्रुमा ।

दीर्घजंघाङ्घ्रयस्तावद् मारुता इवोल्बणैः ।।
ज्वालामुखेन मुञ्चन्तो जठराग्निरिवकायत. ।
ते प्रभुं परितोऽधावन् सारमेया इव द्विपम् ।।
प्रभुस्तैरपि नाक्षुभ्यल्लीनो ध्यानसुधाह्रदे ।
. . . .

विमर्षेण ततः क्रुद्धो मेघमाल्यसुर. स्वयम् ।
मेघान्विचक्रे नभसि कालरात्रिसहोदरान् ।।

स्वामी रत्नशिलास्तम्भ इवाभस्यपि निश्चल ।
नासाग्रन्यस्तदृग्ध्यानान्मनागपि चचाल न ।।
आनासाग्र यावदंभ श्रीपार्श्वस्वामिनोऽभवन् ।
धरणस्योरगेन्द्रस्यासन तावदकम्पयत् ।।

धरण· स्वामिनं नत्वाऽधस्तात्तत्पादयोन्यंधात् ।
उन्नालमब्ज नुग केवल्यासनसन्निभम् ।।
पृष्ठपार्श्वोर. पिदधे स स्वभोगेन योगिराट ।।
फणैश्च सप्तभिश्छत्रं चकार शिरसि प्रभोः ।।

धरणेन्द्र महिष्योऽपि श्रीपार्श्वस्वामिन पुर ।
विदधुर्गीतनृत्यादि भक्तिभाविलचेतस ।।
ध्यानलीनः प्रभुश्चास्थान्निर्विशेषो द्वयोरपि ।
नागाधिराजे धरणे मेघमालिनि चासुरे ।।

--*Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva IX.3 249-81

299. Coomaraswamy, A K , *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 86.
300 For this and other Caumukha sculptures with Pārśvanātha as one of the four Jinas see *J.U.P H S.*, vol. XXIII (1950), pp 55ff; *Epi. Ind* , II, 207ff.
301. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 68-69. For sculptures of Nāgas from Mathura, see V.S. Agrawala's *Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art* (Lucknow), pp. 98ff; J. Ph. Vogel, *Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathura, A.S.I , A R* , for 1908-09 For Naga Cult, see Coomaraswamy, *The Yakṣas*, parts I and II (Washington, 1928-31) or reprint (Delhi).
302. *Siri-Pāsanāha-cariyam*, prastāva 3, 1-7, pp. 187f.
303. Ahicchatrā is modern Rāmnagar in Bareilly district, U.P. For Ahicchatrā, with Ādi-Nāga as its presiding deity and for Nāga-worship in India from Vedic times, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 471ff; Fergusson, J , *Tree and Serpent Worship in India*; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore or the Nagas in Hindu Legend and Art*.
304 For Buddhist representations, cf Benjamin Rowland, Jr., *Gandhara Sculptures from Pakistan Museums* (New York, 1960), p. 32 showing a sculpture from Peshawar Museum and plate on p. 55 showing host of Mara, from Central Museum, Lahore. Harold Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), figs. 61-66; Joshi, N.P., *Mathura Sculptures* (Mathura, 1966), pl. 86.
305 Shah, U P., *A Pārśvanātha Sculpture in Cleveland Museum, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art for December 1970*, p. 303, fig. 6.
306 Dhaky, M.A., *Śāntāra Sculpture, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. IV (Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala Commemoration Volume, Part I), pp. 78-97 and plates.
307. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art for 1970, op. cit.*, fig. 1.
308. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes* (Bombay, 1959), figs. 42a, 42b. Also compare *Ibid.*, figs. 54-54g, ca. 890-920.
309. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi, Varanasi, 1981), p 134.
310. Muni Jayantavijaya and U.P. Shah, *Holy Abu*, pp. 123-25.
311. Brown, W. Norman, *A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra* (Washington, 1934), pp. 41-44, figs. 97-98.
312 Bruhn, Klaus, *Further Observations on the Iconography of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and His Teachings* (Ahmedabad, 1977), pp. 379-388 and plates.
313. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 273-275. Shah, U.P., *An Early Bronze of Pārśvanātha, Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 3, pp. 63ff.
314 Pramod Chandra, *Some Remarks on Bihar Sculptures, Aspects of Indian Art* (Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 78ff, pl XXVI.
315 Especially read our remarks on pp. 273-275 in our article, *Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* (Ahmedabad, 1975). This bronze is very light in weight, though there is core inside. There is predominance of copper in the alloy and it looks like made of copper mostly. It is unlike all Jaina bronzes known so far, especially in the treatment of physiognomy and limbs, except the figure of Pārśvanātha in the Puḍukkoṭṭai Museum.
316. Jain, Niraj, *Tulsi Saṃgrahālaya, Rāmvan kā Jaina Purātattva* (Hindi), *Anekānta*, Vol. 16, no. 6, p. 279.
317. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes* (Bombay, 1959), fig. 63a.
318 Sankalia, H.D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1941), p. 167; Shah, U.P , *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 17.
319 *Bharata ke Digambara Jaina Tīrtha* (Hindi, Bombay, 1978), Vol. IV, pp. 103-105, fig 26; Shah, U.P., *A Rare Nāga Sculpture from Rajasthan, Lalit Kala*, no. 13, p. 51 and pl. XXVI, fig. 1. This is being discussed again in *Researcher* (Jaipur) forthcoming issue, by U.P. Shah.
320. *Bhārata ke Digambara Jaina Tīrtha*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-102, fig. 24.
321. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-38, fig. 10.
322. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.
323. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p 127.
324. Agrawala, R.A , *History, Art & Architecture of Jaisalmer* (Delhi, 1980), p. 39 and fig. 58.
325. *Ibid.*, p. 43, fig. 59.
326. *Śrī Vijaya-Vallabha-Sūri Smāraka-Grantha* (Bombay, 1955), plate between pp. 64 and 65 of the Hindi Section.
327. See note 326 above.
328. Shah, U.P., *Seven Bronzes from Lilva Deva (Pancha Mahals), Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, Vol. IX, nos. 1-2, pp. 43-51, figs. 2, 2A, 5, 5A, and 7.
329. Sharma, B.N., *Unpublished Jaina Bronzes in the National Museum, JOI*, Vol. XIX, no. 3, pp. 275-277 and plates.
330. Shah, U.P., *A Few Jaina Bronzes in the National*

Museum, New Delhi, JOI, Vol. XXIV, nos. 1-2, pp. 238-242, figs. 1, 2, 5, 6.

331. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, First Edition, pl. VI.
332. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, 66-68.
333. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 130.
334. *A.S.I., A. Rep. for 1925-26*, pl. 60, fig. E, p. 115. Negative no. 643 of Indian Museum, Archaeological Section.
335. Negative no. 676 of Indian Museum, Arch. Section
336. Ghosh, Deva Prasada, *Traces of Jainism in Bengal*, *Jaina Journal*, Vol. XVIII, no. 4 (1984), pp. 137-142.
337. For Jaina sculptures from Bengal, also see *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 464ff, figs. 47-49, 153; Banerji, R.D., *Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, pp. 144ff, pls. lxxvi-lxxvii. *A.S.I., A. Report for 1925-26*, pp. 115ff, pl. lx, e; *ibid*, *for 1921-22*, p. 84, pl. xxi; *ibid*, *for 1922-23*, pp. 112ff. *Indian Culture*, Vol III, pp. 524ff. *Jaina Journal*, Vol. XVIII, no. 4, pl. opposite page 148 illustrates Pārśva images at Siddheśvara, Bahulara, Dharapat, and at Biharimath in Bankura district. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 78, Pārśvanātha from Bahulara. Mitra, Debala, *Some Jaina Antiquities from Bankura, West Bengal*, *Journ. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 133-134.
338. Prasad, H.K., *Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum*, *Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, pp 281-288 and plates.
339. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*.
340. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 131, fig. 59.
341. Joshi, Arun, *History & Culture of Khijjingakotta under the Bhanjas* (Delhi, 1983), fig. 46.
342. Mohapatra, R P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, pp. 220-221.
343. Mankodi, Kirit, *A Rashtrakuta Temple at Hallur in Bijapur District*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 205-214, figs. 8, 10.
344. Dhaky, M.A., *Śāntāra Sculpture*, *J.I.S.O.A.* (New Series), Vol. IV, pp. 78-97, figs. 24, 27.
345. Dhaky, M.A., *Gerasappānā Jinamandiro* (Gujarati), *Svādhyāya*, Vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 80-85, fig. 2.
346. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1939-40*, p. 237, inscr. no. 108.
347. Bhatt, P. Gururaja, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, pp. 438-441.
348. For the story see *Pasanahacariyam*, 187ff; *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*, p. 26. *Karakandacariu* gives a slightly different account.
349. See also *Cintamani-Kalpa*, of Dharmaghosa suri (c. 14th cent. A.D.), published in *Mantradhiraja-Cintamani*, pp. 30ff.
350. *Purātana-Prabandha-Samgraha* (Singhi Series), pp. 95-96; *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*, pp. 104-105.
351. For further details, see Shah, U.P., *Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantras*, *Acharya Dhruva Commemoration Volume, part III*.
352. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
353. *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*, p. 86 and pp. 102-106.
354. Called Seniya (Śreṇika) and Kuṇiya (Kuṇika) in Jaina works. For various accounts see Jaina, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons*, pp. 378ff, 398ff.
355. The date has been a matter of great controversy. A noteworthy work on the subject is a critical essay by Muni Kalyanavijaya, in Hindi, entitled *Vira Nirvaṇa Samvat aur Jaina Kalaganana*, *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, vols X, XI. Also see Schubring, *Der Lehre Der Jainas*, pp. 5, 30. According to some, including Jacobi, the date is taken as 467 B.C. Also see *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 36-38; for dates of Buddha and Mahāvīra and for their relations with Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, *ibid.*, pp. 19-28. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 156. Muni Nagaraja, *Āgama aur Tripiṭaka*, Vol. I.
356. *Uttarapurāṇa*, of Gunabhadra, 74, vv. 252-256.
357. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, Introduction, pp. XIIff.
358. उच्चै. कुलाद्रिसभूता सहजस्नेहवाहिनी ।
    महिषी श्रीसमुद्रस्य तस्यासीत् प्रियकारिणी ॥
    चेतकेटकराजस्य यास्ता. सप्त शरीरजा ।
    अतिस्नेहाकुल बन्धुस्तास्वाद्या प्रियकारिणी ॥
    कस्तां योजयितु शक्तिशलां गुणवर्णने ।
    या स्वपुण्यैर्महावीरप्रसवाय नियोजिता ॥

    —*Harivamśa*, 2.16-18

    This difference in Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions is noteworthy. Also see Chp. I above, pp. 2ff. *Uttarapurāna*, 74 For Mahāvīra's relationship with Bimbisāra, Udayana, Pradyota and others, see Jaina, J.C, *op. cit.*, pp. 382ff.

    For remarks on the legend of Transfer of Embryo, see above, Chp. I, pp. 2ff.
359. As usual in the Digambara tradition, Indra named him Vīra and Vardhamāna, *Uttarapurāna*, 74.276. For names of Mahāvira, see *Kalpa-sūtra*, 108, 110; *Triṣaṣṭi*, X 2 100; cf. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, 1091
360. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.106ff.
361. *Uttarapurāna*, 74 287ff.
362. Also called Kanduka-krīḍā, see *Kalpa-sūtra-Subodhikā*, pp 264-265.
363. For *upasarga* by Sangamaka, see *Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.106ff; *Uttarapurāṇa*, 74.287ff.
364. The incidents are not described in the Kalpa-sūtra and the Ācarānga-sūtra, but see *Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.119-122. *Kalpa-sūtra-Subodhikā* (a comm. on Kalpa-sūtra), pp. 266-267.
365. *Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.150ff; *Kalpa-sūtra*, 110. For Jamāli, see *Bhagavati-sutra*, 9.33. For Aṇojjā, *Ācārānga-sūtra*, *S.B.E.*, pp. 193ff
366. For a discussion on this with citations, see Bool Chand, *Lord Mahavira*, pp 28ff.
367. *Ācārānga-sūtra*, II.15.17, *S.B.E.*, XXII, p. 194; *Kalpa-sūtra*, 110, *S.B.E*, XXII, p. 256; *Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.156ff. Cf.:

    एव च ज्यायसो भ्रातुः सशोकस्योपरोधत ।
    जगत्प्रातिभावियातैरलकारैरलकृतः ॥
    कायोत्सर्गधरो नित्य ब्रह्मचर्यपरायण. ।

स्नानांगरागपरिहृतो विशुद्धध्यानतत्परः ॥
एषणीयप्रासुकान्नप्राणवृत्तिर्महामनाः ।
वर्षमेकं कथमपि गृहवासेऽत्यवाहयत् ॥

—*Triṣaṣṭi.*, X.2.166-168

Digambara sources merely state that he took *dīkṣā* at the age of 30. *Harivaṁśa*, 2.47; *Uttarapurāṇa*, 74.280ff.

368. *Kalpa-sūtra, S.B.E., op. cit.*, p. 195.
369. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-200; *Uttarapurāṇa*, 74.266ff.
370. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 74.331ff.
371. Also see Shah, U.P., *Kapardi Yakṣa and Brahmaśānti Yakṣa, Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda*, Vol. 7, pp. 59-72. The *upasarga* by Śūlāpaṇi took place in the first year after Mahāvīra's renunciation, according to Śve. traditions.
372. *Kalpa-sūtra*, 117, *S.B E.*, XXII, pp. 259-260; *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, 1.8.1, *S.B.E., op. cit.*, p. 79.
373. The Kalpa-sūtra does not give details, see *S B E., op. cit.*, pp. 260ff But the Āvaśyaka Niryukti gives in a very concise form, by way of catch-words, the account of his itinerary and the various *upasargas*, see *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gathas 161ff, *Haribhadra's Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 188ff.
374. Kodivarsa was the capital of Ladha country which was divided into Vajjabhumi and Subbabhumi. Ladha or Radha comprised the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and eastern parts of Midnapore. Ladha was regarded an anārya-deśa.
375. *Ācārāṅga*, 9 3, *S.B E*, *op. cit*, p 281; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 318.
376. *Triṣaṣṭi*, X.3.556ff, *Āvaśyaka Nir.*, gatha 484
377. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 486, comm. of Haribhadra thereon, p 209; for Pūtanā see U P. Shah, *Harinegameṣin, J.I S.O.A. (old series)*, Vol. XIX. Compare also Buddha converting the child-devouring Hāritī and Kṛṣṇa killing Pūtanā.
378. This is the Śvetāmbara version. Account of Sangamaka in the Digambara tradition is given before. This attack of Sangamaka (Śve.) as described by Hemacandra may be compared with the attack of Kamaṭha on Pārśvanātha discussed in the preceding section.
379. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 526 and comm of Haribhadra, p. 227; *Kalpa-sūtra*, 120, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XII, p. 263; *Harivaṁśa*, 2.57-58; *Uttarapurāṇa*, 74.348-352; *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra* (ed. by Muni Punyavijaya), sū. 120; *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, 2.15.24-25, *S.B.E., op. cit.*, p. 201.
380. Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra*, figs. 75-78; *Pavitra Kalpa-sūtra*, figs. 12-18, 20-37, 68-91, 110-153, 224-25, 227-234, 269.
381. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 76.508ff.
382. *Kalpa-sūtra, S.B.E., op. cit.*, p. 266.
383. *Luders' List*, no 78, Buhler, G., *Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathura, J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 578-81; Banerji, R.D., *The Scythian Period of Indian History, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 37, pp. 25-75 and plate. Konow, S., *Note on Mathura Inscription of Samvat 299, K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp 264ff.
384. Sharma, R.C., *Jaina Images of the Gupta Period in State Museum, Lucknow, Mahāvira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Vol. I.
385. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 52-64
Sahani, R.B. Dayā Rām, *Seven Inscriptions from Mathura, Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 67; Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, J U.P.H.S.*, vol. XXIII, p. 38.
386. Agrawala, V S., *ibid.*, p, 38. Note his remarks about Okharikā mentioned in the inscription and in the inscr. dated 299 discussed above. J.E. Van Lohuizen de-Leeuw takes year 84 of this image=162 A.D. which would suggest that the two Okharikās are not identical according to her calculations.
387. For these and other images, see *Epi. Ind.*, Vol I, pp. 371ff; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 195-212, 311ff; *J.U.P.H.S.*, XXIII, pp. 35ff.
388. Banerji, R D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 103, 162; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, p 210, no. 39.
389. *Modern Review*, Vol. 88, no 4, p 297
390. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*; Dash, M.P., *Antiquities from Charmpa, Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI, no 1 (1962), pp. 50-53.
391. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khandagiri Caves, Journ. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I.2 (1959), pp. 127-133; Mohapatra, R P., *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pl 94, fig 2.

CHAPTER NINE

Śāsana-Devatās

A. YAKṢA WORSHIP IN JAINISM

Ancient Indian literature, Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina is full of references to Yakṣas, as also to other spirits like the Nāgas, Apsarasas, Gandharvas, and so on. Coomaraswamy in his excellent pioneer work on the Yakṣas has shown that the designation Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with Deva or Devatā and no essential distinction can be made between Yakṣas and Devas. In the earlier Vedic texts there is a total absence of many of the most fundamental features of Hinduism properly so called, it is only in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads that the ideas of Saṁsāra, Karma, Yoga, Bhakti etc. begin to appear and the same applies to the cults of Śiva, Kṛṣna, Yakṣas, Nāgas, innumerable gods and goddesses and localised deities. These ideas and deities derive, not from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but as De la Vallee Poussin expresses it, "From uncertain fond common, tres riche, et que nons ne connaissous pas par faitement."[1] It must not be overlooked that in the Vedas, and in the literature before the second century B.C., we possess only one-sided view of the Indian religion and representing, quantitatively at least, the smaller part of the Indian religion. The mass of the people worshipped, not the abstract deities of priestly theology, but local genii, yakṣas and nāgas, and feminine divinities of increase and mother-goddesses. These popular beliefs and cults were probably of non-Aryan origin, at least a large number of them appear to be of Dravidian, non-Aryan or indigenous origin. It should be noted that the clans particularly associated with such beliefs and cults were by no means completely Brahmanised, and most of the earliest figures of the yakṣas, nāgas, vṛkṣa-devatās are to be found in the Buddhist remains at Bharhut.[2]

The word yakṣa occurs several times in the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The word yakṣa in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmana* (iii.203-272) means nothing more than a 'wondrous thing'. In the sense of a spirit or genius, usually associated with Kubera, it does not appear before the age of the Gṛhya-sūtras where yakṣas are invoked together with the numerous other major and minor deities all classed as Bhūtas. In a somewhat later book they are possessing spirits of diseases—grahas (*Mānava-Gṛhya-Sūtra*, II.14), while the *Śānkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions Māṇibhadra. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Kubera is a Rākṣasa and lord of robbers and evil doers which suggests that he was an aboriginal deity alien to Brahmanical pantheon. In the Sūtras he is invoked with Īśāna for the husband in the marriage ritual and his hosts plague children.

In earlier Buddhist records, Yakkha as an appellation is, like Nāga, anything but deprecative. Not only is Sakka so called but Buddha himself is so referred to in poetic diction (*Majjhima Nikāya*, 1.252, 353). In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, II.37, Buddha finds it necessary to say that he is not a Deva, Gandhabba or Yakkha. In the *Anguttara Nikāya*, Buddhist literature, Yakkhas are sometimes represented as teachers of good morals and as guardian spirits (*Therā-Therī gāthā*, XLIV). Tibetan sources cited by A. Schneifner (*Tibetan Tales from Kah-gyur*, Ralston, p. 81) show that the Śākyas honoured a yakṣa by name Śākyavardhana as a tutelary deity. The inscription on the Pawaya image of Māṇibhadra shows that the yakṣa was worshipped by the goṣṭhas or merchants.[3]

The Mahāmāyurī which gives a list of Yakṣas of different places—a list of well-known shrines of

different deities at different places, and of different sects—used the term Yakṣa in the sense of Deva, Deity of worship (e.g. Viṣnur-yakṣo Dvārikāyām).

The evidence collected by Coomaraswamy shows that Kubera's yakṣa followers possess the power of assuming any shape, they are kindly but at the same time can fight fiercely as guardians, and it is as guardians and gate-keepers that they appear in the Buddhist art; they are sometimes specifically grouped with the Nāgas, more often with the gods, Gandharvas and Nāgas. The Rāmāyaṇa (3.11.94) speaks of yakṣatva (spirithood) and amaratva (immortality) together as boons bestowed by a god or gods, while the Mahābhārata (6.41.4) tells us that men of the Sāttvika class worship gods or Devas, of the Rājasika class, the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, and of the Tāmasika class, the Pretas and Bhūtas. The Yakṣas in the Epics are sometimes sylvan deities, usually but not always gentle. The Yakṣas are also known as *Guhyakas*.

But the Yakṣas were regarded as both benefic and malefic by all the three traditions—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina. Some *Yakṣagrahas* are attendants of Skanda, who is called Guha (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 145, 229).[4] The Atanatiya suttanta (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 195) speaks of good and bad yakkhas. If any of these assail a Buddhist monk or layman, he is to appeal to the higher yakkhas. The text gives a list of Yakkha chiefs which includes Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Prajāpati, Māṇibhadra, Ālavaka etc. Here is an unequivocal attempt at assigning to some of the well-known Vedic gods the position of yakṣa chiefs who are said to be obedient to Vessavaṇa or Kubera.

The Jaina *Bhagavatī sūtra* gives a list of gods who are obedient like his children to Vaiśramaṇa;[5] they are: 1. Puṇṇabhadda, 2. Māṇibhadda, 3. Sālibhadda, 4. Sumanabhadda, 5. Cakka, 6. Rakkha, 7. Puṇṇarakkha, 8. Savvāna (Sarvāhṇa ?), 9. Savvajasa, 10. Samiddha, 11. Amoha, 12. Asanga, 13. Savvakāma.

The *Tattvārtha-Bhāṣya* of Umāsvāti[6] gives the following list of thirteen types of yakṣas: 1. Pūrṇabhadras, 2. Māṇibhadras, 3 Śvetabhadras, 4 Haribhadras, 5. Sumanobhadras, 6. Vyāptibhadras, 7. Subhadras, 8. Sarvatobhadras, 9. Mānuṣyayakṣas, 10. Vanāhāras, 11. Vanādhipatis, 12. Rūpayakṣas, 13. Yakṣottamas.

The above list is also given in the comm. of Malayagiri on the *Paṇṇāvaṇā* (Prajñāpanā) *sutta* where the sixth class is called Vyatipātikabhadras, other names being the same.[7] According to the *Kalpa sūtra*, from the moment of the descent of Mahāvīra into the mother's womb, many *Jṛmbhaka-gods* in Vaiśramaṇa's service, residing in the tiryak (lower) world, brought, on Śakra's command, to the palace of King Siddhārtha, old and ancient treasures from various places.[8]

The benefic character of yaksas, nāgas and others is referred to in a number of stories. Bhaddā, the wife of a merchant (satthavāha) Dhanna, worships with flowers, scented pastes etc. several representations, outside the city of Rajagṛha, of Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Indras, Skandas, Rudras, Śivas, Vaiśramaṇa (Vesamana), in order to obtain a child [9] The shrines are referred to as *Nāgaghara, Bhūyaghara, Jakkhadeula* and so on. Subhadrā promised *Surambara Jakkha* one hundred buffaloes if she was blessed with a son.[10] The *Vivāgasūya* says that one Gangadattā, who had no issue, visited the shrine of *Umbaradatta Jakkha* outside the city of Pāṭalikhanda, in company of female friends of her caste and worshipped the yakṣa. She first bowed down to the image, then cleaned it with a brush of peacock-feathers (*lomahattha*), bathed it with water, wiped it with a woollen cloth (*Pamhala*-pakṣmala), dressed it with garments, adorned it with flowers, garlands, applied scents, scented powders, placed incense-burners in front and kneeling down, prayed for an issue. She promised a sacrificial rite (yāga), a gift (dāya), a part of income or grains (bhāga) or an akṣayanidhi (a special fund deposited for the purpose of worship). *It may incidentally be noted that this is the form of worship of Tīrthaṅkaras also as can be seen from the worships performed by Draupadi or the gods Sūriyābha and Vijaya*, noted in Jaina canons. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* also refers to a shrine of *Selaga Jakkha, who had the form of a horse*, situated in a forestgrove (vankhaṇḍa) of Ratnadvīpa. The Jakkha saved two merchants from the clutches of cruel robbers and carried them back to the city of Campā.[11] A *Jakkha Gaṇḍitinduga* of Varanasi is said to have guarded the sage Mātanga in the Tinduya garden.[12] The *Uttarādhyayana* further says that by practising self-restraint one is born among the yakṣas,[13] and that the yakṣas, devas, dānavas, and kinnaras pay veneration to those who practise celibacy.[14] According to the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, the *Vibhelaga Jakkha* in the Gāmāya Sannivesa, paid reverence to Mahāvīra when the latter was engaged in meditation.[15]

The *Piṇḍaniryukti* refers to the shrine of Māṇibhadra yakṣa which lay outside the town of Samilla in a garden (udyāna) and was furnished with an assembly-hall (sabhā). When small-pox broke out in the town, he was requested by the inhabitants to save them from the epidemic. When the trouble subsided, the citizens besmeared the hall with cow-dung on every aṣṭamī and other days.[16]

The Yakṣas are reported to be constructive genii, skilled in town-planning and architecture. All through the ages, even to this day, folk-tales speak of construction of palaces, roads, etc., in a night by the yakṣas. The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* describes the city of Vinītā, the capital of Ṛṣabhanātha, planned and constructed by Vesamana, at the bidding of Śakra.[17] The yakṣas are famous for their function as gate-keepers in the Samavasaraṇa of a Jina,[18] and as Lords of Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita dvāras or gates of the jagatī of the Jambūdvīpa.[18a] Kautilya's reference to the shrines of *Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta* and *Aparājita*[19] in the centre of the city-fortifications is especially noteworthy. They are Yakṣa-devatās as can be inferred from the Jaina evidence noted above. A *Yakṣa Anāḍhiya*[20] (Anādṛta) is the Lord of the whole of Jambūdvīpa according to the Jaina traditions, and it is obvious that this function as a superintending deity is based upon the conception that he is the protector of Jambūdvīpa.

The malefic character of Yakṣas from earlier Jaina texts may now be examined. *Śūlapāṇi Yakṣa* at Asthikagrāma (bone-city) near Vardhamāna-pura used to kill the local people and those who stayed in his shrine. The village came to be so called from the heap of bones of such dead bodies. A shrine was built for this Yakṣa on the ashes of a bull who after death was reborn as Yakṣa Śūlapāṇi.[21] He tried to disturb Mahāvīra in his meditations when the sage spent a night in this shrine but the Yakṣa was ultimately overpowered and worshipped Mahāvīra. *A wooden statue of Yakṣa Surapriya which was carved along with attendant prātihāryas* (*sannihitapāḍihere*) was painted every year, the painter being finally killed by the Yakṣa himself. The shrine (*Jakkhāyayaṇa*) of Surapriya was situated to the north-east outside the city of Sāketa.[22] A Yakṣa indulging in the habit of violating vows of Jaina monks is referred to in the *Bṛhat-kalpa-Bhāṣya*.[23] People were believed to have been possessed by Yakṣas (*Jakkhāvesa, Yakṣagraha*), Bhūtas and other spirits; Ajjunaya, a garland bearer of Rājagṛha, obsessed by *Moggarapāṇi Yakṣa*, killed six gangsters and his own wife with the iron-mace which the Yakṣa (statue of wood) held in his hand.[24] The *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*[25] refers to *Indaggaha, Khandaggaha, Kumāraggaha, Jakkhaggaha* and *Bhuyaggaha*. Yakṣas used to enjoy sexual intercourse with girls.[26]

While the Vāṇamantarī (Vyantarī Yakṣas belong to this Vyantara or Vāṇamantara class) *Sālejjā* is said to have paid reverence to Mahāvīra, in the Sālavana-Udyāna outside the village of Bahuśālaka, another Vāṇamantarī, *Kaḍapūyaṇā* (*Kaṭha-pūtanā*) by name, caused him trouble but was ultimately subdued.[27]

The *Āḍambara Jakkha*, also known as *Hiraḍikka Jakkha*, was the Yakṣa of the Mātangas,[28] who were regarded as low-class people, similarly the people known as Ḍombas worshipped as their tutelary deity the *Ghāṇṭika Jakkha*, who whispered in the ear when questioned about future.[29] This Yakṣa seems to have been incorporated in Śaivism as a Vīra, Ghaṇṭākarṇa by name.[30] Thus the deities of people who formed the earliest inhabitants of India, the Muṇḍas, Nāgas, etc. (perhaps Negritos, Austrics and others), were being incorporated gradually by Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. They were mainly popular deities, worshipped by various classes of the Indian masses, sometimes benefic and at times malefic in nature. As we shall see later on, Kālī and other Vidyās are regarded as Vidyās of the Mātanga class, at times called Cāṇḍālas in Indian literature, and it is in the beliefs and practices of these ancient inhabitants of India that the origin of the worship of a large number of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina deities ultimately lies.

The railing pillar figures of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs at Bharhut show that they had to be included in places of worship though an inferior status of decorative pillar sculptures was assigned to them. The same is the case with such figures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura.[31] For want of names inscribed below them, it is not possible to recognise them, but it is noteworthy that they have vāhanas (dwarf, elephant, etc.) below their feet. The earliest known Yakṣa and Yakṣī statues are the Didarganj Yakṣī, the Yakṣa from Baroda, near Mathura, the Parkham Yakṣa, the two Patna statues in the Indian Museum, the

Besnagar Yakṣī, the statue of Yakṣī Lāwayā still worshipped as Manasā devī, at Mathura, the Yakṣa from Noh, etc.[32]

Some of these early free standing Yakṣa figures appear to have held the flywhisk, as suggested by R.P. Chanda.[33] It is significant that the Jaina texts assign to Yakṣas the attendant position of flywhisk-bearers in the *parikara* of a Tīrthankara image. It seems however that in the Yakṣa-cult, fly-whisk was regarded as a mark of royalty or dignity since otherwise the ancient Yakṣa statues worshipped as deities would not hold them

Of the Yakṣas mentioned in the Jaina texts, Māṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra invite special attention. They are said to be the two Indras of the Yakṣa class of Vyantara gods, in Jaina Cosmography. Offerings (*niveyanapiṇḍa*) were made to them.[34] The two Yakṣas are said to have paid their veneration to Mahāvīra at Campā.[35] A Caitya of Māṇibhadra stood to the north-east outside the city of Mithilā, the ancient capital of Tirhut.[36] The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya to the north-east of the city of Campā given in the *Aupapātika sūtra*[37] is the stock description for all such Caityas mentioned in the Jaina canons. A temple of *Bahuputrikā* near Viśālā (Ujjain ? Vaiśālī ?) is referred to in the ***Bhagavatī sūtra***.[38] The same text further refers to Bahuputrikā as one of the four chief queens of each of the two Yakṣendras, Māṇibhadra and Pūrnabhadra.[39] Māṇibhadra (Maṇivara, Māṇicara, Maṇimat) in the ***Mahābhārata*** (5.192,44f) is a Yakṣarāja and Kubera's chief attendant. He is invoked as a patron of merchants; this may be, according to Coomaraswamy, the explanation of his statue from Pawaya, set up by a guild (goṣṭha) who were Māṇibhadra-bhaktas. And the fact that one of his chief queens is called Bahuputrikā (one having many children) in the Jaina canon, at once suggests that the Jambhala and Hārīti or the Jaina Sarvāṇha (Sarvānubhūti, or Mātanga or Gomedha)[40] and Ambikā are based upon the ancient worship of Māṇibhadra-Pūrṇabhadra and Bahuputrikā. Elsewhere in this work[41] the relation of Bahuputrikā with Revatī-Ṣaṣṭhī and Hārīti is shown. The Māṇibhadra-bhaktas continued at least upto the age of the Niddesa commentary which mentions them, but the growing popularity of Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti, of the Jaina Yakṣa pair of Sarvānha or Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā and of Śiva, Ganeśa, Gaurī and Lakṣmī in Hinduism, seems to have wiped off their separate cult.[41a]

Offerings to Yakṣas, with a long list of other beings, are referred to in the Gṛhya-sūtras as being made at the end of Vedic studies; the *Śānkhāyana śrauta sūtra* (I.II.6) mentions Mānibhadra.[42]

It would be useful to collect the names of the different Caityas of different places, mentioned in the Jaina Āgamas, especially where Mahāvīra is reported to have stayed. The following are mentioned in the *Bhagavatī sūtra*:

Caitya	*Town or Village*
1. Dūtipalāśa	Vāṇijya-grāma
2. Koṣṭhaka	Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet)
3. Candrāvataraṇa	Kosāmbi (Kauśāmbī—Kosam)
4. Pūrṇabhadra	Campā (near Bhagalpur)
5. Jambuka	Ulluka-tīra-nagara
6. Bahuputrikā	Viśālā (Ujjain) (or Vaiśālī)
7. Guṇaśila	Rājagṛha
8. Bahuśālaka	Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma (near Vaiśālī)
9. Kuṇḍiyāyana	Vaiśālī (Basāṛh)
10 Sāṇakoṣṭhaka	Meṇḍhika
11. Nandana	Mokā
12. Puṣpavatī	Tuṅgikā
13. Maṇḍikukṣi	Rājagṛha
14. Candrāvataraṇa	Uddaṇḍapura
15. Aṅgamandira	Campā
16. Prāpatakāla (?)	Ālabhikā

17. Śaṅkhavana	Ālabhikā
18. Chhatrapalāśa	Kṛtaṅgalā

All the Caityas above may or may not be Yakṣa-temples, they may be temples of deities of the allied groups, Nāgas, Bhūtas and others, nor do the names of shrines always represent the names of deities enshrined in them. This is evidenced from the following analysis of shrines referred to in the *Vivāgasūyam* (*Vipāka sūtra*):

City	*Udyana*	*Ayatana of*
1. Campā		Pūrṇabhadra
2. Miyagāma (Mṛgagrāma)	Gandanapāyana	Suhamma-jakkha (Cirātitam, ancient)
3. Vāṇiyagāma	Dūtipalāśa	Suhamma jakkha (Sudharma-yakṣa)
4. Purimatāla	Amohadamsi	Amohadamsi-jakkha (Amoghadarśī yakṣa)
5. Sāhanjanī	Devaramana	Amoha jakkha (Purāṇe—old)
6. Kosambi	Gandotarāyaṇam	Śvetabhadra
7. Mahurā (Mathura)	Bhaṇḍīra	Sudarśana
8. Pāṭalikhaṇḍa	Vanakhaṇḍa	Umbaradatta
9. Soriyapura (Śaurikapura)	Soriyavaḍimsagam	Soriya-jakkha
10. Rohidaa (Rohitaka—Rohtak)	Pudhavivaḍamsa (Pṛthivyāvatamsa)	Dharaṇa-jakkha
11. Vaḍḍamānapura (Vardhamānapura)	Vijayavaddhamāna	Māṇibhadra
12. Hatthisīsa (Hastiśīrṣa)	Pupphakaraṇḍa (Puṣpakaraṇḍaka)	Kayavanamālapiya (Kṛtavanamālapriya)
13. Usabhapura (Vṛṣabhapura)	Thūbhakaraṇḍaga (Stūpa-Karaṇḍaka)	Dhanna (Dhanya)
14. Vīra or Vijayapura	Manorama	
15. Vijayapura	Mandanavanam	Asoga (Aśoka)
16. Sogandhiya (Saugandhika)	Nilāsogam	Sukala
17. Mahāpuram	Rattāsogam	Rattapao (Raktapaḍaḥ)
18. Kaṇagapuram	Setāsoyam (Śvetāsoka)	Vīrabhaddo (Vīrabhadraḥ)
19. Sughosā	Devaramana	Vīraseṇa
20. Campā	Puṇṇabhadda	Pūrnabhadra
21. Sāeyam (Sāketa)	Uttarakuru	Pāsāmiyo (Pārśvamṛgaḥ)

It will be seen that the Vipāka has often used the term udyāna for Caitya of other texts.[43] The descriptions of Caityas show that they are made up of a garden, grove or park (udyana or vanakhaṇḍa), a shrine and attendants' houses. *Ceiya, Ujjāṇa and Vanasaṇḍa are often used as synonyms as in Vipāka, II.2, where Duipalāsa Ceiya is called Dūtipalāśa Ujjāṇa.* But more noteworthy is the fact that the name of the Yakṣa is often different from that of the Caitya-Udyāna.

This list further helps us to find out that most of the thirteen classes of Yakṣas of the Bhagavatī sūtra are taken from the known famous ancient shrines at various places. It is interesting to note that there existed a shrine of Dharaṇa-Jakkha at Rohitaka, the Mahāmāyūri list speaks of Kumāra as the Yakṣa of this place. Only further research can show whether Dharaṇa and Kumāra are identical or different. However it seems that the lists of Caityas in the Bhagavatī, Vipāka, Jñātādharmakathā,

Upāsakadaśāḥ and such other Jaina canonical texts represent traditions which are older than the Mahāmāyūrī, even though parts of the available text editions may be of a later date.

The Mahābhārata (3.83.23) speaks of a Yakṣiṇī shrine at Rājagṛha as "world renowned". The Bhagavatī refers to the Guṇaśīla Caitya at Rājagṛha, but we do not know to whom it was dedicated. However, it seems that the Mahābhārata probably referred to the ancient Yakṣī shrine of the tutelary goddess of Magadha, called Nandā, whom, even in Hiuen-Tasang's time, people prayed for offspring, she is called the wife of Panchika, a yakṣa, and is represented in Buddhist legend as a devouress of children by small-pox, an ogress, whom Buddha converted and promised offerings as a patroness of fertility and children. If a conjecture be allowed this Nandā is the same as Revatī or Ṣaṣṭhī of the Kāśyapa Samhitā.[44] Hārīti of the Buddhists,[45] Bahuputrikā, the queen of Māṇibhadra-Pūrṇabhadra according to Jaina texts who in her malefic aspects was known as various Pūtanās, and who in Jainism became popular in the benefic form of Ambikā-devī. The very fact that Ambikā sits under the shade of a mango-tree is reminiscent of the old practice of worshipping the yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs on stone platforms under trees.[45a]

Coomaraswamy, after a careful analysis of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina evidences, wrote: "The essential element of a Yakṣa holystead is a stone-table or altar (veyaddi-manco) placed beneath the tree sacred to the yakṣa. The bhavanam of the yakkha Suciloma at Gaya is particularly described as a stone couch (dias or altar) by or on which the Buddha rested, the words used are *ṭankita mañco*, explained in the commentary to mean a stone slab resting on four other stones (Samyutta Nikāya, Yakkha Suttas, Chp. X, Kindred Sayings I, p. 264). At the Puṇṇabhaddaceiya . . . there were not only altars (and probably an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an Aśoka tree in the grove. It was just such an altar beneath a sacred tree that served as the Bodhisattva's seat on the night of the Great Enlightenment; Sujātā's maid-servant, indeed, mistakes the Bodhisattva for the tree-spirit himself (Nidānakathā). It is very evident that the sacred tree and altar represent a combination taken over by Buddhism from older cults, and in the case of the Bodhi-tree we see the transference actually in progress."[46]

This obtains confirmation from a passage in the Jaina Vasudevahiṇḍi which says: "In the Sāliggāma in the Magaha (Magadha) Janapada, of the Bharata (Kṣetra), there is the Jakkha called Sumano (Sumanaḥ), his platform (silā—altar, vedikā) under the Aśoka-tree was called Sumana-silā, there the people worship him (tattha nam janā pūyamti)."[47]

This then is the reason for regarding the Jaina Ambikā, sitting under a tree and accompanied by children, as being modelled after an earlier most popular Yakṣiṇī image, associated with children, who must be Bahuputrikā, or Revatī-Ṣaṣṭhī or Nandā. Possibly these are different names or aspects, evolved in different periods, of one and the same ancient goddess.

Coomaraswamy's remarks about the Buddha image apply equally to the Jina image. The canonical works note the Caitya-trees of each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and in the description of the Samavasaraṇa, the Aśoka tree spreads over the caitya-trees. It is one of the Eight Mahā-Prātihāryas of a Jina. The conception of the Prātihāryas is again borrowed from the ancient Yakṣa worship, for, as we have seen, the yakṣa image is often described as *Sannihiya-pāḍihere*.

Older forms, beliefs and practices continue for ages in art and society with changes effected according to the requirements of the age and the sect adopting them and are revived over and over again in different ways. A similar instance is the type of the Tīrthankara image once very popular in the South, occasionally also met with in the North in Gujarat, wherein the Jina sits on a big pīṭha, under a big tree whose foliage is spread out over the figure of the Jina.[48] Some of the icons of this type found in the Puddhukotta State go back to the post-Gupta age and it would appear they had as their model the tree and Yakṣa worship of ancient times obtained in the South.[49]

To revert to Nandā who was converted by Buddha and who was the tutelary goddess of Rājagṛha, it must be remembered that Nandā is an ancient goddess. She is one of the forms of Devī, a name of Gaurī;[50] her name signifies joy, affluence, prosperity. In the Kubera-Hārīti group of sculptures, described by Dr. Agrawala from the Mathura Museum, the wives of Kubera have been identified as Lakṣmī, Hārīti and Bhadrā. They might be called Lakṣmī, Nandā and Bhadrā, all the three signifying Beauty, Prosperity and Auspiciousness, or Beauty, Abundance, Bliss and Auspiciousness. The first, sixth and eleventh days

of the lunar fortnight are called Nandā-tithis, possibly because they were the days sacred to this goddess. The second, seventh and twelfth are Bhadrā-tithis, sacred to the goddess Bhadrā. The Jaina list of the fifty-six Dik-Kumārīs is an attempt to include in the Jaina pantheon a number of foreign goddesses, that is, those popular in worship amongst the masses, and originally non-Jaina, are adopted in Jaina mythology. The names include such known Vedic goddesses as Sinivāli, Pṛthvī or Ilā. Nandā is included in this list.[51] Nanaia, the ancient Iranian mother-goddess, has perhaps the closest parallel in the name Nanda. In the discussion of the Iconography of Ambikā-Yakṣī, the relations between Ambikā, Umā and Nanaia have been discussed. In the light of all these facts, the tutelary goddess of Rājagṛha, whose shrine according to the Mahābhārata was very famous, can be clearly identified.[52]

A temple of Huṇḍika-yakṣa was erected at Mathura, in front of Deva-nimmiya (stupa),[53] according to the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi. A thief Huṇḍi or Huṇḍika was reborn as this yaksa by virtue of his muttering Navakāra-Mantra at the time of death on gallows.[54] The Pustaka-Lekhaka's (scribe's) Namaskāra, obtained at the end of the Bhagavatī, pays homage to *Srutadevatā*, *Kumbhadhara-Yakṣa*,[55] *Brahmaśānti*, *Vairoṭyā vidyā* and *Antahuṇḍi*. Probably the shrine of Huṇḍi-Yakṣa was very famous and continued in worship for several centuries and the Yakṣa paid homage here as Antahuṇḍi. We hear of Bhaṇḍīravana and Sudarśana Yaksa at Mathura in the Vipāka-sūtrā. A yātrā to Bhaṇḍīravana used to be celebrated even in the age of Mahāvīra.[56] The *Bhaṇḍīra-vaṭa* (tree) is said to be the object of this pilgrimage. Obviously, this refers to the old practice of worshipping the yakṣa under the tree. According to the Mahābhārata (II.53.8), the famous *nygrodha*-tree of Vṛndāvana was called Bhaṇḍīra.

Worship of the Nāgas was equally popular and closely allied to that of the Yakṣas. They were also approached for obtaining children by Bhadrā, wife of Dhanya.[57] A big Nāga-ghara (*Nāga-gṛha*) to the north-east outside Sāketa in the Kosala Janapada is referred to in the Nāyādhammakahāo.[58] Queen Padmāvatī celebrates a Nāga-Yajña in this shrine, which again is said to be *sannihiya-pāḍihere*. Offering of a Śrī-dāma-gaṇḍa to this shrine is regarded as a very auspicious and meritorious act. A Nāga-ghara by the side of the highway at or near Tāmralipti is mentioned in the Vasudevahiṇḍi and is also called *devaula* (*devakula*). It is said that a lamp was hanging in the shrine which was filled with the fragrance of continuously burning incense. It seems that offering of *dhūpa* (incense) was regarded as specially sacred in Nāga-worship.[59] It seems, from this and the reference to another Nāga-ghara at Kuṇḍinapura (on the bank of the river Varadā in the Vidarbha country), in the Vasudevahiṇḍi,[60] that maidens specially worshipped the Nāga for obtaining best or desired husbands. Priyangusundarī is said to enter the Nāga-gṛha in an udyāna at Mathura where she meets her lover Vasudeva and enters into marriage-relations by Gandharvavivāha.[61]

Bhagīratha is said to have brought the Ganges from Aṣṭāpada (Kailāsa-Himalayas) to the sea by digging her forward course with the help of a Daṇḍa-ratna, and with the permission of the Nāgas' king. Bhagīratha was the first person to start Nāga-bali or offerings to Nāgas [62]

Mathura is mentioned as a big centre of Nāga worship where a number of Nāga images have been recovered. Ahicchatrā, the site of present Ramnagar, is also associated with Nāgas, since the snake-king Dharaṇa is said to have protected Pārśvanātha from heat etc. (when he was in meditation) by holding his hoods as a canopy over the sage. The Jaina texts refer to images and shrines of Nāgas, Yakṣas, Rudras and others in various contexts and such shrines seem to have existed in almost every village, town or city. Rājagṛha has been well known as the site of the worship of Mani-Nāga, as is proved by the excavations of Maṇiyāra Math.[63]

The legend of Dharaṇa-Nāga, offering protection to Pārśvanātha during the latter's austerities, has its parallel in the Buddhist legend of Mucilinda, the snake-king, sheltering Buddha against wind and rain.[64] It is especially significant to find that Jaina traditions speak of an ancient stūpa of Supārśva existing at Mathura, and Supārśva again is associated with snake-hoods canopied over his head. As suggested by us in *Studies in Jaina Art*, the stūpa belonged to Pārsvanātha who is so intimately associated with the snake-king Dharaṇa in Jaina Mythology. Pārśva's close association with the Nāgas is further noteworthy because it suggests that this leader of a heterodox cult had a following of the Nāga-tribe or worshippers of Nāga cult against the Aryans who followed Vedic ritualism.

Pārśvanātha's attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī in Jaina iconography are the snake king and queen Dharanendra and Padmâvatī. Pārśva's birth-place is Vārānasī, and as the legend of the Ganges narrated in the Vasudevahiṇḍi shows, the Nāgas lived in the regions through which the Ganges flowed towards the sea, and in the first flow their buildings were often swept away. By the time of Mahâvīra, the Nāgas were pushed further eastwards and southwards of Madhyadeśa and Magadha.

Nāgas are intimately associated with waters. And as the late Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown, the Yakṣas are also similarly intimately associated with water cosmology.[65] As shown by him, the Atharvaveda (X.7.38) referring to Varuṇa, Brahman or Prajāpati as the supreme and ultimate source of life says: A great Yaksa in the midst of the universe, reclining in concentrated energy (*tapas*) on the back of the waters, therein are set whatever gods thereby, like the branches of a tree about a trunk. "Significance is to be attached to this concept of the tree of life springing from a navel. For Yaksas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetable source of life, and thus closely connected with the waters."[66]

He writes,[67] "we have recognised that all these Yakṣas, great or small, are vegetation spirits, directly controlling and bestowing upon their bhaktas fertility and wealth, or to use a single word, abundance . . . Kubera's inexhaustible treasuries are a lotus and a conch, innumerable Yakṣīs have a makara or other fish-tailed animal as their vehicle, Kāmadeva has the makara as his cognizance, the greater tutelary Yakṣas control the rains essential to prosperity and in the earliest mythology "that germ which the waters held fast, and in which all gods exist", rose like a tree, "from the navel of the unborn", who in the oldest passage is Varuṇa and in the Atharva Veda is called a Yakṣa; moreover in the Indian "decorative art", vegetation is represented indifferently as springing either (1) from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa, or (2) from the open jaws of a makara or other fish-tailed animal, or (3) from a "brimming-vessel" or (4) from a conch, but never directly from any symbol representing earth . . . A priori it might have been supposed that the Nāgas, who are water deities, and who control the activity of the waters, should have been the gods of abundance, but they are not, as the Yakṣas are worshipped by those desiring children."

"Closely connected with the water cosmology and with Yaksas, is the idea of the productive pair, mithuna: the prominence of such procreative pairs in later art has been discussed by Ganguly,[68] while in the earlier art, such pairs are constantly recognisable as a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, and it may be remarked that the formula appears commonly in Śunga terracottas."[69] The most famous of all yakṣa pairs is the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti. Kubera with Hārīti or Kubera with Lakṣmī, Bhadrā or Hārīti, assignable to the Kuṣāṇa age, are obtained from Mathura.[70] Kubera or Jambhala and Hārīti are also obtained from Gandhara.[71] The Sahri-Bahlol sculpture shows Hārīti and Kubera with at least five children, one being on the lap of the goddess. The sixth child on the right shoulder of Kubera, corresponding to the one on Hārīti is lost. Hārīti held in her hand some object which is lost and whose long end alone remains. At Mathura, in the numerous figures of this group, we find that the goddess either shows one hand in *abhaya mudrā* or carrying a cup. The other hand remains engaged in holding a child.

In Jaina iconography, before the end of the fifth century A.D., we do not find any attendant yakṣa and yakṣī accompanying a Tīrthaṅkara; nor do we find separate sculptures of any Śāsanadevatā which can with confidence be assigned to a period before c. 500 A D.

A headless statue of Mahāvīra in the Lucknow Museum, inscribed and dated in the Gupta year 113, is perhaps the only known Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, discovered hitherto, which bears a date.[72] It does not show the *śāsanadevatās* on the pedestal. Nor do we find *śāsanadevatās* with the Tīrthaṅkara figures on the Kahaon Pillar[73] dated in the year equivalent to 461 A.D. A seated figure of Neminātha on the Vaibhāra hill, Rajgir (*Fig. 26*), bears a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Chandragupta (the second). This is the earliest known sculpture of a Jina showing the cognizance on its pedestal but the attendant *śāsanadevatās* are absent.

None of the known Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa period show on their pedestals either the *lāñchanas* or the attendant yakṣa pair, even though yakṣa Kubera and a two-armed yakṣī, perhaps a prototype of Ambikā, were known[74] and were probably worshipped by the Jainas also as yakṣa-deva and yakṣī devī but not as *śāsanadevatās* of a Tīrthaṅkara.

Āgama texts of the Jainas are silent about attendant Yakṣa pairs. Even the Kalpa-sūtra which could have referred to them is completely silent about the *śāsanadevatās* and the *lāñchanas* of the different Tīrthaṅkaras even though the text deals with lives of the 24 Jinas. Nor do we find them in the Vasudeva-hiṇḍī which also gives lives of some of the Tīrthaṅkaras. We can, therefore, safely assume that the *śāsanadevatās* were not evolved before c. 500 A.D.

The brass or bronze image, from Akoṭā, of standing Ṛṣabhanātha (?) illustrated in *Fig. 35* is as yet the earliest known Jaina image showing *śāsanadevatās* accompanying a Tīrthaṅkara. The inscription on the back of this image, in Brāhmī characters of c. 550 A.D., shows that "it belonged to" (i.e., was being worshipped by or was installed by) Jinabhadra Vācanācārya who is identified as Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, the author of Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya.[75] Of about the same age, c. sixth century A.D., is obtained a separate metal image of Ambikā yakṣī from the Akota hoard.[76] An elaborately carved beautiful sculpture of Ambikā yakṣī is preserved in the Meguti temple at Aihole (*Fig. 88*), dating from the seventh century A.D. Of about the same age is the Dhank group of sculptures in Saurashtra[77] where the Kubera-like yakṣa and two-armed Ambika-yakṣī are shown on the right and the left of Pārśvanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga posture*. The same pair accompanies Ṛsabha (?) from Akota just noted (*Fig. 35*) and in other bronzes from Akoṭā or Vasantagadh[78] we obtain the same yakṣa-yakṣī pair for Pārśvanātha and other Tīrthaṅkaras, and also in the bronze installed at Broach in Śaka year 910=988 A.D.,[79] discussed elsewhere by us and now preserved in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Upto the end of the tenth century at least, and even a little later, we do not find any specimen showing different attendant yakṣa-yakṣī pairs for different Jinas, the only exception being the yakṣiṇīs (with their names and the names of their respective Tīrthaṅkara masters inscribed), obtained on the wall of Temple no. 12 at Devgadh; the original shirne is assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. by Michael Meister.[80] Later repairs include a doorway dating from 994 A.D. The yakṣiṇī set seems to date from c. late eighth century and is a very early attempt to differentiate the *śāsanadevatās* for different Tīrthaṅkaras, but the attempt did not become popular for two or three centuries more. In the Mahāvīra temple at Osia (which dates from eighth or ninth century according to different scholars and which may in our opinion be assigned to the late eighth century A.D.), we find represented the Kubera-like yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and amongst yakṣīs only Ambikā and Padmāvatī. Some of the forms of Cakreśvarī are common to Cakreśvarī Vidyā and the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Images of most of the Vidyādevīs are found on the walls of the Mahāvīra temple and its adjoining Devakulikās. The Devakulikās to the east and west of the Mahāvīra shrine and the Toraṇa in front (now removed and stored elsewhere) were erected in 1018 A.D. and the *balānaka* as well as the Devakulikā to its east were erected in V.S. 1013=A.D. 956.[81]

In the Jaina cave at Badāmī, Karnataka, we have a big relief panel of Mahāvīra standing with attendant yakṣa and yakṣī who are different from the original pair.[82] But the whole relief is later and the difference in style and motifs from the earlier reliefs in this cave can be easily marked out. The Mahāvīra panel dates from c. tenth century or a little later. At Ellora in all the Jaina caves one finds only the original *śāsanadevatā* pair of Kubera-like two-armed Sarvāṇha yakṣa riding on the elephant and the two-armed Ambikā with the lion-vehicle.[83] In the paper on the *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, published in the Journal of the University of Bombay (Sept. 1940), it was already shown that for a long time this pair was common to all the Tīrthaṅkaras. In sculptures and bronzes, at least upto the end of the ninth century A.D., only this pair of *śāsanadevatās* is found.

This pair in Jainism is later than the Jambhala and Hārīti in Buddhism, as no such Jaina sculpture assignable to an age earlier than the sixth century A.D. is found.

This would suggest that for a long time Jaina worship could remain unchanged. But it does not mean that Jaina lay worshippers did not worship the yakṣas, nāgas etc. or had no superstitious beliefs common to human beings of all places and ages. Jaina story literature is full of references to Yakṣas, Nāgas, Vidyādharas, etc. We are told that the Jainas of Mathura had erected a shrine of *Huṇḍika Yakṣa* at Mathura. It seems that all these beliefs and practices were tolerated because theorically a Tīrthaṅkara could not be approached for fulfilment of worldly desires. The Jina was himself detached from all such attachments that lead to bondage. His worship only roused higher sentiments and held an ideal

before the worshipper. But maidens pined for their cherished husbands, ladies longed for male issues, merchants on voyages wanted immunity from shipwrecks nnd other calamities, mothers were anxious to see their babies safe from small-pox, separated lovers wanted to unite again, kings wanted to ensure victory for their armies—for all these we find Yakṣas, Nāgas, Vidyādharas and a host of other gods and goddesses invoked, and the deities taking active part in the well-being of their worshippers. But there must be scriptural sanction for the introduction and assimilation of these deities in Jaina worship and this was achieved with the help of Jaina cosmological and cosmographical accounts.

The period of transition from the Gupta age to the middle ages, i.e., from c. sixth century to c. eleventh century A.D., is a period of new impetus to Tantrism in all the three main Indian sects, namely, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. This brought into existence worship of new deities and additions to the existing number of iconographic varieties of old ones. The new activity continued even upto the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. which period (6th-7th to 13th-14th centuries) has witnessed temple-building activity on a large scale all over India. The earlier simplicity of forms in architecture and sculpture was gradually replaced by complex forms overloaded with ornamental details. The two or four arms of gods and goddesses multiplied so much that we had deities like the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara!

The different sects vied with one another in the race for multiplication of their respective pantheons and mystifying their rituals with complex details. Jainism, which has shown greater conservatism than other sects in preserving their *ācāra-vidhi*, was also obliged to introduce new deities, though of course in a role subordinate to the Tīrthaṅkaras, or to compose Tantric works like the *Jvālinī-kalpa*, or the *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, the *Sarasvatī-kalpa*, the *Ambikā-devī-kalpa*, or the *Vidyānuśāsana*. The *Ācāra-Dinakara* of Vardhamāna sūri is a product of this spirit and was composed in V.S. 1468 (A.D. 1411). It is full of Brahmanical influence. The *Nirvāṇakalikā*, ascribed by some to the Old Pādalipta sūri, but composed in c. eleventh century A.D., and works like the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* of Pandit Āśādhara were also composed under similar influences.

It was towards the end of the Imperial Gupta rule and the beginning of the transitional period that this *śāsanadevatā* pair was introduced in Jaina iconography. The two-armed Kubera-like yakṣa was called *Sarvānubhūti* alias *Sarvānha* by us[84] from several considerations: (1) There is no early tradition in Jaina literature which describes this yakṣa as Gomedha or Mātaṅga yakṣa who are attendant yakṣas of Neminātha and Mahāvīra respectively. Since this early yakṣa accompanies Ambikā, the yakṣiṇī of Neminātha in later iconography, one would expect that in the early pair also he was Gomedha the yakṣa of Neminātha. But the iconography of Gomedha in both the sects is different. One would also expect that this early yakṣa was either Mātanga, the yakṣa of Mahāvīra in later iconography or Gomukha, the yakṣa of Ādinātha or Pārśva or Dharaṇa, the yakṣa of Pārśvanātha. But the iconography in all the above cases is different. (2) We have a verse addressed to one *Sarvānha Yakṣa* in the *Snātasyā stuti* included in the daily worship of the Śvetāmbara sect, in its *Pañcapratikramana sutra*. *Sarvānubhūti* is two-armed and rides on the elephant. (3) *Sarvānha yakṣa* in Digambara worship has the same iconography as this early yakṣa and as the *Sarvānubhūti yakṣa*. He is very popular in Digambara worship and installed even on the *Mānastambhas* as shown by Settar.[85] (4) The Kṣamāśramaṇa-Mahattarīyā-ṭīkā on the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya of Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramana dates from the sixth century A.D. It refers to Amba-Kūṣmāṇḍī, Vidyārājaḥ Hariṇegameṣi, and Sarveṇe (scribal error for Sarvāṇha) yakṣa. It is, therefore, quite certain that this earliest pair was known as *Sarvāṇha yakṣa* and *Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī yakṣī*.

Some early descriptions of Ambikā came from the Śvetāmbara hymn *Caturviṁśatikā* of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (c. 800-895 V.S.=c. 743-837 A.D.) and the Digambara Purāna *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena (783 A.D.). Jinasena also refers to *Apraticakrā* in the same verse in which Ambikā is referred to. But Apraticakrā is also known as a Vidyādevī in ancient Jaina traditions, however it is certain that in the age of *Harivaṁśa*, Cakreśvarī was already introduced as the śāsanadevī of Ṛṣabhanātha, as shown below.

Earlier reference to Ambikā comes from the *Lalitavistara-ṭīkā* of Haribhadra sūri whose date is not later than 650 A.D. An *Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī Vidyā* is referred to by the same writer in his ṭikā on the Āvaś-

yaka-niryukti, gāthā 931. In both these cases however neither the vāhana nor the symbols or *āyudhās* are specified.

A still earlier reference comes from the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* with the *Kṣamāśramaṇa-Mahattarīyā-ṭīkā* which says: *yasmin mantra-devatā strī sā Vidyā Amba-Kūṣmāṇḍī-ādiḥ*. Here *Amba-Kūṣmāṇḍī* is referred to as a Vidyā but since we do not find Ambā or Kūṣmāṇḍī in the Jaina lists of Vidyādevīs it is very likely that this refers to the tantric vidyā-sādhana of the same goddess Ambikā who accompanied the different Tīrthaṅkaras as their śāsanadevata and who *later* came to be recognised as the śāsana-yakṣī of Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha (alone). This last reference cited from the ṭīkā on the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya dates from the sixth century A.D.

The origin of the Ambikā yakṣī is an interesting subject of study. In a separate paper being published in the A. Ghosh Memorial Volume we have discussed the problem at length and shown that she is related to several ancient goddesses, Āryā, the peaceful form of Durgā, Nānā or Nanaia on the lion, Anihatā and Anaitis, Durgā as Kūṣmāṇḍinī, and an Āmrā or Āmra-Kūṣmāṇḍinī carrying a mango-bunch in one hand. A headless kaolin figure of such a yakṣī is found from the Sātavāhana site at Paithan.

In Brahmanical literature Ambikā is invoked as the Mother of Vināyaka. One of the ancient Vināyakas is called *Kūṣmāṇḍa-rājaputra*. Ambikā's form further shows close iconographic relation with the form of Gangā in the Boston Museum or on doorframes of shrines of the Gupta period since the river goddess stands under a mango-tree and has a playful child or gaṇa beside her. The Jaina Ambikā is an assimilation of conceptions of several old goddesses.

These *śāsanadevatās* or attendant yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs are said to protect the *tīrthas* of their respective Tīrthaṅkara Masters.[86] They are known as *Śāsanadevatās* or *Vaiyāvṛttakaras* (Veyāvaccakaras).[87] Vaiyāvṛtta means help in the practice of Dharma, both material and spiritual. The Bhagavatī sūtra describes ten types of *veyāvacca* or services to others which includes rendering service to ācārya, upādhyāya, tapasvī, glāna (sick), śaikṣa (newly initiated) and others.[88] According to the Uttarādhyayana sūtra, a person accrues, by *veyāvacca*, merit (*karma*) which makes him acquire *Tīrthaṅkara-nāma-gotra*.[89] It is therefore quite obvious that these yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs are given a subordinate position of service to the different members of the Jaina Samgha.

The next stage in yakṣa-worship amongst the Jainas is marked by a variation of forms of this first pair of *Sarvānubhūti* alias *Sarvāṇha* and *Amba-Kūṣmāṇḍī* or *Ambikā*. The Yakṣa retains his Kubera-like appearance and the elephant vehicle for a long time and this tradition lingered on in some form or the other upto about the thirteenth century A.D. even when new names and forms with different vāhanas of yakṣas were evolved and carved. This is proved by the pedestals of numerous Tīrthaṅkara images in the temples at Ābu, Kumbhāriā, Devgaḍh etc. The yakṣī often remained as Ambikā but the two arms were increased to four at Kumbhāriā and Ābu.

At Devgaḍh two more stages are marked—one replaced the old Yakṣī Ambikā for Tīrthaṅkaras other than Neminātha and inserted a two-armed yakṣī showing *abhaya* or *varada* and a pot or a citron; another stage was the evolution of different yakṣiṇīs with different iconography and new names. Temple no. 12 at Devgaḍh has on its back wall and the inter-columnations of the verandah a series of 24 yakṣiṇīs carved on different slabs. This set shows some forms of better workmanship and looking a little older than others which are crude, stiff, unfinished or of inferior workmanship. Each Yakṣī is represented as standing and above her is a figure of a sitting Jina (in a caitya-window ornament) whose attendant the yakṣī is shown to be. Names of the Jina as well as the yakṣī are inscribed on each slab.[90] The dating of the labels on the basis of the script or of the yakṣī figures on the basis of style is only approximate and tentative. All the figures are not of the same quality and either they are carved by different hands or some of them are later replacements. Again in texts like the Tiloyapaṇṇatti etc. Jvālāmālinī is the yakṣī of Candraprabha while here Sumālinī is the yakṣī of Candraprabha and the Jina's name with Jvālāmālinī yakṣī in this set is not clearly read. In this set, Sidhai (Siddhāyikā) is the yakṣī of Munisuvrata while she is generally the yakṣī of Mahāvīra; Bahurūpi is shown as yakṣī of Puṣpadanta while she is usually the yakṣī of Munisuvrata. But there are several names which are not found as yakṣiṇīs in Digambara texts. Such names are Sarasvatī, Mayuravāhi, Himādevi or Bhīmādevī, Śriyadevī, Surakṣitā, Abhogaratina or

Abhogarohiṇi, Vahani or Vahni, Sumālinī and Sulocanā. So it seems that this list of yakṣiṇīs represents a lost tradition and we cannot say with confidence that the labels were incised at a later date. We might tentatively assign the Devghaḍ temple no. 12 set to the age of original construction of the shrine in c. late eighth century A.D., or in about 800 A.D, and not to any age of later repairs of this temple.

Thus this is the earliest known set of the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* gives us another list of the 24 yakṣiṇīs and the list of another Digambara text *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* also shows some variations. The age of the available text of the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, though assigned to c. sixth century in the introduction to its second part, is uncertain because at one place the text refers to *Bālacandra Saiddhāntika* who does not seem to be earlier than c. tenth cent. A.D.

The accompanying comparative table shows names of the yakṣiṇīs according to Devgadh Temple no. 12 (*DT*), Tiloyapaṇṇatti (*TP*), Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra (*PS*) and Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (*HT*) (Śvetāmbara). DT, TP and PS represent Digambara tradition.

Jina	*DT*	*TP*	*PS*	*HT*
1. Ṛṣabha	Cakreśvarī	Cakreśvarī	Cakreśvarī	Cakreśvarī
2. Ajita	. . .	Rohiṇī	Rohinī	Ajitā
3. Sambhava	. . .	Prajñapti	Prajñapti or Namrā	Duritārī
4. Abhinandana	Sarasvatī	Vajraśṛṅkhalā	Vajraśṛnkhalā or Duritārī	Kalika
5. Sumati	. .	Vajrānkuśī	Khaḍgavarā or Mohinī	Mahākālī
6. Padmaprabha	Sulocanā	Apraticakrā	. .	Śyāmā
7. Supārśva	Mayūravāhī	Puruṣadattā	Kālī or Mānavī	Śāntā
8. Candraprabha	Sumālinī	Manovegā	Jvālinī	Bhrukuṭī
9. Puṣpadanta	Bahurūpī	Kālī	Mahākalī-Bhrukuṭī	Sutārakā
10. Śītala	Śriyādevī	Jvālāmālinī	Mānavī or Cāmuṇḍa	Aśoka
11. Śreyāṁsa	Vahni-devī	Mahakālī	Gaurī or Gomedhakī	Mānavī
12. Vāsupūjya	Ābhogarohiṇī (?)	Gaurī	Gāndhārī or Vidyunmālinī	Caṇḍā
13 Vimala	Sulaksaṇā	Gāndhārī	Vairoṭī Vidyādevī	Viditā
14. Ananta	Anantavīryā	Vairoṭyā	Anantamati-Kumbhinī	Ankuśā
15. Dharma	Surakṣitā	Anantamatī	Mānasī Parabhṛtā	Kandarpa
16. Śānti	Śriyādevī or Anantavīryā	Mānasī	Mahāmānasī-Kandarpā	Nirvāṇī
17. Kunthū	Arakarabhī	Mahāmānasī	Jaya-Gāndhāriṇī	Balā
18. Ara	Tārādevī	Jaya	Tārāvatī-Kālī	Dhāriṇī
19. Malli	Bhīmādevī	Vijayā	Aparājitā-Mañjulā	Vairoṭyā (Dhāraṇapriyā)

	Jina	DT	TP	PS	HT
20.	Maṇisuvrata	Siḍhai	Aparājitā	Bahurūpiṇi-Sugandhinī	Naradattā
21.	Nami	...	Bahurūpiṇī	Cāmuṇḍā-Kusumamālinī	Gāndhārī
22.	Nemi	Ambāyikā	Kūṣmāṇḍinī	Āmra-Kūṣ-māṇḍinī	Ambikā
23.	Pārśva	Padmāvatī	Padmā	Padmāvatī	Padmāvatī
24.	Mahāvīra	Aparājitā	Siddhāyinī	Siddhāyinī	Siddhāyikā

A later set of yakṣīs is obtained in the Bārābhuji Cave, Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa. As Debala Mitra has shown, these figures "may even be as late as the eleventh-twelfth century A.D."[91] The Navamuni cave, near the above cave, has reliefs representing only seven śāsanadevatās and contains an inscription dated in the reign of Somavamśi king Udyotakesari,[92] assignable to c. eleventh century A.D. The reliefs in the Navamuni cave are however earlier in age and may be assigned to c. ninth-tenth century A.D. The Mālādevī Jaina temple at Gyaraspur, M.P., also shows that the twenty-four different yakṣiṇīs were already evolved in the ninth century A.D. We obtain there, on the pedestal of an image of Mahāvīra, the figure of yakṣī Siddhāyikā. The earliest reference to the separate śāsanadevatās is obtained in the Harivamśa of Jinasena (783 A.D.) who speaks of *śāsanadevatās of great prowess, like Apraticakrā and others,* paying respects to Vṛṣabha, the Dharmacakravartin. It is therefore safer to conclude that the different śāsana-devatās were evolved in the eighth century A.D., but did not become very popular till about the tenth-eleventh century A.D.

Debala Mitra has listed and identified the Tīrthaṅkaras with their cognizances and yakṣiṇīs in the Navamuni and the Bārābhuji caves. They are as follows:

The Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa

	Tīrthaṅkara	*Cognizance*	*Yakṣī*
1.	Ṛṣabha (on back wall)	Bull	Cakreśvarī
2.	Ajita (" ")	Elephant	Rohiṇī
3.	Sambhava (" ")	Horse (damaged)	Prajñapti
4.	Abhinandana (" ")	Monkey	Vajraśṛṅkhalā (Vaiṣṇavī ?)
5.	Vāsupujya (" ")	Buffalo (damaged)	Gāndhārī (Kaumārī ?)
6.	Pārśvanātha (" ")	Nāga (snake)	Padmāvatī
7.	Neminātha (" ")	Conch	Ambikā or Āmrā
8.	Pārśvanātha (right wall)	Snake	x x
9.	Ṛṣabhanātha (right wall)	Bull	x x
10.	Candraprabha (" ")	Moon	x x

The Bārābhuji Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa

	Tīrthaṅkara	*Cognizance*	*Yakṣī*
1.	Ṛṣabhanātha	Bull	Cakreśvarī
2.	Ajita	Elephant	Rohiṇī
3.	Sambhava	Horse (broken)	Duritāri or Prajñapti
4.	Abhinandana	Ape	Vajraśṛṅkhalā ? Kālī ?
5.	Sumati	(indistinct)	Puruṣadattā ?
6.	Padmaprabha	Lotus	Manovegā ?
7.	Supārśva	Six-petalled flower	Kālī ?
8.	Candraprabha	Moon	Jvālinī ?

9.	Puṣpadanta	Makara	Mahākālī or Sutārā ?
10.	Śītala	Śrī-vatsa	Mānavī ?
11.	Śreyāmsa	Rhinoceros	Gaurī ?
12.	Vāsupūjya	Buffalo	Gāndhārī ?
13.	Vimala	Boar	Vairoṭī ?
14.	Ananta	Porcupine ?	Anantamati ?
15.	Dharma	Thunderbolt	Mānasī
16.	Śāntinātha	Antelope	Mahāmānasī ? Lakṣmī ? Nirvāṇī ?
17.	Kunthu	Goat	Jayā or Vijayā ?
18.	Ara	Fish	Tārā
19.	Malli	Water-pot	Aparājitā
20.	Munisuvrata	Tortoise	Bahurūpiṇī
21.	Nami	Blue lotus	Cāmuṇḍā ? Brahmāṇī ?
22.	Nemi	Flower or Disc	Āmrā
23.	Pārśva (right wall)	Nāga	Padmāvatī
24.	Mahāvīra (,, ,,)	Lion	Siddhāyikā
A.	.... (left wall)		Cakreśvarī
B.	.... (,, ,,)		Rohiṇī

Pārśvanātha is standing as *mūlanāyaka* in this cave.

At Pithaura, old Nagod State, now in Madhya Pradesh, is a shrine of Patyāna-dāyi (once called Pattini Devi) where the chief deity worshipped was a sculpture of the goddess Ambikā-devī accompanied on her sides by small figures of the other twenty-three yakṣiṇīs. Names of these yakṣiṇīs are inscribed below their figures. They are: Bahurūpiṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Sarasatī (Sarasvatī), Padumāvatī (Padmāvatī), Vijayā, Jayā, Anantamatī, Vairoṭyā, Gaurī, Mahākālī, Kālī, Budhadaghi ? (Pusadadhi ?) (? Puruṣadattā ?), Prajāpati (Prajñapti ?), Vajrasankala (Vajraśṛṅkhalā), Aparājitā, Mahāmunusī (Mahāmānasī), Anantamatī, Gāndhārī, Manusī (Mānasi), Jālāmālinī (Jvālāmālinī), Manujā (? Manovegā ?), (Cakreśvarī), (Rohiṇī). The symbols of these yakṣiṇīs are not clearly identified. The sculpture of Patiyānadāi temple may be assigned to c. eleventh century A.D.

The above list seems to be generally akin to the list of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti. At Devgadh inscribed four-armed loose sculptures of Yakṣī Sarasvatī and Yakṣī Sumālinī are found. They are dated in the year equivalent to 1070 A.D. and are later than the set in Temple no. 12 at the same site.

Literary traditions of both the sects show that by c. 12th cent. A.D. the lists of the various Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were finalised in both the Jaina sects. It may be noted that in the Digambara lists of Pandit Āśādhara and others many names of Yakṣiṇīs are borrowed from the lists of the sixteen Mahāvidyās of Jainism. Since the lists of Vidyādevīs are earlier in age the above conclusion is inevitable.

It has been shown above that at Abu (Vimala Vasahi temple) and Kumbhāriā are preserved forms of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs which are based upon some old tradition. This tradition is possibly earlier than the Nirvāṇakalikā (Śvetāmbara) and the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra (also Śve.). We similarly find with some Dig. Tīrthaṅkaras a two-armed Yaksa and a two-armed Yakṣī showing *abhaya* or *varada mudrā* and carrying a pot or a citron or a flower. This iconography is different from what is prescribed in texts like the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra. The tradition is not yet traced in literature. In Śvetāmbara tradition a two-armed Kubera-like yakṣa (Sarvāṇha or Sarvānubhūti) with variations sometimes in the symbols continued possibly upto thirteenth century even when new iconography was prescribed in texts like the Nirvāṇakalikā or the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita. The Yakṣī in such cases was usually Ambikā either two-armed or four-armed. Only a few inscribed pedestals are noted below to demonstrate what is stated above. The cell numbers given below are of the Devakulikās (cells) of the Vimala Vasahi shrine, Abu. The date given is from the inscription on the pedestal on which the yakṣa and the yakṣiṇī are carved. The inscriptions also give the name of the Jina to whose image the pedestal belonged.

(1) *Cell 3, Image of Śāntinātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī	
right hand 1. bag	l.h. 1. bag	r.h. 1. mango bunch	l.h. 1. mango bunch
r.h. 2. *varada*	l.h. 2. citron	r.h. 2. mango bunch	l.h. 2. child
Vāhana—Elephant		Vāhana x x	

(2) *Cell 5, Image of Kunthunātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī	
Money bag with two upper hands		r. 1. mango	l. 1. mango
r. 2. *varada*	l. 2. citron	r. 2. citron	l. 2. child
Vāhana—Elephant		Vāhana—Lion	

(3) *Cell 7, Aranātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)*

Yakṣa	Yakṣī
Yakṣa as above	Yakṣī as above

(4) *Cell 9, Ṛṣabhanātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. hand *varada*	l. hand bag	Yakṣī as above
Vāhana—Elephant		

(5) *Cell 11, Munisuvrata, d. 1200 V.S. (1143 A.D)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
Money bag with two upper hands		as above
r. 2. *abhaya*	l. 2. citron	
Vāhana—Elephant		

(6) *Cell 14, Ṛṣabhanātha, d. 1186 V.S. (1129 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. 1. goad	l. 1. noose	as above
r. 2. *abhaya*	l. 2. bag	
Vāhana—Elephant		

(7) *Cell 15, Śāntinātha, d. 1131 V.S. (1074 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. 1. goad	l. 1. noose	as above
r. 2. citron	l. 2. bag	
Vāhana—Elephant		

(8) *Cell 16, Supārśva, d. 1153 V.S. (1096 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. 1. goad	l. 1. noose	as above
r. 2. ?	l. 2. bag	
Vāhana—Elephant		

(9) *Cell 22, Ṛṣabhanātha, d. 1358 (1301 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. 1. goad	l. 1. noose	as above
r. 2. *varadā*	l. 2. citron	
Vāhana—Elephant		

(10) *Cell 52, Mahāvīra, dated 1378 V.S. (1321 A.D.)*

Yakṣa		Yakṣī Ambikā
r. 1. goad	l. 1. noose	as above
r. 2. *varada*	l. 2. bag	
Vāhana—Elephant		

In the above few examples, it seems that the four-armed Yakṣa is evolved from the two-armed Yakṣa showing the fruit or *varada* and the money-bag. Possibly this evolved Yakṣa in the above tradition

continued to be called Sarvānubhūti or Sarvāṇha since the accompanying yakṣī continues to be Ambikā even when the yakṣī is four-armed. The Vāhanas of the Yakṣa as well as the Yakṣī remain unchanged. It is therefore advisable to regard this tradition as the second stage in the evolution of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, the first stage being represented by examples from Akota, Dhank, Ellora, Kumbharia etc. A similar stage is observed in the Digambara tradition in temples 2, 3, 4 etc. at Devgaḍh and a few sites in the old Gwalior State territory etc. where a two-armed Yakṣa shows *varada* or *abhaya* and the water-pot or money bag in his two hands. The corresponding Yakṣī shows the *varada* or *abhaya* and the pot or child in her two hands.

Comparisons of the different yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs with deities of the Buddhist and Brahmanical pantheons would be highly interesting. The Jaina lists contain names which are distinctly Hindu, for example, Brahma yakṣa, Nandī, Kumāra, Ṣaṇmukha, Varuṇa, Īśvara, Caṇḍā, Gaurī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Śūlapāṇi yakṣa, Kaparddī yakṣa and so on. The iconography, however, as described in the Jaina and Hindu texts, often differs, but the borrowings are unmistakable. Sometimes the Hindu name is retained, in other cases the Hindu iconographical traits with a different name are marked out. In the latter type of borrowing, sometimes both the Hindu and the Jaina traditions might have borrowed or evolved from an earlier common heritage of gods and goddesses worshipped in ancient India. Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera, Śrī, Māṇibhadra yakṣa, etc. can be cited as such examples. Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Rudra, Kāmadeva and others figure in the Jaina Purāṇas. In works like the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, the Tīrthaṅkara is called Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, etc., and a Jaina version is given in explanation of meaning of such epithets. A painting of Mahiṣamarddinī occurs in a palm-leaf manuscript of Uttarādhyayana sūtra with Sukhabodhā-vṛtti, dated in V.S. 1352=A.D. 1295, preserved in the Śāntinātha Bhāṇḍāra, Cambay. R.C. Agrawala has suggested that Mahiṣamarddinī was worshipped as *Saccikā-devī* or *Sacciyā-mātā*, the *gotra devī* or the *kula devī* of the Jaina Ośwāla baniyas who are reported to have hailed originally from Ośiā in Rajasthan. A temple dedicated to *Saccikā devī* exists in Ośiā. Dhaky has shown that originally it was the Hindu goddess Kṣemankarī, a form of Gaurī or Pārvatī, that was worshipped as *Saccikā* by the Jaina Ośwāla baniyas.

Of Buddhist influence we have a few cases only like Tārādevī, Vajrāśṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī.

To obtain a following, to attract the masses into its fold, a sect had to show the superiority of its deities over the deities of other sects. Mahāyāna Buddhism did this by making their gods trample over or ride over Hindu gods. The Jainas were not so cruel or discourteous and were satisfied with assigning a subordinate position to the Hindu deities by making them attendant yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs. It is impossible for any sect to gather strength without incorporating in one form or the other the beliefs and practices of the masses. The Jainas, as the march of its history through the ages shows us, had to meet strong Śaiva opposition which made it necessary for them to show the superiority of their deities over those of the rival sect. The story of Śūlapāni yakṣa (a somewhat later addition ?) in the life of Mahāvīra indicates Śaiva rivalry. Sometimes the Tīrthaṅkaras were hailed as Īśāna, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa or Aghora as was done by the author of Ādipurāṇa in the ninth century. This was another way of meeting Śaiva opposition in the South of India. From very early times in the history of the Jaina Church the Vedic Indra was assigned the function of celebrating the different *Kalyāṇakas* (auspicious events) in the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras. The idea of Indra as a ruler of gods was extended and as many as sixty-four Indras grew up, in Jainism, amongst whom Īśānendra, a form of Śiva, is noteworthy. Śakra or Saudharmendra is clearly the Vedic Sahasrākṣa Indra. At a later stage the Bhairavas and Yoginīs and even the seven or eight Mātṛkās and Gaṇeśa had to be included in Jaina worship. The Navagrahas and the Dikpālas remained the common heritage of all sects.

Even though 24 Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs are venerated in Jaina rituals and art, only four Yakṣiṇīs have been the most popular. They are: *Cakreśvarī* or *Apraticakrā*, the Yakṣī of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, *Ambikā*, the Yakṣī of the twenty-second Jina Neminātha, *Padmāvatī*, the Śāsanadevatā of the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, and *Siddhāyikā*, the Yakṣī of the twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra. This is mainly because the above four Tīrthaṅkaras have been the most popular in Jainism from ancient times. The Kalpa sūtra dealing with the lives of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras describes in detail lives of the above-mentioned four

Jinas only. Attendant Yakṣīs of these four Jinas naturally get preference over other Yakṣiṇīs. Of these four Yakṣiṇīs, Ambikā and Padmāvatī seem to have been the most popular ones, especially in Tantric rituals and special Tantric texts like Ambikā-Kalpa, Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa, Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-Kalpa were composed. Another Yakṣī who became more popular in the Jaina Tantra is *Jvālāmālinī*, the Yakṣī of Candraprabha.

REFERENCES

1. Coomaraswamy, *The Yakṣas*, I, p. 2 and note. Also see Shah, U.P., *Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature, Journal of the Oriental Institute (JOI)*, Vol. III, no. 1 (Sept. 1953), pp. 54-71; and *Introduction of Śāsana-Devatās in Jaina Worship, Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Twentieth Session, Bhuvaneshwar*, Vol. II, Part I. Moti Chandra, *Some Aspects of Yakṣa Cult in Ancient India, Bull. Prince of W. Museum, No. 3*, pp. 43-62.
2. The following are some of the names of yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs available at Bharhut:

Supāvasu	Yakho	Sudasanā	Yakhi	(Sudarśanā)
Virudhako	,,	Caḍā	,,	(Caṇḍā)
Gangita	,,	Sirima devatā		(Śrī-devī)
Suciloma	,,	Mahākokā	,,	
	(Kubera ?)			
Ajakalako	,,	Culakokā	,,	

3. Also see Ramaprasad Chanda, *Four Yakṣa Statues, Jour. of Dept. of Letters* (Calcutta, 1921), Vol. IV.
4. See also Shah, U.P., *Hariṇegameṣin, JISOA*, old series, Vol. XIX, where evidence from Ayurvedic and other texts on the Bāla-grahas is collected.
5. *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 3.7, sū. 168 (Agamudaya samiti ed.), Vol. I, pp. 200ff.
6. *Tattvārtha Bhāṣya* (Ratlam ed.), p. 49.
7. *Prajñāpanā sūtra*, pāda 1, comm. on sū. 38, p. 70.
8. *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, sū. 84, p. 29.
9. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, pp. 47-50.
The Tiloyapaṇṇatti, 6.42-43, Vol. II, p. 647 gives twelve slightly different names of twelve classes of yakṣas.
10. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, vol. II, p 193.
11. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, IX, pp. 127ff. A yakṣa of the form of a horse is interesting. Later conceptions like the Hayagrīva, etc. were possibly the results of assimilations of such yakṣas. Also see Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, 26, 33 for ref. to Yakkhī Assamukhī.
12. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, 12 and commentary of Kamala-samyama, p. 173.
13. *Ibid.*, 3.14f.
14. *Ibid.*, 16.16.
15. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, verse 487.
16. *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*, v. 245f. Yakṣas also detected the unchastity of woman, see *Daśā-cūrṇi*, p. 90.
17. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 162-163.
18. Samavasaraṇa is the assembly hall erected by gods when a Jina delivers his sermon. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XL (1911), pp. 125ff, 153ff and *Studies in Jaina Art*.
18a. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, sū. 7ff, pp. 45ff.
19. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Shamaśastry's Translation, p. 59.
20. Anāḍhiya is especially interesting and seems to be the male counterpart of another goddess *Aṇihae* or *Anihate* worshipped in the Jaina Varddhamāna Vidyā. This goddess has been identified by the present writer with the *Iranian Anaiitis*. Anāhitā would have her male counterpart in Aṇāḍhiya-Aṇāhiya. For Anādṛta or Anāḍhiya yakṣa, see *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 25-26.
Also see *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature*, by U.P. Shah, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IHQ, Vol. XXIX, Sept. 1953, pp. 260ff.
21. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 272-4. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 463ff. *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 193ff quoting verses from Mūla-Bhāṣya.
22. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 85ff. This is noteworthy, the Tīrthaṅkara statues also have the prātihāryās and, like the mode of worship, this practice too has been borrowed by the Jainas from the old Yakṣa Cult. *Mt. Raivataka, Nāyā.*, V, p. 68.
23. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, IV, 4963f.
24. *Antagaḍadasāo*, 6.
25. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, p. 120.
26. *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, p. 89 noted by Jaini, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 221-222. He also refers to the Gaṇḍitinduga Yakṣa molesting princess Bhadrā.
27. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 294; *Nirukti verse* 489. Pūtanās are thus regarded as belonging to Vānamantara class. Compare similar tradition which says that a Pūtanā who wanted to poison Krishna was killed by the latter.
28. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, Vol. II, pp. 227ff.
29. *Vyvahāra Bhāṣya*, 7, 313; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 229 and *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, 2.1312, pp. 403-04.
30. *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, comm. of Hemacandra on 2.124, pp. 89f quoting Śeṣa giving a list of gaṇas of Śiva. Vīrabhadra a wellknown gaṇa of Śiva having a name ending in bhadra, like the thirteen types of yakṣas of the Bhagavatī, and the Tattvārtha-Bhāṣya lists, seems to be an ancient deity of this class, later assimilated in the Śaiva Pantheon.
31. For example, see Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figs. 73, 74 (identified by Dr. Moticandra as Padmā-Śrī, the Sirimā-devatā of Bharhut), 81; figs. 73 and 74 seem to have been prototypes of the later Ambikā-yakṣī. Also see sculptures nos J.275, J.276, J.277, B.90, and B.95 in the State Museum, Lucknow.
32. For all these statues and references, see Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 16-17 and plates. The following remarks of Coomaraswamy are noteworthy:
'Whatever the actual age of this group of four large sculptures in the round, they illustrate and ade-

quately establish the character of the indigenous school in and before the Mauryan period. With the group must be associated the Besnagar Kalpavṛkṣa.' Also Chanda, R.P., *Four Yakṣa Statues, Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. IV.

Many more Yakṣa statues have been published. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, Vol. I.

The Yakṣa from Noh dates perhaps from before the Christian era, Agrawala, R.C., *Yakṣa Torso from Bharatpur Region, Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 17, pp. 64ff.

33. *Four Yakṣa Statues, Journal of Department of Letters IV* Banerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p 109.
34. Niśītha Sūtra with *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 11th uddeśa, Vol. III, p. 224.
35. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, p 320 and *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, v. 523.
36. Chanda, R.P , in *Memoir, Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 30, p. 7
37. *Aupapātika sūtra*, sūtra 2
38. *Bhagavatī sutra*, 18.2. Viśālā = Ujjain according to the *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 4.42, but in Jaina canons it generally stands for Vaiśālī. There it is better to take Viśālā = Vaiśālī.
39. *Bhagavatī*, 10.5 A goddess Bahuputrikā is also referred to in the *Nirayāvaliāo*, III, 4, p. 79.
40. This will be made clear later on. In the earliest representations of the attendant yakṣa pair of a Tīrthaṅkara image, the yakṣī is certainly Ambikā but the name of the yakṣa is not settled and hence these alternative names
41. In the chapter on *Harinegameṣin* in Vol. II

41a. A Māṇibhadra riding an elephant became very popular amongst Jainas in Rajasthan and Gujarat during the mediaeval period. Even today he is worshipped in several shrines of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat. A legend of his origin is also current amongst the Śvetāmbaras.

42. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, I, pp. 24-26 According to *Manu*, XI, 96 meat and intoxicating drinks are the food of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas. For offerings to Yakṣa Mudgarapāṇi, see Antagaḍadasāo, 6, and for those to Pūrṇabhadra and Umbaradatta, see *Aupapātika*, 2, and *Vipāka*, pp. 76ff respectively.
43. The extant Vipāka is a later (revised) text containing later data, perhaps of the age of second and third councils (Vācanā), mixed with some genuine earlier tradition of age of ganadharas.
44. Shah, U.P., *Harinegameṣin*, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. XIX.
45. For Hariti, see Foucher, *The Buddhist Madonna and Tutelary Pair*, in the *Beginning of Buddhist Art, L'Art Greco-Bouddhique dur Gandhara*; Vogel, *The Mathura School of Sculpture*, Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1909-10, p. 77. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. 110; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 90.

45a. Gaṇeśa is the son of Gaurī or Durgā, *The Hindu Ambikā or the Mother-Goddess.* The parallelism between Hindu Durgā and Jaina Ambikā is treated later on. But a few sculptures of Gaṇeśa in the Pala Art show him standing under a mango-tree represented by a bunch of mangoes This emphasises Gaṇeśa's origin from the ancient Yakṣa cult, and suggests relation between the Jaina Ambikā and the Hindu Ambikā (Durgā, Pārvatī, Gaurī) and Gaṇeśa.

46. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakṣas*, I, p. 17.
47. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 85. The use of the term Janapada for Magadha is also noteworthy and suggests that the story in this context is borrowed from an earlier source by the author.
48. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, figs. 72, 73, 75.
49. Even though the present work is based upon a study of a number of photographs from the South, a special study of the various Jaina images in the South, carried out on the basis of some more exploration and a study of the images in the various Jaina shrines is essential. It is hoped that this work will serve as an indicator to the future line of exploration in the South. One would not be surprised if such studies help us to revise some of the conclusions arrived at in this book.
50. See Śeṣa quoted by Hemacandra in his comm. on *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 2.117ff. *Here Gaurī is also called Bahuputrī*.
51. For the list of Dik-Kumarīs, see *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, part 1, pp. 159-160. The names given in Prakrt are—*Bhogamkarā, Bhogavatī, Subhogā, Bhogamālinī, Toyadharā, Vicittā, Pupphamālā, Anindiyā, Mehamkarā, Mehavatī, Sumehā, Mehamālinī, Suvatthā, Vatthamittā, Vāriseṇā, Balāhagā, Nanduttarā, Nandā, Āṇandā, Nandivaddhaṇā, Vijayā, Vejayamtī, Jayantī, Aparājiyā, Samāhārā, Suppatiṇṇā, Suppasiddhā, Jasoharā, Lacchivatī, Sesavatī, Cittaguttā, Vasundhara, Ilādevī, Surādevī, Puhavī, Paumāvatī, Egaṇāsā, Navamigā, Bhaddā, Sīyā, Alambusā, Missakesī, Puṇḍarigiṇī, Vāruṇī, Hāsā, Savvappabhā, Sirī, Hirī, Cittā, Cittakanagā, Saterā, Sotāmaṇī, Yagāru* (*v.l Ruyagā*), *Ruyagasahā* (*v l. Ryamsā*), *Surūvā, Ruyagāvatī*

The *Angavijja* (Varanasi, 1957), ed by Muni Punyavijaya, dates from c. 4th century and contains still earlier material. In this work, in chp 9, p. 69, several goddesses are mentioned. They are. *Hirī, Sirī, Lacchī, Kittī, Medhā, Satī* (*Smṛti*), *Dhitī, Buddhī, Dhī, Ilā, Sītā, Vijjā, Vijjatā, Candalehā, Ukkosasā, Abbharāyā, Ahodevī, Devī, Devakaṇṇā, Asurakaṇṇā, Indaggamahisī, Asuraggamahisī, Airikā* (*v l. Airakā*), *Bhagavatī, Alambusā, Missakesī, Miṇakā, Miyadamsanā, Apalā, Aṇāditā, Airāṇī, Timissakesī, Tidhiṇī,* (*v.l Tidhaṇī*), *Sālimālinī, Tilottamā, Cittaradhā, Cittalehā, Uvvasī*

In chp 51 called Devatā-Vijaya, we get more names of gods and goddesses. The goddesses are *Sirī, Airāṇī, Pudhavī, Ekaṇāsā, Navamigā, Surādevī, Nāgī, Suvaṇṇā, Nadīdevatā, Buddhī, Mehā, Latādevatā, Nagaradevatā, Ukkurulika-devatā* (?), *Ariyadevatā, Milakkhadevatā etc*.

In chp. 58, pp 223-224 we get some more names of goddesses: *Nadī, Alaṇā* (?), *Ajjā, Airāṇī, Māuyā, Saunī, Ekāṇamsā, Sirī, Buddhī, Medhā, Kittī, Sarassatī, Nāgī, Rakkhasī, Asurakaṇṇā, Gandhavvī, Kimpurisakaṇṇā, Jakkhī, Girikumārī, Samuddakumārī, Divakumārī, Vātakaṇṇā, Pudhavī, Kuladevatā, Vijjādevatā, etc*.

Moti Chandra, in his Introduction to Angavijjā (p. 42), writes: "In the above list the names of certain foreign goddesses are of great interest. Apalā may be identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene. Aṇāditā is the Avestic goddess Anāhitā whose cult was later on mixed with the cult of Nana or Nanaia. Airaṇī may be the Roman goddess Irene, Timissakesī may be the nymph Themis from whom her son Evander learned his letters, Tidhanī cannot be identified, Sālimālinī may be identified with the moon-goddess Selene. From what source this tit-bit of information came in Angavijjā is not known, but it must be fairly early when the Greek influence was not completely lost from North-Western India and Mathura."

Also see Shah, U.P., *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature*, *IHQ*, XXIX.3, pp. 260-265.

52. This along with a study of all the Kubera-Hārīti group of sculptures, and of Mātṛkā sculptures at Mathura, described by Dr. Agrawala in his Catalogue of Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum, should suggest that the prototype of Ambikā-yakṣī, Hārīti and Umā-Gaurī possibly showed a child held with one hand, while the other carried a lotus bud with a stalk, which the Jainas either misunderstood or changed into a mango-bunch Besides the sculptures referred to by Agrawala, also cf. 73 and 81 of Coomaraswamy's *HIIA*, or was it originally a *Cāmara* (chowrie)? Also see below on Iconography of the Yakṣī Ambikā.
53. The Deva-Nimmiya may be the Jaina Devanirmata stūpa of Mathura.
54. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, p. 591, also *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti*, p. 453.
55. A Yakṣī carrying a big vessel, Mathura Museum no. 3549, has been assigned to Kuṣāṇa age by Bajpai, K.D., *Śikṣā* (Hindi Journal), October, 1951, p. 156. She is a Kumbha yakṣī and probably dates from late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta Age.
56. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 281, Hundi or Hundika Konanda Susamanda.
57. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, pp. 48-49.
58. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, VIII, p. 95ff.
59. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 65, also in *Nāyādhammakahāo*, VIII, p. 95ff.
60. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 80ff.
61. *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 307.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
63. The river Vitastā is said to be the abode of Nāga Takṣaka. For various theories of and references to Nāga worship see Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*. Also *Pali Dictionary* (Malalasekhara's), Vol. II, p. 675ff; *Milindapaṇha*, p. 271ff
64. Vogel, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 102-4, 126, *Ācārāṅga Niryukti*, 335, *Ācārāṅga-Ṭīkā*, p. 385.
65. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Yakṣas*, Part II.
66. *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 2. He further refers to *RV* VII.65.2 and 88.6; also *Digha Nikāya* II.204 where Varuṇa is called a Yakṣa; *AV* XI.2.24.
67. In Jaina references also, Kubera and his followers shower riches in the palaces of the Parents of the Jinas.
68. Ganguly, O.C., *The Mithuna in Indian Art*, *Rupam*, 22-23 (1925).
69. *Yakṣas*, II, p. 23.
70. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. 75-91.
71. Note especially the specimen in the British Museum, *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. VIII, no. 62, pl. IV 2. Smith and Codrington, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pl. 31, fig. B. For references to sculptures in the Mathura Museum, mentioned in this discussion, please refer to V.S. Agrawala's Catalogue, *op. cit.*
72. Banerji, R.D., *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 104, 106, 108, 129, pl. xviii.
73. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III.66-68.
74. The figures are seen on a tympanum from Mathura, now in the Lucknow Museum, no. B.207.
75. See fig. 35 in this book. Also, Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 10a, 10b, 11 and p. 28.
76. *Ibid.*, fig. 14 and pp. 30-32.
77. Sankalia, H.D., in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1938*, 427ff. *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 160ff.
78. Shah, U.P., *Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh*, *Lalit Kala*, 1-2 (April, 1955-March, 1956), pp. 55-65 and plates. *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 49.
79. *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 56a and 77c.
80. Michael W. Meister, *Jaina Temples in Central India*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 223-242.
81. Devendra Handa, *Jaina Sculptures from Osia*, *Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, vol. XIV, no. 1 (April, 1983), pp. 149-194.
82. Sankalia, H.D., in *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. I, parts 2-4, fig. 2 and pp. 157ff.
83. Jose Pereira, *Monolithic Jinas* (Delhi, 1977).
84. Shah, U.P., *A Female Chauri-bearer from Ankoṭṭaka and the School of Ancient West*, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, I, pp. 43-6.
85. Settar, S., *The Brahmadeva Pillars*, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIII, 1-2, pp. 17-38 and plates.
86. cf. यक्षं यजामो जिनमार्गरक्षादक्षं सदा भव्यजनैकपक्षम् । Nemicandra, *Nityamahotsava*, v. 55, in *Abhiṣekapāṭha-saṁgraha*. Also see *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 115 and vv. 215-216.
87. In the Caityavandana, a kāyotsarga is prescribed in honour of the following: वेयावच्चगराणं संतिगराणं सम्मद्दिट्ठिसमाहिगराणं करेमि काउसग्गमिति ...... ।

    Haribhadra sūri, commenting on the above writes:
    वैयावृत्यकराणां प्रवचनार्थं व्यापृतभावानां यथाम्बकूष्माण्डी-आदीनां शान्तिकराणां क्षुद्रोपद्रवेषु सम्यग्दृष्टीनां......तेषामेव स्वरूपमेवैत-द्वैषामिति वृद्धसम्प्रदायः...... ।

    Lalitavistarā (*Caityavandanasūtra-vṛtti*), p. 60

    Also cf.
    या पाति शासनं जैनं सद्यः प्रत्यूहनाशिनी ।
    साभिप्रेतसमृद्ध्यर्थं भूयाच्छासनदेवता ।।

    Ācāra-Dinakara

    For Vaiyavṛttakaras, see *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 6th dvara.
88. *Bhagavati Sūtra*, 25.7; *Aupapātika Sūtra*, 20; *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, sūtra 397.
89. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, adhyayana 29.
90. *Annual Progress Report, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1918*. Sankalia, H.D., *Jaina Monuments from Devgadh*, *JISOA*, vol. IX (1941), pp. 97ff. Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, figs. 47-74, 342, and chp. 8.
91. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khandagiri Caves*, *JAS*, vol. I, no. 2 (1959), pp. 127-133.
92. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, p. 260.

CHAPTER TEN

Four More Popular Yakṣiṇīs

I. Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha

Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā is regarded as the *śāsana-yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, by Jainas of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects. She is so called because she holds the *cakra* or the *disc which is her chief distinguishing symbol.* The eagle is her vāhana.

It is difficult to distinguish her form from the Śvetāmbara Vidyādevī of the same name who also holds the disc and rides the eagle [1] As Vidyādevī she is described as carrying the discs in all her four hands. This would have made it easier to distinguish the Yakṣī from the Vidyādevī but for the fact that the Vimala vasahi at Abu contains figures of the Cakreśvarī-vidyā with discs in only two upper hands and shows the citron and the *varada mudrā* with the two lower ones. These figures are of the Śvetāmbara tradition. Again the same symbols are found with the Cakreśvarī-yakṣī in this tradition. Moreover, as will be seen below, a form of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī carries discs in all the four hands, thereby supporting the inference that the forms of Cakreśvarī, the yakṣī, and Cakreśvarī, the vidyādevī, are closely related, and were possibly interchanged. This close similarity between some forms of the yakṣī and the vidyādevī makes it difficult to say who was the prototype of whom

A. CAKREŚVARĪ OR APRATICAKRĀ (ŚVETĀMBARA)

In the Śvetāmbara pantheon, the yakṣiṇī of Ṛṣabhanātha is found worshipped in three varieties of forms, namely, the two-armed, the four-armed and the eight-armed.

1. Two-Armed Variety

Dhaky has referred to a two-armed form of yakṣī Cakreśvarī found in the Jaina temple at Sevāḍī, Rajasthan. Here Cakreśvarī carries the *cakra* in her right hand while her left hand is mutilated.[1a] The eagle is her vāhana. No literary evidence is known.

2. Four-Armed Variety

Though no literary evidence for the four-armed form is forthcoming, quite a large number of figures of this variety obtained on pedestals of images of Ādinātha attest to the frequent occurrence in worship of this form. Moreover, the form represents an old tradition since a beautiful figure on a mutilated bronze image of c. eleventh century is still worshipped in a Jaina temple at Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa, in Saurashtra.[2] In this image which is a mutilated part of a bigger metal sculpture—probably a *covīsī*—is shown a figure of Cakreśvarī seated in the *lalita* pose. She carries the disc in each of two upper hands, while the right and the left lower ones show the *varada* and the conch respectively. The eagle is shown as her vāhana. On one side of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī is represented in one section a standing two-armed Ambikā with a child and an *āmralumbi* in her two hands. The presence of this early variety of form of

Ambikā also supports the view that the sculpture represents an early tradition and that Cakreśvarī here is a yakṣī and not a vidyādevī. A similar form of this yakṣī Cakreśvarī is preserved in the Dhubela Museum, Nowgong, M.P.[3]

A similar form of Cakreśvarī is seen on a loose pedestal of an Ādinātha image lying in the compound of the Ādīśvara temple in Māṇek-Chowk, Cambay (*Iconograghy of Cakreśvarī, JOI, XX.3*, pp. 280ff, fig. 2). The sculpture can be assigned to c. 12th-13th cent. A.D. A figure from a ceiling corner opposite cell 53, Vimala vasahi, Abu, is another good specimen of this variety (*JOI, op. cit.*, fig. 3). The eagle vehicle is absent here but the symbols suggest the identity of Cakreśvarī.[4]

Even though this figure represents Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā, a question arises whether this Vimala vasahi figure is of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī or of the vidyādevī Apraticakrā who also has the *cakra* as her chief distinguishing symbol and who like the yakṣī Cakreśvarī rides the eagle. Firstly, there is no such vidyādevī in the Digambara pantheon (which replaces a goddess called Jāmbūnadā for Apraticakrā) and hence the confusion between the yakṣī and the vidyādevī arises only in case of Śvetāmbara images. Secondly, Śvetāmbara texts like the Ācāradinakara of Vardhamāna sūri and the Caturviṃśatikā of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri merely refer to the disc symbol of the vidyādevī called Apraticakrā,[5] whereas the Nirvāṇakalikā (Śve.)[6] specifies that this vidyādevī carries the disc in each of her four hands. A sculpture of this vidyā almost agreeing with this tradition is seen on the *fānsanā* of the Jaina temple at Osia and dates from the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.[7] The Mantrādhirāja-kalpa[8] of Sāgaracandra follows the Nirvāṇakalikā in giving the disc in all the four hands of the Cakreśvarī vidyā but differs in giving a human being as her vāhana instead of the usual eagle. In actual practice, however, the painters and the sculptors are found to have represented even the eagle like a human being and the Osia figure of this goddess has the vāhana shown like a human being but our figure from Abu has no vāhana at all. Thirdly, available Śvetāmbara literary traditions describe only an eight-armed form of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī whereas a four-armed figure of the yakṣī is frequently met with on pedestals of Ādinātha sculptures. Against these difficulties there are several factors which suggest that the Vimala vasahi figure under discussion is preferably that of the yakṣī rather than of the vidyādevī. In Vimala-vasahi itself, the Vidyādevī Apraticakrā is represented with a different set of symbols, namely, the discs in two upper hands, the *varada* in the right lower and the fruit in the left lower hands. In a ceiling we find a group of four goddesses seated opposite one another with a full-blown lotus in the centre. One of these figures is Cakreśvarī vidyā with the *varada* and the fruit in the two lower hands while the remaining three goddesses in this group can be definitely identified as the three vidyādevīs called Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī. The fourth figure should naturally be regarded as representing a vidyādevī and not a yakṣī. Again, in the central maṇḍapa we have around the big lotus-pendant a set of figures of all the sixteen vidyādevīs wherein the Apraticakrā or Cakreśvarī vidyā shows the *varada* and the fruit in her two lower hands. Hence it is advisable to regard the figure in the ceiling opposite cell 53, Vimala vasahi, with the conch symbol in her left lower hand, as representing the yakṣiṇī of Ādinātha.[8a] The evidence of the Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa and the Cambay figures only supports the above conclusion.

This form of yakṣī is also found in one of the two sets of vidyādevīs on the outer wall of the Caumukha shrine called the Kharatara-vasahī at Delvada, Mt. Abu. But since this Kharatara-vasahi is a later shrine belonging to circa fifteenth century it may be argued that this form of the vidyā in the Kharatara-vasahi is the result of a borrowing of an earlier form of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Such cases have led to a good deal of confusion in correctly differentiating the yakṣī from the vidyādevī.

Of this variety of the yakṣī another specimen is preserved in a ceiling plaque describing the life of Ādinātha in the Śāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā. A slightly different form of the yakṣī with the *varada* symbol of the right lower hand replaced by the rosary is preserved in the temple built by Vastupāla and his brother on Mt. Girnār in Saurashtra. This form of the yakṣī is again later represented as a vidyā in the second set of vidyādevīs on the wall of the Kharatara-vasahi. In this second set the vidyās are in a standing posture whereas in the first set noted above they are in a sitting posture.

On a metal image of Ādinātha in the Pārśvanātha temple, Khataravasi pāḍā, Patan (North Gujarat), is a small figure of the goddess showing the discs in the two upper hands, the fruit in the left lower and

the *varada* pose in the right lower hands. Similar representations of the yakṣī are found at **Rāṇakapur (Jodhpur State)** in the Dharaṇavihāra temple, on the pedestal of Ādinātha on the northern side of the central Caumukha sculpture and on the door-frame of the cell no. 3. The same form is also available on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha in the Pañcāsara temple, Patan, and in a cell in the Caumukha ṭunka, Śatruñjaya. The latter pedestal is inscribed in the year 1380 V.S. It seems that this form which, as noted above, was worshipped as the Cakreśvarī vidyā in the Vimala-vasahi was later borrowed for the yakṣiṇī of the same name from at least the fourteenth century A.D.

A sculpture, worshipped as 'Śrī Cakreśvarī Mātā' in the Bālābhāi ṭunka, Śatruñjaya, and inscribed in the year 1758 V.S. (=1701 A.D.), shows the goddess seated in the *lalita* pose on a tiger vehicle and carrying the same set of symbols in her four hands. This change of her vāhana is seen in two more cases in Vāghaṇa pole, Śatruñjaya, noticed in the following pages.

A miniature painting on folio 2 of the palm-leaf manuscript of the first parva of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita (of Hemacandra) also represents the goddess with the discs in her two upper hands and the *varada-mudrā* and the citron in the right and the left lower hands respectively. Golden in complexion, the goddess sits in the *lalita* pose on a cushion, in front of which is seen a partly defaced face of her *garuḍa* vāhana (*JOI, XX.3, op. cit., fig. 7*).[9]

An earlier figure of Cakreśvarī, with the *varada-mudrā* in the above form replaced by the *abhaya* is available on a bronze *Covīsī* of Ṛṣabhanātha (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 8*) from an underground cell of the Dharaṇavihāra temple at Rāṇakapur. The sculpture can be assigned to c. late eleventh century A.D. on stylistic grounds and on the grounds of the small inscription on its back. A noteworthy feature of this bronze is the presence of a two-armed yakṣa carrying the citron and the bag instead of the cow-faced four-armed Gomukha, the yakṣa of Ṛṣabhanātha according to the Jaina texts. On the *Covīsī* bronze from Goghā, dated in V.S. 1123 = A.D. 1067, we obtain a similar form of Yakṣī Cakreśvarī.

A similar form of Cakreśvarī is also seen on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādinātha, of a later date of course, in the Ādiśvara temple, Khaḍākhoṭaḍī, Patan (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 10*). The representation of the disc, done in a rather curious fashion, is the work of a crude hand.

A beautiful bronze image of Ṛṣabhanātha being worshipped in the Covīsī temple, Godaḍano pāḍo, Patan (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 9*) and consecrated in the year 1606 V.S., according to the inscription on its back, shows yet another variety of the four-armed Cakreśvarī figures. Here the yakṣī carries the *cakra* in each of the two upper hands and shows the *varada mudrā* and the pot in her right and the left lower hands respectively.[10] The goddess sits in the *lalita* posture. A similar form of the yakṣī represented in a standing posture is available on a pillar in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā. In the Vimala-vasahi, on two pillars in the maṇḍapa facing the central shrine are available two standing figures of Cakreśvarī (*JOI, op. cit, figs. 12-13*). Fig. 12 shows the goddess standing in the *tribhaṅga* with the discs in the two upper hands and the pot in the left lower one; the right lower hand is mutilated. Fig. 13 shows the goddess in a similar posture but with the left lower hand mutilated and the right lower showing the *varada-mudrā*. It is interesting to find a lotus symbol near the right leg of each of the two figures. A standing figure with these four symbols is also found on the right side of the door-frame of the cell no. 39 in the Vimala-vasahi. We have no means to ascertain whether this form of Cakreśvarī was regarded as representing a vidyādevī or a yakṣī of the same name in the age of the Vimala-vasahī. At Kumbhāriā, however, the case is somewhat different. In the first place, the vāhana is the eagle instead of the lotus symbol of the above figures from the Vimala-vasahi. But the lotus symbol is not unknown for Cakreśvarī at Kumbhāriā since on a pillar in a temple we find Cakreśvarī with two discs, the *varada* and the conch and having the lotus as her symbol. In the case of figures showing the *varada* and the pot in the two lower hands at Kumbhāriā, the position is as follows: Each pillar has usually four standing deities on its four sides. Now in the case of pillars with this form of Cakreśvarī in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā, the other deities are Vairoṭyā, Sarasvatī, Vajrāṅkuśī or Rohiṇī or a goddess which cannot be recognised. This would, therefore, suggest that at Kumbhāriā, this form of Cakreśvarī probably represented the Cakreśvarī vidyā. But since no other definite example of Cakreśvarī vidyā with this form is hitherto available and since mutual borrowings of forms of

the yakṣiṇī and the vidyādevī are already known it is not impossible that the figures in the Vimala-vasahi might have represented the Cakreśvarī yakṣiṇī even though the form might have been later borrowed for the vidyādevī at Kumbhāriā. These identifications should be regarded as tentative and may be revised in the light of future definite evidence from stone, canvas or metal.

A later form of Cakreśvarī of c. sixteenth century A.D., with the *varada* symbol replaced by the rosary, is available in the case of the big sculpture of Cakreśvarī, worshipped as Vyāghreśvarī in the Vāghaṇa pole, Śatruñjaya. Here the eagle vehicle is replaced by the tiger which gives the name Vyāghreśvarī to the goddess in layman's worship. Almost all later examples of Cakreśvarī at Śatruñjaya demonstrate this change of vehicle, another example being preserved in tl e same locality in a small temple of Cakreśvarī. Here a small four-armed figure, with the disc in the two upper hands and the *varada-mudrā* shown by the two lower ones, sits in the lalita pose with the tiger as her vehicle. The whole figure is covered with red paint.

A temple supposed to have been built by Vimala sāha in the Vāghana pole, Śatruñjaya, has many interesting figures for a student of iconography. On the front wall of cell no. 392, is a figure of Cakreśvarī in a standing attitude with the eagle as her vāhana. She carries the *cakra* in her right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, and the goad (?) in the right lower one, while the left lower hand is held in the *varada* pose.

The door-frame of the Śāntinātha temple at Acalagarh, Mt. Abu, has on one side a figure of Gomukha, the yakṣa of Ādinātha while on the other is a figure of a goddess carrying the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the *varada* and the conch in the corresponding lower hands. The eagle is her vāhana, Obviously, she must be Cakreśvarī, the yakṣinī of Ādinātha whose yakṣa, Gomukha by name, already figures on the other side. The temple was, therefore, originally dedicated to Ādinātha.

The central shrine of the Pittalahara temple at Dilwārā, Mt. Abu, contains a big metal sculpture of Ādinātha with figures of Gomukha and Cakeśvarī on its pedestal (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 14*). Cakreśvarī here sits in the *lalita* pose and carries the *cakra* in each of the two upper hands and the rosary in the right lower one. The left lower carries an object which looks like the *vajra* (?). A miniature figure of the eagle is shown as her vāhana. The image is dated 1525 V.S., according to the inscriptions on the pedestal and the parikara.

On the back wall of the shrine of Neminātha at Kumbhāriā is a figure of a goddess sitting in the *lalita* pose with the club and the disc in the right and the left upper hands respectively and showing the *varada* and the conch in the corresponding lower ones (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 15*). There is also a figure of the Hindu Gaṇeśa on this wall. A standing goddess with the same set of symbols is also available on a pillar in the same temple. This pillar has a standing Sarasvatī on another side, a goddess with all the symbols mutilated on the third side and on the fourth side an unidentified goddess showing the sword, the shield, the *varada* and the citron in her four hands and with the lotus as her cognizance. It has to be seen whether the type of figure illustrated in *JOI, op. cit., fig 15*, with the club and the disc in her upper hands represents Cakreśvarī, the yakṣī, or Apraticakrā, the vidyādevī or any other deity.

Since it is not certain whether the other three figures on the pillar noted above form a group with this goddess, either of yakṣiṇīs or of vidyādevīs, the goddess on this pillar can be either of them. Now even if *JOI, op. cit., fig. 15* on the shrine wall were regarded as one of the Mātṛkas, Vaiṣṇavī by name, since at least Gaṇeśa who is known to accompany a set of Mātṛkās, is figured on the same wall, the pillar sculpture of the same variety of form, just referred to, does not seem to have been intended to represent the Vaiṣṇavī Mātṛkā as no other Mātṛkā is found in this group of pillars. She may, therefore, be Cakreśvarī, the yakṣiṇī of Ādinātha with her form borrowed directly from the Vaiṣṇavī Mātṛkā or indirectly through a similar form of the Digambara yakṣī Cakreśvarī discussed in the following pages.

Mātṛkās are not unknown to Jaina ritual and sculpture. The Ācaradinakara invokes eight Mātṛkās in the Ṣaṣṭhisaṁskāravidhi.[11] They are also invoked in a rite prescribed in the Digambara text Vidyānuśāsana. The Vimala-vasahī preserves figures of Brahmāṇī, Kaumarī and Māheśvarī in the ceiling facing cell no. 23.[11a] The fourth goddess in this ceiling cannot be identified. In the adjoining ceiling opposite

cell no. 24, figures of Aindrī and Vaiṣṇavī with the eagle vehicle along with two other goddesses are represented. All the Mātṛkās along with a figure of Gaṇeśa are repeated in the set of miniature figures on the three sides of a multi-armed goddess in the bhāva no. 18 of the same Vimala-vasahī.

This form of the Mātṛkā Vaiṣṇavī demonstrates the close relation existing between the Jaina Cakreśvarī and the Brāhmanical Vaiṣṇavī.

Another example of such a difficulty may be cited. A standing figure of a four-armed Cakreśvarī is preserved in a niche in a temple in Aduvasino pāḍo, Patan (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 17*). The goddess stands in the tribhaṅga and carries the *cakra* in each of her four hands. A miniature figure of a Tīrthaṅkara is carved above her crown, on the top of the sculpture. According to the literary traditions cited before, such a form is prescribed for the vidyādevī called Apraticakrā or Carkeśvarī whereas no such dhyāna exists for the yakṣī of the same name in the Śvetāmbara pantheon. One would, therefore, be tempted to identify this figure as representing the vidyādevī. But the miniature figure of a Jina shows that the sculptor intended to represent the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. It may however be remembered that the practice of carving such figures of Tīrthaṅkaras over crowns of different yakṣas or yakṣiṇīs is not universal in Jainism. As no other example of the Cakreśvarī showing these symbols is brought to light, and because of literary evidence noted above, this form is also discussed as a vidyādevī by the present writer.[12]

3. *Eight-Armed Variety*

Hemacandra says that Apraticakrā is golden in appearance and rides the eagle. In her right hands she shows the *varada*, the arrow, the disc, and the noose while in her left hands she carries the bow, the bolt (*vajra*), the disc and the goad.[13] The Nirvāṇakalikā,[14] the Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭīkā,[15] the Mantrādhirājakalpa,[16] the Ācāradinakara[17] and the Lokaprakāśa[18] describe the same form and address her variously as Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā. According to the Ācāradinakara and the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa[19] she holds a bundle of arrows instead of one according to the other texts. Śilpa works like the Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa and the Rūpamaṇḍana also follow the above tradition.[20]

Of this variety quite a large number of representations can be traced in various Śvetāmbara sites. On the outer wall of the Kharatara-vasahī, Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu, are carved, on the lowermost portion, all the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs of the Jaina pantheon. Here Cakreśvarī is seated on a *bhadrāsana* in the *lalita* pose and carries, in the topmost pair of hands, the noose in the left and the goad in the right; of the second pair, the left shows the thunderbolt while the right is mutilated. The third pair of hands carries the bow (in the left) and the arrow (in the right), while the fourth one shows the disc in the left and the *varada-mudrā* in the right. To the left of the goddess is seen a small figure of her eagle vehicle (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 20*).

A similar figure of the goddess with a little difference in the order of symbols is found on the outer wall of the sanctum of the central shrine of the Dharaṇa-vihāra at Rāṇakapura (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 18*). Here the goddess carries the following symbols in her four left hands, beginning from the top—the *cakra*, the goad, the bow and the *vajra*, the corresponding right hands show the noose, the arrow, the *cakra* and *varada-mudrā*. The eagle is her vāhana.

Two more representations of the deity are carved on the outer wall of the second and the smaller temple at Rāṇakapura. Once again, the order is changed here and the goddess shows in her right hands from the top, the noose, the disc, the arrow and the *varada* pose. The bow, the *vajra*, the goad and the disc appear in the corresponding lower hands (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 19*).

The temple attributed to Vimala sāha in the Vāghaṇa pole, Śatruñjaya, has on the door-frame of its cell no. 371 a figure of Cakreśvarī with the eagle vehicle and attended upon by a female fly-whisk bearer on each side. The goddess carries the disc in the uppermost pair of hands, in the second pair from the top, she carries the noose and the *vajra* in the right and the left hands respectively; in the third pair are shown the arrow and the goad in a corresponding order while in the last pair are shown the *varada* and the bow symbols in the same order.

An image of Cakreśvarī, installed by Jinarājasūri of the Kharatara-gaccha of the Śvetāmba

year 1675 v.s., according to the inscription on its pedestal, is being worshipped in the temple of Ajitanātha, Caumukha ṭuṅka, Śatruñjaya. The goddess sits in the *lalita* pose and shows, in her four right hands beginning from the top, the *abhaya*, the noose, the goad and the bow. In her topmost left hand is carried the arrow while in the lowermost one is shown the *vajra*; symbols of the two remaining left hands cannot be identified.

Another image of Cakreśvarī, from a niche in the same *ṭuṅka* (mountain way or street) at Śatruñjaya, though of a date as late as the year 1893 v.s., according to the inscription on its pedestal, is noteworthy. It represents the goddess sitting in *padmāsana* with the eagle as her vāhana and showing, in her four right hands, the *abhaya*, the arrow, the *cakra*, and the snake in order beginning from the topmost one, while in her left hands are shown, in a similar order, the bow, the disc, an unidentified symbol and the goad. There is a miniature figure of Ādinātha overhead.

A bronze figure of Cakreśvarī, eight-armed, with a small figure of a Jina overhead, and the eagle vehicle on the pedestal, shows her carrying the *cakra* in each of the three upper pairs of hands and showing the *varada mudrā* with the lower right hand and the citron with the lower left.[21] The bronze is preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Tiwarī has noted a figure of Cakreśvarī in ceiling of cell no. 10, Lūṇa-vasahi, Abu, datable in c. 1230 A.D., showing the *varada mudrā*, the *cakra*, the *vyākhyāna mudrā*, *cakra*, *cakra*, lotus-bud, *cakra* and fruit.[21a]

4. *Eighteen-Armed Variety*

No dhyana is known for this variety but a miniature painting (figure 77) on a folio from a palm-leaf manuscript of Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, copied in c. fourteenth century, shows the goddess carrying, in her right hands, the *cakra*, arrow, goad, lotus, *vajra*, sword and an indistinct object and showing the *varada* and the *vyākhyāna mudrās*. Corresponding left hands show the *cakra*, bow, noose, sword (?), shield, *vajra*, indistinct object and the *abhaya* (?). The eagle vāhana is shown in the right corner. The folio is in the collection of Śri Rajendrasimhaji Singhi who kindly permitted me to photograph it.

B. CAKREŚVARĪ OR APRATICAKRĀ (DIGAMBARA)

In the Digambara tradition, Cakreśvarī is worshipped in eight different varieties of forms: (1) the two-armed, (2) the four-armed, (3) the six-armed, (4) the eight-armed, (5) the ten-armed, (6) the twelve-armed, (7) the sixteen-armed and (8) the twenty-armed. The goddess is worshipped in both the sitting and the standing postures although her standing figures are rare. She is generally represented seated in the *lalita* pose and her vāhana is invariably the eagle. Dhyānas for only the four, twelve and sixteen-armed forms are found in literature, but the popularity of the goddess in Digambara worship, especially in sites like Devgadh and Khajuraho, is evident from a large number of figures traced hitherto. The *cakra* (disc) remains the chief distinguishing symbol of Cakreśvarī in Digambara tradition also.

1. *Two-Armed Variety*

A *Covīsī* (*Caturvimśati-paṭṭa*) of Ādinātha, preserved in temple no. 9 at Devgadh, near Lalitpur, has a small figure of the two-armed Cakreśvarī carrying the *cakra* in the right hand and the *kalaśa* (pot) in the left one. The sculpture belongs to c. twelfth century A.D.

On a sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, no. K.44 in the Khajuraho Museum, two-armed yakṣī Cakreśvarī shows the *abhaya mudrā* and the *cakra* in her hands.

We have referred to a bronze image of Ādinātha from Sanauli, Alwar district, Rajasthan. The bronze is dated in v.s. 1070 = A.D. 1013. On the right lower end is a two-armed cow-faced Gomukha Yakṣa showing the citron in his right hand while on the corresponding left end is a two-armed Yakṣī Cakreśvarī with the *cakra* in her left hand. The symbol of her right hand is indistinct.

At Devgadh, in temples 2 and 19 is found two-armed yakṣī Cakreśvarī on images of Ṛṣabha. The yakṣī shows the *cakra* and the *śaṅkha* (conch). On the Lucknow Museum image no. J. 856 of Ṛsabhanātha, yakṣī Cakreśvarī carries the *cakra* and the conch.

Tiwari has noted a two-armed Cakreśvarī on a Mānastambha near temple 16 at Devgadh. The goddess shows the *cakra* in each of her two hands.

Another specimen of two-armed variety hails from temple 2, Devgadh. Here, on an image of Ādinātha, the yakṣī is represented showing the *abhaya mudrā* with the right hand and carrying the *kalaśa* (water-jar) with the left. This is certainly curious since the disc which is her chief symbol and from which the yaksī derives her name is absent here. It seems that a special tradition existed amongst the Digambaras, at least at Devgadh, which prescribed the *abhaya* and the *kalaśa* (pot) for yakṣiṇīs of more than one Tīrthaṅkaras. Was the yakṣī known as Cakreśvarī in this form and tradition?

Mohapatra has noted a two-armed yaksī Cakreśvarī, below the Ṛṣabhanātha figure of Jamunda (D.M. 35) in Jeypore branch museum, seated in *lalitāsana* pose, and displaying *varada mudrā* in both hands.[21b] Was the yakṣī called Cakreśvarī in this form? This form is illustrated by the sculptures of Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha with yakṣiṇīs bearing the same symbols in the temple no. 2, as also by the figures of the yakṣiṇīs of Ajitanātha, Supārśva and Abhinandana (c. 12th century A.D.) in the temple no. 3 at Devgaḍh. The same iconographic tradition was also current at Mohandrā about a hundred miles from Pannā in Central India where yakṣiṇīs of Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha were represented in precisely the same fashion. The sculptures are at present preserved in a newly built temple in Pannā. So the name of this form of yaksī was perhaps not Cakreśvarī.

2. Four-Armed Variety

Vasunandi in his Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra refers to a four-armed form of the goddess with discs in two hands and riding the eagle.[22] But he does not mention the symbols held in the remaining hands of the deity Pratiṣṭhātilaka of Nemicandra also refers to this form but adds that the goddess shows the *varada* and the fruit in the other two hands.[23] Ekasandhī also follows the same tradition in his Jinasaṁhitā.[24]

In the temple no. 3 at Devgaḍh is preserved a sculpture of Ādinātha, dated V.S. 1102, with a small figure of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī carved on the lower portion The devī is represented as carrying the discs in the two upper hands, and as showing the *abhaya* and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones. A similar representation of the devī is carved on the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Khajurāho Museum. Here the vāhana appears like a human being

Mathura Museum no. B.21 of Ṛsabhanātha shows the yakṣī Cakreśvarī carrying the disc in each of the two upper hands, and the conch in the left lower one. Her right lower hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā*

No. 0.75 in the Lucknow Museum is a sculpture of Ādinātha with a figure of Cakreśvarī showing another form. The deity carries the disc in each of her two upper hands and shows the *varada-mudrā* with the right lower one. The left lower is mutilated but it probably held the conch symbol. This is inferred with the help of another figure of the goddess showing identical symbols in the Jain temple no. 31 at Khajurāho. The yakṣī rides the eagle.

A loose sculpture of Cakreśvarī is preserved in the navaraṅga of the Śāntinātha Basti, Kambaḍahalli, Mysore State. Installed by the Gangas in late ninth or early tenth century, it is remarkable for its grace and can be compared with the finest of the Cola images. Here the goddess shows the *cakra* in the two upper hands, the *abhaya mudrā* in the right lower and the *padma* or citron in the left lower one. The eagle is her vāhana (figure 94).[25]

Another form of the goddess is found on a figure of Ādinātha in the temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh. The goddess here carries the *gadā* (club) in her right upper hand, the disc in the left upper, and the conch in the left lower one, and shows the *abhaya* in the right lower hand. The *garuḍa* is her vāhana. A similar figure can be seen on the pedestal of another figure of Ādinātha in the same temple. Two more representations of this form are found at Khajurāho, one on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādinātha in the Khajurāho

Museum and the other on the door-frame of the Jaina temple no. 19. On an image at Khajuraho, *abhaya* is replaced by *varada mudrā*. So also at Devgadh T. 2, 5 and 11, we find these two varieties of forms.

There is a big rock-cut sculpture of Ādinātha in the Gwalior fort, with a standing two-armed Ambikā carved on his right and a four-armed standing Cakreśvarī on his left side. Cakreśvarī (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 22*) here carries the same set of symbols as in the figures just noted. On the left end of the pedestal of a large mutilated sculpture of Ādinātha lying on the roadside in the village of Manhwara in the Jubbulpur District, Madhya Pradesh, is a small figure of the yakṣī riding the eagle and showing the club and the *abhaya* in the right upper and lower hands while the symbols of two mutilated left hands are not recognisable, but the left upper hand appears to have held the disc symbol.

On the west wall of the temple no. 1, Devgaḍh, there are some sculptures studded into it, possibly during repairs, from the scattered images near the temple. On the northern end of this wall is a sculpture of Ādinātha with the yakṣa Gomukha and the yakṣī Cakreśvarī on the right and the left sides of its pedestal. Cakreśvarī is riding the eagle and carrying the *gadā* and the *cakra* in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the *varada-mudrā* and the *śankha* (conch) with the corresponding lower hands. We find similar forms in T. 12, 1, 4 and 26. A sculpture of Ādinātha from Bateśvara in the Agra district, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 789), also shows Cakreśvarī with identical symbols. A similar figure of the yakṣī is also carved on a sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Khajurāho Museum. Also see figure 91 from Khajuraho. Here the symbol of the left lower hand is mutilated.

On the entrance door of the temple no. 9, Devgaḍh appears another variety of the four-armed Cakreśvarī. Here the conch in the preceding figure is replaced by the rosary, while the other symbols remain unchanged. There is a lintel of a Jaina temple in the Khajurāho Museum with a figure of Cakreśvarī in the centre and Ambikā and Padmāvatī occupying the right and the left ends respectively. In the intervening space are represented figures of the nine planets. The goddess Cakreśvarī holds the club and the disc in the two upper hands and shows the *varada* pose in the right lower one. The symbol of the fourth hand is mutilated.

On a pillar in the temple no. 12, Devgaḍh, there is a standing figure of Cakreśvarī carrying the club and the conch in her right and the left upper hands respectively, while the right lower is held in the *varada* pose and the left lower holds the disc. A miniature figure of her usual vehicle is seen in the left lower corner. A female chowrie-bearer is seen on either side of the yakṣī (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 23*).

On the pillar no. 1, west gate, Devgaḍh fort, there is a beautiful well-preserved representation of Cakreśvarī sitting with her right foot hanging in the *lalita* pose. She carries the disc and the conch in the left upper and lower hands; her right upper hand shows the *abhaya-mudrā* while the right lower one holds the club. The *garuḍa* vehicle of the goddess, full of life and vigour, lends additional charm to this sculpture (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 24*). A figure of Cakreśvarī on a sculpture of Ādinātha, in the temple no. 9 at Devgaḍh, also shows identical symbols.

On the south wall of the Jaina temple at Jinanāthapura in the Mysore State, is a Cakreśvarī sitting in the *lalita* pose on a *bhadrāsana*. A miniature figure of her *garuḍa* vāhana is seen in the left lower corner of the sculpture. Cakreśvarī carries the *cakra* in her right as well as the left upper hands and the lotus in the right lower one. The left lower is held in the *varada* pose. The ornamental halo behind her face, the crown over her head and the various ornaments over her person may be noted; stylistically, the figure is typical of the art of the Hoyaśala period (figure 102A).

On a slab in the temple no. 12, appears one more form of the four-armed variety. The devī is here shown in a standing attitude carrying the *cakra* in each of her four hands. A similar form of the goddess is available on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. G.322). Here Cakreśvarī is represented in a sitting posture. The Devgaḍh figure just described represents an older tradition as it can be assigned to c. tenth century A.D. on stylistic grounds and on account of the script of the labels inscribed on the set of the yakṣiṇīs preserved in this temple. The sculpture is one of the earlier specimens of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī.

With this last form may be compared the Śvetāmbara vidyādevī Apraticakrā or Cakreśvarī who

also carries the discs in her four hands and has the eagle as her vāhana. It may be noted that in the Digambara tradition, list of the sixteen Mahāvidyās replaces another vidyādevī called Jāmbunadā for Cakreśvarī of the Śvetāmbara lists.

There is a big sculpture of Ādinātha, in the Khajurāho Museum, with the bull symbol and a row of the nine planets on its pedestal. On the right end of the pedestal sits the four-armed cow-faced yakṣa Gomukha, with two pots of money near his leg. On the left end of the pedestal sits the yakṣī of Ādinātha, namely, Cakreśvarī, riding the eagle and carrying the *vajra* and the *cakra* in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the rosary in the right lower one. The symbol of the left lower hand is mutilated.

An image of Rsabha in the Pudukkota Museum, Tamil Nadu, shows a four-armed Yakṣī Cakreśvarī carrying the *cakra* and the conch in her right and left upper hands respectively and the fruit in the right lower one. The left lower hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā*.[26]

No. 1667 in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho is a sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha whose yakṣī shows the *abhaya*, *padma*, *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in her four hands.

3. *Six-Armed Variety*

On the outer wall of the compound of temple no. 8 at Devgaḍh is a figure of Cakreśvarī with six arms, the uppermost pair of hands showing the discs while sword and the club are held in the right and the left hands respectively of the middle pair. The lowest pair shows the *varada* pose in the right and the conch in the left hands. The goddess rides the eagle.

On the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha, from the temple no. 4, Devgaḍh, is found a slightly modified form of the goddess. The symbols in the first and the last pair of hands remain unchanged, but the middle pair here carries the club in the right and the lotus in the left hands. The eagle is her vāhana. The figure belongs roughly to the twelfth century A.D.

A third form of the six-armed variety is preserved on the door-frame of the Jaina temple no. 14 at Khajurāho. On two sides of Cakreśvarī are the figures of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. Cakreśvarī here carries four discs in the four hands of the first and the middle pairs while the lowest pair shows the *varada* in the right and the conch in the left hands. The eagle is her vāhana.

On an image in Temple 27 at Khajuraho and on Kha. Mu. no. K 27.50. the yakṣī shows the *abhaya*, *gadā*, *cakra*, *cakra*, *padma* and the conch.

On the outer wall of the Jaina temple at Jinanāthapura, Mysore State,[27] is a figure of Cakreśvarī facing the North and sitting in the *lalita* posture with a miniature figure of an eagle vehicle below her left leg. She carries the disc in each of the two uppermost hands, the *vajra* in each of the two middle ones and the lotus in the last left hand while the corresponding right one is held in the *varada-mudrā*. The goddess sits under an ornamental arch of a creeper and wears a crown and various other ornaments.[28]

Another figure of Cakreśvarī of this last variety is available on a sculpture of Ṛsabhanātha in the Bhanḍāre Basadi (early twelfth century) at Śravaṇa Belagola, Mysore State Here the yakṣī is represented in a standing attitude and carrying the same set of symbols.

No descriptive dhyāna is available in Jaina literature for the six-armed variety, but it seems pretty clear that the form was popular in Digambara tradition in the middle ages.

4. *Eight-Armed Variety*

The eight-armed form of the goddess likewise was popular in art, but no dhyāna is available in literature. It seems that the six or eight-armed varieties were mere expansion of the conception underlying the four-armed forms since they can be easily reduced to the four-armed variety by merely omitting the second and the third pairs of hands.

At Gyaraspur, in the Maladevi temple (c. late 9th century A.D.), between the two eastern balcony-projections of the south facade the last course of the roof shows a niche containing an image of eight-

armed Cakreśvarī, seated on *garuḍa*. The goddess carries the *pāśa* (noose), an indistinct object, and the *vajra* (thunderbolt) in her right hands while her three left hands show the *vajra*, an indistinct object, and the *cakra* (wheel or discus). The (fourth) left lowermost hand is broken. The attributes are reckoned clock-wise starting from the lower right hand. The figure is flanked by a female attendant.[29]

On the pillar no. II, temple no. 1, Devgaḍh fort, is found a beautiful figure of Cakreśvarī facing the eastern direction (*Fig. 114*). The yakṣī sits in *lalitāsana* over her eagle vehicle and shows in her right hands, in a descending order, the disc, the noose (?), the club and the *varada* pose, while the left hands carry, in a corresponding order, the disc, the *vajra*, the money-bag (?) and the conch (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 26*).

Another variety is obtained on a broken pillar to the south of the temple no. 12 at Devgaḍh. The deity is shown in a standing posture and carrying the discs in the two uppermost hands. In the second pair of hands are shown the *abhaya* and the shield, in the third, the sword and the axe; and in the last, the club and the conch in the right and the left hands respectively. On each side of the devī is found the familiar figure of the *garuḍa* vāhana.

A third type of form in this variety is found on the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. 178 from Orai). In this figure the goddess sits in *lalitāsana* on the eagle (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 27*), carrying in her left hands, the disc in the uppermost one, an unidentified symbol in the second from above, the bow in the third and the bag (?) in the fourth or the normal hand. In her right hands, she shows a bundle of arrows in the uppermost one and carries the disc in the third hand. Symbols of the two remaining hands are mutilated. The goddess rides the eagle represented in a human form. A female worshipper sits on each side of the vāhana while in the uppermost corners are seen two more attendants, one of them carrying a pitcher with both hands, perhaps suggestive of *abhiṣeka* or lustration of the goddess, a motif which became popular in Hindu iconography in the medieval period.

An early eight-armed figure of Cakreśvarī, carved in low relief at Gangadharam in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, discovered by N. Venkataramanayya, is described and illustrated by S. Settar. Her two upper pairs of hands show the *cakra*, the lowermost right holds the fruit, the corresponding left seems to carry the lotus, while the remaining two hold the *vajra* (thunderbolt).[30]

At Ellora, cave 32, first floor, in a left side shrine, is a fine relief of Cakreśvarī sitting in *ardhapadmāsana* and holding in her two upper left arms the *cakra*, and the *cakra* and the trident in the two upper right hands. The two lower right hands show the sword and the *varada mudrā*, while the lowermost left hand is held in the *abhaya* pose. Symbol of the remaining left hand is indistinct (*Fig. 115*).

A bronze figure of Ṛṣabhanātha, no. 67.152 in the National Museum, New Delhi, represents the yakṣī Cakreśvarī eight-armed, carrying the *cakra* in each of the three upper six hands and the fruit in the lowermost left hand. Her corresponding right hand shows the *varada-mudrā*.[31] It is not certain whether this image belongs to the Śve. or the Dig. tradition. So the form is tentatively treated in both the traditions.

Tiwari has noted two eight-armed forms on the śikhara of the Maladevi temple, Gyaraspur, M.P. According to him, the one on the south side shows the *cakra* in the two upper pairs of hands, the *vajra* and the conch in the third pair of hands while the symbols of the two lowermost hands are mutilated. The eagle is her vāhana. The figure of Cakreśvarī on the northern side of the śikhara carries the sword, the lotus (?), the disc, the shield, the conch and the mace (*gadā*) in her six hands while the remaining two symbols are mutilated. The eagle is her vāhana.[32]

Tiwari has also noted an eight-armed Cakreśvarī on the *uttaranga* of the Ghantai temple (c. 10th cent.) at Khajuraho. Here the goddess carries, according to Tiwari, the fruit (?), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, bow (?) and *kalaśa*.[33]

A standing Cakreśvarī on a pillar in front of temple 14, Devgadh shows the staff (*daṇḍa*), sword (*khaḍga*), *abhaya mudrā*, *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, axe (*paraśu*) and conch (*śaṅkha*) in her eight hands.[34]

Of the eight-armed variety a mutilated sculpture is preserved in the Khajuraho Museum (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 28*). The goddess is sitting in the *lalita* pose on the eagle and carries the citron in her normal right

hand and the conch in the corresponding left one. One of the left holds the *cakra* while the remaining symbols are mutilated. A female attendant is shown on each side, while two worshippers appear near the feet along with two more figures of musicians. On the top of the sculpture are carved flying garland-bearers. The image certainly does not represent the Brahmanical goddess Vaiṣṇavī who is also said to ride the eagle and carry the disc but is never known to have carried the citron. Khajuraho is a veritable mine of sculptures of both the Brahmanical and the Jaina pantheons and the find of an eight-armed Jaina Cakreśvarī is not at all unlikely. *Fig. 99* from the British Museum probably represents (*Cakra-*)*dhṛti*-Cakreśvarī.

5. Ten-Armed Variety

On a pillar in the compound of the temple no. 12 at Devgaḍh is a figure of Cakreśvarī with ten arms. The devī sits in *lalitāsana*, and carries in her left hands in descending order the *cakra*, the shield, the *vajra*, the bow and the conch while in the corresponding right hands are shown the *cakra*, the sword, the club, the arrow and the *varada-mudrā*. The eagle is her vāhana (*JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 29*). The figure may be said to date from c. twelfth century A.D.

Another ten-armed figure of the goddess is found in the Navamuni Cave, Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa, where the devī sits in the *padmāsana* and carries the disc in each of the first three pairs of hands while the lowest pair shows the *pravacana mudrā* (gesture of discourse) in the right hand and the left one placed on the lap with the palm turned upwards (*JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 30*). Of the remaining hands one holds a disc and the other a shield. The sculpture is assignable to c. ninth century A.D.[35]

A third form of the ten-armed variety is preserved in the Curzon Museum, Mathurā. The goddess is represented in a standing attitude with the *cakra* in each of her ten hands. Over her head is a figure of her lord Ṛṣabhanātha and the eagle is shown as her vāhana. The figure was wrongly described by Vogel as Vaiṣṇavī of the Brahmanical pantheon;[36] the mistake was probably due to the fact that a close relationship seems to have been maintained amongst the forms of these two goddesses. The sculpture appears to be a product of c. ninth century A.D. (*JAA, I, plate 78*).

Another ten-armed form of the goddess is preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (*JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 31*), on a fragment of an elaborately carved lintel along with the figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras and the nine planets represented in a sitting posture. The sculpture comes from Siron Khurd, District Lalitapur in Madhya Pradesh. The goddess sits on an eagle represented like a human being. Although some of the symbols are mutilated, the remaining symbols leave no doubt regarding her identity. Beginning from the topmost hand they are in the following order: r. 1—disc, r. 2—disc, r. 3—?, r. 4—?, r. 5—*varada-mudrā*, and l. 1—bell ?, l. 2—disc, l. 3—lotus, l. 4—bow, and l. 5—arrow (?).

There is a large unidentified sculpture of a goddess in the Khajurāho Museum. This seems to represent a rare form of the goddess Cakreśvarī (*JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 32*). She is terrific in appearance with a gaping mouth and big rolling eye-balls. She is shown as riding a bird which can be easily taken as the eagle. On top of the sculpture was probably a miniature figure of a Jina now mutilated and lost; just below this are two garland-bearers and two female musicians while on each side of the head of Cakresvarī, on each upper corner of the sculpture is a miniature figure of a goddess, seated in the *lalitāsana*, and four-armed. The figure on the right shows the *abhaya* and the citron in the two lower hands while the deity on the left shows the *varada* (?) and the pot in the two lower hands. As the heads and the two upper hands of both the deities are mutilated, it is not possible to identify them correctly. Two female attendants stand on each side of the eagle beside four sitting worshippers. Almost all the hands of the goddess are mutilated. The partly mutilated symbol in her upper left hand is either a *cakra* or a shield. The ten arms of the goddess can however be counted. The sculpture is an excellent example of the early Candella art. The whole sculpture offers close similarity in the arrangement of figures, design, etc., with the other well-known Jaina sculptures like the twenty-armed Cakreśvarī (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 36*) discussed below, or the four-armed Sarasvatī from Khajurāho.[37] The method of grouping three goddesses, one in the centre and two miniatures on the top, is common to all

these three sculptures. Khajurāho, the findspot of this sculpture, was also a strong Jaina centre. However if the vāhana is not the eagle here this sculpture may represent any other goddess, perhaps a Hindu devī.

Prajñapti, the yakṣī of the third Tīrthaṅkara Sambhava, is the only other Jaina goddess who has, like Cakreśvarī, a bird as her vāhana. But the bird in the case of Prajñapti is not always specified and the Canarese dhyāna ślokas referred to by Ramachandran inform us that it is the swan (*haṁsa*). Again, Prajñapti is known to have been worshipped in only two varieties of forms, namely, the two-armed and the six-armed. Thus she is different from Cakreśvarī, ten-armed forms of whom are already known. Further, Cakreśvarī was more popular amongst the Jaina devotees of Khajurāho, and a terrific form of the goddess is not wholly unwarranted in Jaina traditions. A Cakreśvarī-aṣṭakam of unknown authorship prescribes a terrific form of the goddess for worship in various Jaina Tantric rites.[38]

A ten-armed form portrayed on one of the door-lintels of the Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho, has been noted by Klaus Bruhn.[39] According to him, the goddess shows in her right hands the *padma* (?), the *cakra*, the *gadā*, the *khaḍga* and the *abhaya-mudrā* and in the left ones, the *cakra*, the bow, the *kheṭaka*, the *gadā* and the conch.

Tiwari has noted a ten-armed form of this yakṣī on a sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha in the Pārśvanātha temple, Khajuraho. The yakṣī shows the *varada*, sword, mace (*gadā*), *cakra*, *padma* (?), *cakra*, bow, shield, *gadā* and conch in her ten hands

6 Twelve-Armed Variety

The twelve-armed form of the goddess seems to have been very popular since several texts describe it. According to the Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha of Vasunandī,[40] the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra of Āśādhara[41] and the Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka of Nemicandra,[42] the goddess Cakreśvarī has either twelve or four arms. In the former case, she carries the *vajra* in each hand of the uppermost pair, four pairs of hands in the middle all carry a disc, while the lowermost pair shows the *varada* and the citron. Yellow in complexion, the goddess sits on the lotus and rides the garuḍa.

The above tradition is followed by the palm-leaf manuscript of Yakṣa-Yakṣi-lakṣaṇa noted by Ramachandran.[43] But the earliest known Digambara text describing this form is the Kannaḍa Ādipurāṇam of Pampa completed in 941 A.D S. Settar, quoting from it,[44] has shown that according to Pampa, Cakreśvarī, riding on the eagle, has twelve arms, with the *varada mudrā* and the *padma* in two, the *vajras* in two others and the disc (*cakra*) in each of the remaining eight hands. Golden in complexion, she is terrific in appearance

A figure of Cakreśvarī illustrating this variety is available at Veṇūr in the Mysore State where in a Jaina temple are preserved sculptures of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras with their yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs. Here Cakreśvarī stands on the left of a figure of Ādinātha and carries (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 33)* the *vajra* in each of the two uppermost pair of hands, the *cakra* in each hand of the four middle pairs and the lotus in the lowermost right hand; the corresponding left one is held in the *varada* pose.

A fragment of a sculpture representing a Covīsī of Ādinātha is preserved in the Museum of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 34*).[45] Cakreśvarī here stands in the *tribhaṅga* and carries the same set of symbols but in a slightly modified order. The four upper pairs of hands carry the *cakra*, the fifth holds the *vajra* in each hand, the lowermost right hand shows the lotus while the mutilated corresponding left one probably showed the *varada-mudrā*.

A sculpture of Ādinātha is being worshipped in the Śeṭṭara Basadi, Mudabidri, Mysore State. Here on the left side of the Jina is carved a standing Cakreśvarī carrying the discs in the first eight hands beginning from the top, and the *vajra* in each of the two next ones. But the symbols of the lowermost pair of hands are interchanged and the goddess here carries the lotus in her left hand and shows the right one in the *varada-mudrā*.

Markuli, a small village in the Mysore State, has a Jaina Basti constructed in 1173 A.D. In the chief cell, in the main temple, is an image of Ādīśvara and in the *śukanāsī* are a male and a female

figures, both in the sitting postures. The female figure, apparently a yakṣī, has twelve arms. In her four right and four left hands, she carries the *cakra*; in one right and one left hand, she holds the *vajra*, while she holds the lotus in the sixth left hand and shows the *varada-mudrā* in the corresponding right one.[46] Obviously, she represents the Digambara Jaina yakṣī Cakreśvarī (*Fig. 113*).

The Aparājita-pṛcchā, a śilpa text, describes the above-mentioned set of symbols with the difference that the *varada* is replaced by the *abhaya-mudrā*. She sits on the lotus and has the eagle as her vāhana.[47] The Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa also describes this form besides the four-armed one already discussed.[48]

A big relief sculpture of Cakreśvarī is carved on the left wall of the verandah of the Bārābhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa (*figure 70*). The cave derives its name from this twelve-armed figure of Cakreśvarī. The goddess sits in the *lalita āsana* on a big double-lotus below which are carved miniature figures of a male and a female worshippers. Above the goddess-figure is a miniature figure of Ṛṣabhanātha with his bull symbol. The devī therefore represents the yakṣī of the first Jina. Cakreśvarī here shows in her left hands the following symbols in a descending order, namely, the *cakra*, an unidentified symbol, the shield, the *cakra*, the *vajra*, and the *pravacana* (or *vitarka*) *mudrā*. In her right hands are shown in a corresponding order the *cakra*, the sword, a symbol now mutilated, an unidentified symbol, the *vajra* and the *varadu mudrā*.[49]

On the left wall of the cave are figures of five Tīrthaṅkaras. The first is Ṛṣabha with the bull symbol. Below the relief of this Jina is his twelve-armed yakṣī Cakreśvarī with the eagle (*garuḍa*) vāhana. Of her six right hands one is in *varada* and the rest hold a thunderbolt (*vajra*), two discs (*cakra*), rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a sword; three of her left hands hold a shield, disc and the stalk of a flower; the attributes of the three others are badly damaged.[50]

In a big relief panel in a wall to the left of the passage near the entrance of Cave 30, Ellora,[51] is carved a beautiful figure of Cakreśvarī sitting in *padmāsana* on a big lotus (very much worn out) below which is her human-faced eagle vehicle. The sculpture dates from c. end of the ninth century A.D. Above the head of the devī is a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana on a lotus. Almost all the right hands of the devī except two are broken and lost. The symbol of the lowermost right hand is mutilated while the hand just above it holds a big sword. Of the six left hands, beginning from the topmost one, the symbols visible are a mace-like object, the *cakra*, and the conch. Symbol of the normal left hand is mutilated (*Fig. 155*).

The unidentified manuscript from Jina-Kanchī noticed by Ramachandran gives different iconographic details.[52] According to it Cakreśvarī has three eyes and rides the eagle. The deity shows the *śakti* and the *vajra* in two hands, eight discs in eight hands, and the *varada* and the lotus in the two remaining hands.

7. Sixteen-Armed Variety

The Canarese Dhyāna ślokas referred to by T.N. Ramachandran[53] describe a sixteen-armed form of this yakṣī. According to this text, one right hand shows the *varada mudrā* while the corresponding left shows the *kaṭaka* pose. Another right and its corresponding left rest on the lap (perhaps in the dhyāna mudrā), while the remaining hands hold different weapons of war (not specified). The *garuḍa* is her vāhana.

The drawing published by Burgess from a Canarese tradition may be compared with this form.[54] Here the two uppermost hands show the discs (?), while the two lowermost are placed on the lap. One right hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā* while the corresponding left shows the *pravacana mudrā*. The goddess sits in the *lalita* pose with the eagle vehicle beside her left leg. Symbols of the ten remaining hands are not given in the drawing, but they are supposed to carry various weapons.

A sixteen-armed standing Cakreśvarī was discovered at Gandhaval, old Gwalior state, now in M.P. In her upper right hands are seen the sword and the disc, in one of the left hands is seen the *cakra*. Symbols of remaining hands are mutilated and indistinct (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 37*).[55]

R.P. Mohapatra has referred to some more twenty-armed figures of Cakreśvarī in Orissa.[56]

According to him, "one is worshipped as Bhagavati at Jeypore and the other kept half buried under earth in a temple at Suai of Koraput district." The Jeypore figure represents the yakṣī seated *in padmāsana* on a double lotus. On the pedestal is the *garuḍa* vāhana. Above the figure of the yakṣī is a Jina sitting in *padmāsana*. "Of her sixteen hands, the eight in the right represent attributes like sword, conical object (?), crescent moon, *cakra* (disc), *śaṅkha* (conch), *vajra* (thunderbolt), *japamālā* (rosary) and *varada mudrā* and the remaining eight of the left side display conical object (?), shield, *gadā* (mace), *cakra*, trident, *vajra*, *kalaśa* (pot) and an indistinct object. The third eye on her forehead is distinctly visible."

The Suai image also represents the yakṣī as seated in the *padmāsana*. "From her sixteen hands the available ones of the right side contain mace, sword, trident, disc, bow and pot and the left side displays spear, shield, arrow, dagger, and a conical object. The attributes of the remaining hands are damaged and missing." Above is a figure of a Jina.

8. Twenty-Armed Variety

A beautiful and elaborately carved sculpture of the goddess comes from Devgaḍh fort, temple no. 19 (*JOI, op. cit., fig. 36*).[57] On the top of the sculpture are figures of three Tīrthaṅkaras with Ādinātha seated in the centre, along with miniature figures of garland-bearers and musicians. On two sides appear two small figures of Jaina goddesses the one on the right being Padmāvatī and the other on the left being Sarasvatī. The goddess is shown gracefully sitting in the *lalitāsana* upon a beautiful lotus with the eagle below her left leg. Three female attendants on each side possibly represent the *parivāra* of the goddess. The symbols held in her hands are mostly mutilated but three discs, the upper portion of a club and the rosary are still visible in her right hands, while two discs, the shield and the conch can be seen in her left hands. Stylistically, the figure belongs to the same age as that of the figure of Mālinī from the same spot, dated 1070 v.s.

Another twenty-armed figure of the yakṣī is preserved in the temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh. It is a large sculpture and represents the goddess in a sitting posture on the eagle. All the symbols held in her hands are mutilated with the exception of one *cakra*. This belongs to a somewhat earlier age than the preceding one.

A third twenty-armed sculpture with all the symbols well preserved is also found at Devgaḍh in temple no. 12. It is placed in a dark cell adjoining the central shrine. The goddess sits in *lalitāsana* on a full-blown lotus (*JOI, vol. XX, op. cit., fig. 38*) with a four-armed eagle underneath. With two hands the eagle lifts the devī while the other two are folded together in adoration. Cakreśvarī holds with one of the uppermost pair of hands the *cakra* over the head, the artist possibly wanted to convey the idea that the yakṣī carried overhead the *dharmacakra* of her Master Ādinātha. Her two normal hands forming the lowest pair also hold the discs. In the intervening right hands, the following symbols can be identified—*vajra*, goad (?), rosary, *mudgara* (mace), disc, sword, a club-like weapon with a small handle, and bag (?); in the intervening left hands the following are recognisable—bell, shield, staff (?), bow, conch, disc, disc, arrow, disc. An attendant female chowrie-bearer stands on each side of Cakreśvarī near the legs (*Fig. 175*).

The above study of the various forms of Cakreśvarī worshipped by both the Jaina sects will make it quite clear to anyone familiar with the Hindu sculptures that Cakreśvarī offers an interesting comparison with the well-known Brahmanical goddess Vaiṣṇavī, the *śakti* of Viṣṇu. According to the Aṁśumadbhedāgama, Devīpurāṇa and Rupamaṇḍana, Vaiṣṇavī is four-armed and rides the eagle. The Viṣṇudharmottara calls her six-armed. When four-armed, she shows sometimes the conch, the disc, the *varada* and the *abhaya*, and sometimes the conch, the disc, the club and the lotus. In all cases the *garuḍa* vāhana remains unchanged. When six-armed, she shows the *varada*, the club, the garland of lotuses, the conch, the disc, and the *abhaya-mudrā*. The garuḍa acts as the vehicle. Thus it will be seen that at least three symbols, namely, the conch, the *cakra* and the club, as also the *garuḍa* vāhana are common to both the Cakreśvarī and the Vaiṣṇavī. In fact, some of the sculptures of Cakreśvarī can be easily mistaken for those of Vaiṣṇavī as was at least once done by Vogel.

In both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, Cakreśvarī is well known as the yakṣiṇī or śāsana-devatā of Ādinātha, while the corresponding yakṣa is the cow-faced yakṣa Gomukha. But curiously enough, a metal sculpture representing a Covīsī of Ādinātha (i.e. with Ādinātha as the main figure in the centre) has a miniature figure of Ambikā placed as the yakṣiṇī. The yakṣa here is the Gomukha who is well-known as the yakṣa of Ādinātha. The image is preserved in a temple in Piṇḍwāḍā, Sirohi State and is installed in the year 1151 V.S. according to an inscription on its back. Two more examples of Ambikā associated with Ādinātha in metal sculptures from Sādaḍī (Jodhapura State) and Iḍar in the North Gujarat (belonging to c. 10th and 11th centuries respectively) have been discussed elsewhere by this writer.[58] Ambikā is further found associated with Mallinātha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra on some pedestals preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and in the Baroda Museum. Similar examples can be multiplied. Thus, though Ambikā is the Śāsana-yakṣī of the twenty-second Jina Neminātha, in earlier examples she is similarly associated with different Tīrthaṅkaras. For examples, at Akoṭā in Gujarat and Ḍhānka in Kathiawar, she is associated with Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha respectively. Here the yakṣa is a two-armed pot-bellied figure showing close similarity with Kubera and Jambhala of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. Let us call him Yakṣesvara or Sarvānubhūti or Sarvāṇha.[59] A similar pair of yakṣa and yakṣiṇī is seen on the pedestal of the sculpture of Ādinātha from Mathura, no. 78 in the Lucknow Museum. At Ellora, again the same yakṣa and Ambikā are met with. It seems, therefore, that in early Jaina sculpture this yakṣa pair (of Kubera-like Yakṣa and Ambikā) was installed as the attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of all the Jinas. We have discussed the problem in the preceding chapter.

The introduction of separate śāsana-devatās for each of the twenty-four Jinas replaced the earlier pair of Yakṣeśvara and Ambikā (common to all the 24 Jinas) during the transition from the Gupta period to the middle ages and should be assigned to a period between the sixth and the eighth cent. A.D.

Of all the images of Cakreśvarī discovered hitherto, the earlier specimens are the four-armed figures from Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇ, Ranakpur, Vimala vasahi, Abu, and Devgaḍh fort, the ten-armed figure from the Navamuni cave and the twelve-armed one from the Daśabhuja cave, Orissa discussed above. All these figures belong to a period later than the eighth century A.D., which is the lower limit for the introduction of the set of twenty-four śāsana-devatās

The canonical literature of the Jainas does not give a list of the Jaina śāsana-devatās. The Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon was finally written down by the Valabhi council under the chairmanship of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa in the fifth century A.D. According to the Digambaras, the ancient Āgamas are now lost and none of the works composed before the eighth century A.D. makes a reference to the attendant śāsana-yakṣa pairs.

The Tiloyapaṇṇatti, supposed to have been composed by Yativṛṣabha who flourished sometime in the fist century A.D. or a little later, is a work on Jaina cosmography[60] and gives a list of the twenty-four yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs according to the Digambara tradition. But the printed text of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti seems to have been a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier (now lost) Tiloyapaṇṇatti sūtra composed by Yativṛṣabha. Vīrasena, the author of the Dhavala and the Jayadhavala refers to a Tiloyapaṇṇatti sūtra in a passage which is also found in the printed text of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti.[61] Hence both the author of the extant Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Vīrasena had another text of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti before them. Besides internal evidence also points to the conclusion that the modern text of this work was prepared sometime after the reign of Kalki and his son whose rule is said to have ended in the year 1002 after Mahāvīra. Again, the text itself pays homage to Yativṛṣabha in one verse at the end,[62] and in another invokes benediction for a certain Bālacandra Saiddhāntika.[63] Two Bālacandras are known to us from the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa both of whom cannot be placed earlier than the eighth century A.D.[64] Hence it is reasonable to conclude that the extant copy of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti is not the original work of the ancient writer Yativṛṣabha but is a revised and enlarged copy of the original Tiloyapaṇṇatti sūtra referred to by Vīrasena in the eighth century A.D.

The Trilokasāra of Nemicandra who was a contemporary of the famous Cāmuṇḍarāya is supposed to have been based on the Tiloyapaṇṇatti.[65] We do not know whether it was based on the extant copy

of Tiloyapaṇṇatti or its original by Yativṛṣabha and only a detailed comparative study of the two texts can help to decide the issue but unlike the extant Tiloyapaṇṇatti, the Trilokasāra does not give the lists of the attendant yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs even though it gives the names and other details of the Tīrthaṅkaras Cakravartins and others like the Tiloyapaṇṇatti. Nor does the Trilokasāra give the cognizances of the twenty-four Jinas. It is therefore more likely that the Trilokasāra of Nemicandra is based on the original Tiloyapaṇṇatti. The extant Tiloyapaṇṇatti, even if it be earlier than the Trilokasāra, it is not far removed from the latter and Bālacandra Saiddhāntika referred to in the text itself may either be the author or a contemporary (a teacher or a colleague) of the author of the new, revised and enlarged edition (or portions) of the Tiloyapaṇṇatti.

This digression was necessary to show that the evidence of the extant Tiloyapaṇṇatti does not contradict the results arrived at with the help of archaeological evidence. The first reliable reference to the Apraticakrā yakṣiṇī of the Digambara pantheon is supplied by the Harivaṁśa of Jinasena I (783 A.D.).[66] According to this text, śāsana-devatās of great prowess headed by Apraticakrā paid their homage to the Lord Vṛṣabha, the dharmacakrin, in the latter's samavasaraṇa.

Later Digambara writer Puṣpadanta invokes Cakreśvarī along with Ambikā, Siddhāyikā, Gaurī and Gandhārī of the Jaina pantheon in his Apabhraṁśa work Mahāpurāṇa (c. 960 A.D.).[67] Puṣpadanta addresses Cakreśvarī as "*vigghaviddāvini*" or the dispeller of obstacles and '*cāru*' or the beautiful one.

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the two limits noted above, namely, the fifth century A.D. and the eighth century A.D. may now be checked. It has been noted above that the Jaina Āgama texts do not refer to the twenty-four śāsana-devatās. Jinadāsa Mahattara, the author of Cūrṇis on some of the Āgama texts, who completed his Cūrṇi on the Nandi-sūtra in the Śaka year 598 (676 A.D.), does not refer to the yakṣa pairs even when an opportunity is available while dealing with the lives of Mahāvīra and Ṛṣabhanātha in his Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi.

But Haribhadrasūri, the famous Śvetāmbara writer, refers to *Siddhāyikā* along with *Kālī*, *Rohiṇī* and others in his Pañcāśaka,[68] and to Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī as yakṣī in his Lalitavistaraṭīkā. Muni Jinavijayaji first discussed his date and fixed it as 757-857 V.S. (=700-800 A.D.) but later revised it and finally placed him in Śaka years 600-650, i.e. 678-728 A.D. He may have flourished in c. 550-650 A.D.

Sanghadāsagaṇi, the author of the Vasudevahiṇḍi, part one, who flourished before Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, is generally assigned to c. 5th or 6th century A.D. He does not refer to the yakṣa pairs even when opportunities are available in describing lives of some of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Bappabhaṭṭi, perhaps a junior contemporary of Haribhadra, who is supposed to have flourished in c. 800-895 V.S., offers invokations to the twenty-four Jinas in his Caturviṁśatikā. This work is made up of a group of 24 hymns, each one assigned to one Tīrthaṅkara. In each hymn, the first verse is devoted to one of the twenty-four Jinas, the second to all the Jinas, the third to the Jaina siddhānta or the speech of the Jinas and the fourth to one of the following deities—the Śrutadevatā, the sixteen Mahāvidyās, the chief queen of Dharaṇa, the Yakṣarāja and the goddess Ambā. This Yakṣarāja again is closely related to Kubera, the lord of the yakṣas, so far as the iconography of the two deities is concerned. It has already been shown that the earliest yakṣa pair discovered on Tīrthaṅkara-images is that of Yakṣeśvara and Ambikā who are the only yakṣa and yakṣiṇī invoked by Bappabhaṭṭi. It would, therefore, be reasonable to conclude that the sets of śāsana-devatās were a comparatively recent growth if not altogether unknown in the age of Bappabhaṭṭi and that the author possibly followed an older practice of invoking deities in such hymns.

Considering all these evidences, both literary and archaeological, available in the traditions of both the Jaina sects, it will be reasonable to conclude that the sets of the twenty-four yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs were introduced sometime after the seventh century A.D. but before the end of the eighth century and probably in the first half of it. But their forms were possibly different from what Hemacandra and Āśadhara describe.

Since the Cakresvarī figures both as the yakṣiṇī and the vidyādevī in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, it remains to be seen whether the Apraticakrā invoked by Bappabhaṭṭi was the yakṣiṇī or the vidyādevī. Firstly, Bappabhaṭṭī invokes her in the group of verses assigned to Supārśvanātha and not Ādinātha.

Secondly, the form suggested by the author agrees more with the later dhyānas of the Cakreśvarī vidyā than with those of the yakṣī, and thirdly almost all the other goddesses invoked in the Caturviṁśatikā are vidyādevīs. Lastly, the worship of vidyādevīs in Jainism is older than that of the twenty-four śāsanadevatās since some of the vidyās are met with in earlier texts like the Vasudevahiṇḍi and in the still earlier Paumacariyam of Vimalasūri.

To revert to Cakreśvarī, frequent occurrence of images of the various forms of the goddess in Jaina temples of both the sects shows that her worship was both ancient and widespread. Separate temples dedicated to Cakreśvarī, though not common, were not unknown. According to Jinaprabhasūri, the author of the Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, a temple of the goddess Cakreśvarī was in existence at Ayodhyā,[69] and at Kulpāka-tirtha in the C.P., there was an image of the goddess with discs in her hands.[70]

The goddess was invoked in various Tantric rites. She, however, could not attain the same exalted position as that of Padmāvatī, Ambikā, Sarasvatī or Jvālāmālinī, especially in the Jaina Tantra. It may be remembered, however, that she is one of the four chief yakṣiṇīs in Jaina pantheon, along with three others, namely, Ambikā, Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā.[71]

The different iconographic tables for the various forms of Cakreśvarī are given below.

Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha

A CAKREŚVARĪ (ŚVETĀMBARA)

I Two-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	*cakra*, x (not known)		

II. Four-Armed Variety

Nos.	*Symbols*		*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *śaṅkha*	eagle	..
2.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. rosary	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *śaṅkha*	eagle	..
3.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. citron	eagle	golden
4.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *-cakra* l. l. citron	tiger	..
5.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. citron	eagle	.
6.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. pot	eagle	..
7.	same as above		lotus	..
8.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. rosary	l. u. *cakra* l. l. pot	tiger	..
9.	r. u. and l. u. *cakra* r. l. and l. l. *varada*		tiger	..
10.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. goad ?	l. u. noose l. l. *varada*	eagle	..
11.	r. u. noose r. l. *varada*	l. u goad l. l. *conch*	eagle	..
12.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. rosary	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *vajra* ?	eagle	..
13.	r. u. club (*gadā*) r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. conch	eagle	..
14.	*cakra* in four hands		(? identification as a yakṣī is doubtful)	

III. Eight-Armed Variety

Nos.	*Symbols*		*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	right—*varada*, arrow, disc, noose left—bow, *vajra*, disc, goad		eagle	golden
2.	r. 1. goad r. 2. (*cakra*) r. 3. arrow r. 4. *varada*	l. 1. noose l. 2. *vajra* l. 3. bow l. 4. *cakra*	eagle	..
3.	r. 1. noose r. 2. arrow r. 3. *cakra* r. 4. *varada*	l. 1. *cakra* l. 2. goad l. 3. bow l. 4. *vajra*	eagle	..
4.	r. 1. noose r. 2. *cakra* r. 3. arrow r. 4. *varada*	l. 1. bow l. 2. *vajra* l. 3. *cakra* l. 4. goad	eagle	..
5.	r. 1. *cakra* r. 2. noose r. 3 arrow r. 4. *varada*	l. 1. *cakra* l 2. *vajra* l. 3. goad l. 4. bow	eagle	..
6.	r. 1. *abhaya* r. 2. noose r. 3. goad r. 4. bow	l. 1. arrow l. 2. ? l. 3. ? l. 4. *vajra*	eagle	..
7.	r. 1. *abhaya* r. 2. arrow r. 3. *cakra* r. 4. snake	l. 1. bow l. 2. *cakra* l. 3. ? l. 4. goad	eagle (*padmāsana*)	..
8.	r. 1. *cakra* r. 2. *cakra* r. 3. *cakra* r. 4. *varada*	l. 1. *cakra* l. 2. *cakra* l. 3. *cakra* l. 4. citron	eagle	..
9.	*varada*, *cakra*, *vyākhyāna*, *cakra*, *cakra*, lotus-bud, *cakra*, fruit		..	..

IV. Eighteen-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	r. *cakra*, arrow, goad, lotus, *vajra*, sword, stick (?), *varada*, *vyākhyāna* l. *cakra*, bow, noose, stick (?), shield, *vajra*, indistinct, *abhaya*, x		

B. CAKREŚVARĪ (DIGAMBARA)

V. Two-Armed Variety

Nos.	*Symbols*		*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	r. *cakra*	l. pot		
2.	r. *abhaya*	l. *cakra*		
3.	r. *cakra*	l. *śaṅkha*		
4.	r. *cakra*	l. *cakra*		
5.	r. *abhaya*	l. *kalaśa*		
6.	r. *varada*	l. *varada*		

VI. Four-Armed Variety

Nos.	*Symbols*		*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	r. u. *cakra* r l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. citron	eagle	golden
2.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. *cakra* l. l citron	eagle	. .
3.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. conch	eagle	. .
4	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *padma*	eagle	. .
5.	r. u. *gadā* r. l. *abhaya*	l u. *cakra* l. l. *śaṅkha*	eagle	. .
6.	r. u. *gadā* r. l. *varada*	l u. *cakra* l. l. rosary	eagle	. .
7.	r. u. *gadā* r. l. *varada*	l. u. *cakra* l l. conch	eagle	.
8.	r. u. *gadā* r. l *varada*	l. u. *śaṅkha* l. l. *cakra*	eagle	. .
9.	r u. *abhaya* r. l. *gadā*	l. u. *cakra* l. l *śaṅkha*	eagle	. .
10.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. *padma*	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *varada*		
11.	*cakra* in all the four hands			
12.	r. u. *vajra* r. l. x	l. u. *cakra* l. l. rosary	eagle	. .
13.	*abhaya, padma, cakra, śaṅkha*			
14.	r. u. *cakra* r. l. fruit	l. u. *cakra* l. l. *abhaya*		

VII. Six-Armed Variety

Nos.	Symbols		Vāhana	Complexion
1.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. sword	l. 2. *gadā*		
	r. 3. *varada*	l. 3. *śaṅkha*		
2.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. *gadā*	l. 2. *padma*		
	r. 3. *varada*	l. 3. *śaṅkha*		
3.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. *cakra*	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. *varada*	l. 3. *śaṅkha*		
4.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*		
	r. 2. *vajra*	l. 2. *vajra*		
	r. 3. *varada*	l. 3. lotus		
5.	*abhaya, gadā, cakra, cakra, padma, śaṅkha*			

VIII. Eight-Armed Variety

Nos.	Symbols		Vāhana	Complexion
1.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. *pāśa* (?)	l. 2. *vajra*		
	r. 3. *gadā*	l. 3. bag (?)		
	r. 4. *varada*	l. 4. *śaṅkha*		
2.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. *abhaya*	l. 2. shield		
	r. 3. sword	l. 3. axe		
	r. 4. *gadā*	l. 4. *śaṅkha*		
3.	r. 1. arrows	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. ?	l. 2. ?		
	r. 3. *cakra*	l. 3. bow		
	r. 4. x	l. 4. bag (?)		
4.	r. 1, 2, 3. mutilated	l. 1, 2, 3. mutilated	eagle	..
	r. 4. citron	l. 4. *śaṅkha*		
5.	r. 1. noose	l. 1. *vajra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. (?)	l. 2. (?)		
	r. 3. (?)	l. 3. *cakra*		
	r. 4. *vajra*	l. 4. x		
6.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*		
	r. 2. *cakra*	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. *vajra*	l. 3. *vajra*		
	r. 4. fruit	l. 4. lotus (?)		
7.	r. 1, 2, 3. *cakra*	l. 1, 2, 3. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 4. *varada*	l. 4. fruit		
8.	r. 1, 2. *cakra*	l. 1, 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. *vajra*	l. 3. conch		
	r. 4. x	l. 4. x		

Nos.	Symbols		Vāhana	Complexion
9.	sword, lotus (?), *cakra*, x, shield, conch, *gadā*, x			..
10.	fruit, (?), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, bow, *kalaśa*			..
11.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*		..
	r. 2. trident (?)	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. sword	l. 3. x		
	r. 4. *varada*	l. 4. *abhaya*		
12.	*daṇḍa*, *khaḍga*, *abhaya*, *cakra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, axe and conch			..

IX. Ten-Armed Variety

Nos.	Symbols		Vāhana	Complexion
1.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	..
	r. 2. sword	l. 2. shield		
	r. 3. *gadā*	l. 3. *vajra*		
	r. 4. arrow	l 4 bow		
	r. 5. *varada*	l. 5 *śaṅkha*		
2.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	.
	r. 2. ,,	l. 2. ,,		
	r. 3 ,,	l. 3. ,,		
	r. 4. ,,	l 4. ,,		
	r. 5. *pravacana*	l 5. placed on lap		
3.	*cakra* in all hands			..
4.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. bell	eagle	..
	r. 2. *cakra*	l 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. ?	l. 3. lotus		
	r. 4. ?	l. 4. bow		
	r 5. *varada*	l. 5. arrow (?)		
5.	r. 1. sword	l. 1. shield	eagle	..
	other symbols mutilated			
	appearance terrific			
6.	r. 1. *padma*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle	.
	r. 2. *cakra*	l. 2. bow		
	r. 3. *gadā*	l. 3. *kheṭaka*		
	r. 4. *khaḍga*	l. 4. *gadā*		
	r. 5. *abhaya*	l. 5. conch		
7.	*varada*, sword, lotus (?), *cakra*, x, *padma* (?), *cakra*, bow, shield, *gadā*, conch			

X. Twelve-Armed Variety

Nos.	*Symbols*		*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	r. 1. *vajra*	l. 1. *vajra*	eagle	
	r. 2. *cakra*	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r. 3. ,,	l. 3. ,,		
	r. 4. ,,	l. 4. ,,		
	r. 5. ,,	l. 5. ,,		
	sixth pair of hands - citron, *varada*			
2.	first five pairs of hands as in no. 1		eagle	
	last pair—citron, *abhaya*			
3.	first four pairs—*cakra*			
	fifth pair—*vajra*			
	r. 6. lotus	l. 6. *varada*		
4.	first five pairs as in no. 3			
	r. 6. *varada*	l. 6. lotus		
5.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*		
	r. 2. sword	l. 2. ?		
	r. 3. ?	l. 3. shield		
	r. 4. *cakra* (?)	l. 4. *cakra*		
	r. 5. *vajra*	l. 5. *vajra*		
	r. 6. *varada*	l. 6. *pravacana*		
6.	r. 1. *śakti*	l. 1. *vajra*	eagle	
	r. 2. *cakra*	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r 3 ,,	l. 3. ,,		
	r 4. ,,	l. 4. ,,		
	r. 5. ,,	l 5. ,,		
	sixth pair—*varada*, lotus			
	(*the goddess has three eyes*)			
7.	r. *varada*, *vajra*, *cakra*, *cakra*, rosary, sword		eagle	
	l shield, disc, stalk of flower rest mutilated			
8.	r. 1 to 4. mutilated	l 1. mace (?)	eagle	
	r. 5. sword	l. 2. *cakra*		
	r. 6. mutilated	l. 3. *conch*		
		l 4 to 6. mutilated		

XI. Sixteen-Armed Variety

Nos	*Symbols*	*Vāhana*	*Complexion*
1.	six pairs—weapons of war one pair—on the lap one pair—*varada*, *kaṭaka*	eagle	
2.	first pair—*cakra* next six pairs—weapons of war last pair—*abhaya*, *pravacana*	eagle	..

Nos.	Symbols	Vāhana	Complexion
3.	sword and disc in two right hands, one left hand carries the *cakra*, rest symbols mutilated		
4.	r. sword, ?, crescent moon, *cakra*, *śaṅkha*, *vajra*, *japamālā*, *varada* l. conical object (?), shield, *gadā*, *cakra*, trident, *vajra*, *kalaśa*, indistinct *(three eyes)*	eagle	
5.	r. mace, sword, trident, disc, bow, pot, x, x l. spear, shield, arrow, dagger, conical object (?), x, x, x		

XII. Twenty-Armed Variety

Nos.	Symbols		Vāhana
1.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle
	r. 2. *vajra*	l. 2. bell	
	r. 3. goad (?)	l. 3. shield	
	r. 4. rosary	l. 4. ? (staff)	
	r. 5. *mudgara*	l. 5. bow	
	r. 6. *cakra*	l. 6. *śaṅkha*	
	r 7. sword	l. 7. *cakra*	
	r. 8. club (?)	l. 8. *cakra*	
	r. 9. bag (?)	l 9. arrow	
	r. 10. *cakra*	l. 10. *cakra*	
2.	r. 1. *cakra*	l. 1. *cakra*	eagle
	r. 2. *cakra*	l 2. *cakra*	
	r. 3. *cakra*	l. 3. shield	
	r. 4 x	l. 4. x	
	r. 5. x	l. 5. x	
	r. 6. x	l. 6. x	
	r. 7. x	l. 7. x	
	r. 8. x (*gadā*)	l. 8. x	
	r. 9. x	l. 9. x	
	r. 10. rosary	l. 10. *śaṅkha*	

II Yakṣī Ambikā—the Śāsanadevatā of Neminātha

Ambikā-devī is well-known in the Jaina Pantheon as the Yakṣī or the Śāsanadevatā of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara known variously as *Nemi, Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi*. The origin of this deity is shrouded in mystery, but legendary accounts are found in the Jaina Purāṇas and other works. An account from the *Ambikā-devī-kalpa* composed by Jinaprabhasūri in the fourteenth century A.D. is given below.[72]

In the city of Koḍinār, situated in Saurāṣṭra, there once lived an orthodox learned Brāhmaṇa called

Soma who had a virtuous and devoted wife in Ambikā (called *Ambiṇī* in the Prakrit text). The couple had two sons Siddha and Buddha. Once upon a time Soma invited several Brahmins to a dinner at his place on the occasion of the Śrāddha ceremony of his ancestor. When meals were ready Ambikā's mother-in-law went out for bath. In the meantime a Muni who had fasted for full one month turned up and asked Ambikā to give him food to break his fast. Greatly delighted, Ambikā fed the Muni with dishes prepared for the Brahmins. On the matter being reported by her mother-in-law to Somabhaṭṭa, the latter became wild with rage and drove Ambikā out of the house. Consequently, Ambikā had to leave the place in a helpless condition along with her two children.

Strange miracles occurred as Ambikā went on and on her weary way. Her sons, hungry and exhausted, cried out for food and water. Ambikā had nothing to give. Instantly, a dried mango-tree by the road-side offered them fine ripe mangoes, and a dry lake nearby was filled all at once with water. Exhausted, Ambikā rested for a while under the shade of the mango-tree.

At home too miracles occurred. This opened the eyes of Soma and his mother, and they were filled with remorse. Soma came running after Ambikā in order to restore her to the house. Poor Ambikā, on seeing Soma running after her, misunderstood his intentions and looking around for a hiding place to save herself from his wrath, saw a big well and jumped into it with both the sons and died.[73]

She was reborn in the heaven called the *Kohaṇḍa Vimāna*—situated four yojanas before the Saudharma Kalpa—as a Yakṣī devoted to the Śāsana of Neminātha. She is otherwise known as *Kohaṇḍī (Kuṣmāṇḍī or Kuṣmāṇḍinī)* on account of her residence in the *Kohaṇḍa Vimāna.*

Her husband too filled with remorse died after her, but due to his Ābhiyaugic Karma was born a lion and became a vāhana of Ambikā.

The above is a Śvetāmbara account of the origin of Ambikā.[74] A Digambara version of the story of her origin is supplied by the "*Yakṣī-Kathā*" found in a work called *Punyāśrava- kathā*, a palm-leaf Ms. of which is in the possession of the temple-priest at Jina-Kāñchī. According to this version, which is slightly different from the Śvetāmbara one, she was the wife of Somaśarman, a Brahmin of Girinagara. Her name was Agnilā and her sons were called Śubhaṅkara and Prabhaṅkara, aged seven and five years respectively. Here she leaves her husband in company of her two sons and a faithful maid-servant and repairs to the Urjjayant hill where Varadatta, the Muni whom she had given food for breaking his fast, was living.[75]

The iconography of Ambikā can be explained almost wholly with the help of the legends narrated above. When represented, Ambikā is invariably accompanied by two children, apparently Siddha and Buddha, and she holds a bunch of mangoes which saved them from starvation, and a noose, apparently the rope, meant for drawing water from an Indian well.

The story of Agnilā is however illustrated in the wall-paintings in the *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* of the Vardhamāna temple at Tiruparuttikuṇṛam (Jina-Kāñchī).[76] The Yakṣī is seated cross-legged and wears a conical crown over her head. She is flanked on two sides by her two sons. Behind the son on the right stands the attendant woman with a garland in her hands. On another panel she is shown sitting cross-legged, with a conical crown over her head, and is four-armed, the two lower ones showing the *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the upper ones carrying a goad and a noose.

On her left stands a party of women, two of whom are discernible in the old painting, the rest being completely obliterated. One of them, or the one standing nearest to the Yakṣī holds in her hands a vessel pouring forth flames of fire. The other has a tray with burning fire. Both the vessel and the tray are intended for the purpose of *Ārati* as a mark of respect and devotion towards gods or saints.

Images of Ambikā can broadly be divided into three groups according to the number of arms they bear, namely, (A) two-armed, (B) four-armed, and (C) having move than four arms. They can further be sub-divided into Śvetāmbara and Digambara images. The vāhana in all cases remains the same, namely, a lion.[77] Her complexion, too, is usually golden, but red in some Tantric rites.[78]

1. Two-Armed Variety

The two-armed variety is represented in two postures, namely, the standing and the sitting. Jinaprabhasūri invokes her as follows in his *Urjjayanta-stava* (v. 13):[79]

"May Ambikā, of golden colour, riding on a lion and accompanied by (her two sons) Siddha and Buddha and holding a bunch of mangoes in her hand, protect the Jaina Saṅgha from obstacles."

The earliest available reference to Ambikā comes from the commentary of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamā-śramaṇa himself on his own Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya.[80] Here the goddess is called Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī *Vidyā*. An Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī Vidyā is referred to by Haribhadra sūri (c. 550-650 A.D.) in his commentary (*vṛtti*) on the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti, v 931 (p. 411). Haribhadra sūri refers to this goddess Ambā-Kuṣmāṇḍī in his Lalitavistarā commentary also.[81]

In his Harivamśa purāṇa, the Digambara writer Jinasena (783 A.D.) invokes her as *Simhavāhinī* (who rides on the lion), who has her abode (*ālaya*, temple, resort) on the Mt. Urjjayanta[82] (Mt. Girnar). It may be noted that a controversy between Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects is said to have been set at nought by the goddess Ambikā residing at this place.[83]

Another early reference to the two-armed form of Ambikā is found in the *Caturvimśatikā* of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri (V.S. 800-895) where she is adored twice by the author. Unfortunately, the author does not give much information regarding her symbols. He only says that she retires under a mango-tree and that she bears the heavenly colour of the lightning (*divya-saudāmanī-ruk*). Her golden form seated on a white lion is compared to a lightning in the clouds. She is believed to possess very sharp nails which can easily break the sword (of an enemy).[84] Presumably, this refers to the two-armed variety of the goddess.

Vastupāla, the famous Jaina minister who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D. devoted one whole hymn to her praise. She is addressed as *Kuṣmāṇḍinī*, *Padmālayā* (seated on a lotus) and *Ambā*. Her right hand is said to hold a bunch of mangoes.[85] Jineśvara Sūri too refers to the bunch of mangoes held in her hand.[86] He further describes her ornaments like the ear-rings, the anklets and the shining garlands on her breasts. It seems that both Vastupāla and Jineśvara Sūri had in mind a form of Ambikā having only two arms.

Śobhana Muni, the younger brother of Dhanapāla, the author of *Tilakamañjarī* (11th cent A.D) refers to her twice in his *Stuticaturvimśatikā* (vv. 88 and 96). Verse 88 suggests that the author meditates over a form with two arms only,[87] and addresses her as *cāriputrā* which is explained by commentators as 'one whose sons are fond of wandering'.

The *Ambikāṣṭaka*,[88] supposed to have been composed by Ambāprasāda,[89] also gives the same form of Ambikā. The hymn is of unusual interest because here details are given of all her ornaments and symbols besides recording an account of her past life. It is expressly stated that the colour of the deity is to be different in different rites, e.g., white in the *śāntikarma*, yellow in the *vaśyakarma*, and red in the cruel rites such as *māraṇa*, *stambhana*, etc.[90] This principle of varying the colour is in consonance with the Buddhist and Hindu Tantras.

Amongst references to this form in the Digambara tradition, the Harivamśa of Jinasena is already noted. Here Ambikā is called Simhavāhinī—one with the lion-vehicle but no other details are given. However, he possibly referred to a two-armed form only.

Puṣpadanta also refers to her in his Apabhramśa work Mahāpurāṇa but gives no details of the symbols held by the goddess. Puṣpadanta, in his introductory verses to the Mahāpurāṇa, invoking Ambikā with *Cakkesarī*, *Gorī*, *Gandhārī* and *Siddhāinī*, adds that Ambikā was a Brāhmaṇa lady in her former existence and became a yakṣiṇī by virtue of her giving alms to a (Jaina) monk. She is further said to reside in the forests of Ujjayanta (Girnar) and is called the source or propeller of all literary activity. She is further said to have resorted to the *banyan-tree* (rather than the mango-tree of all other accounts). Her child is also referred to. Perhaps the author refers to only one child. As we shall see later on, in all early sculptures and in several of the images where she accompanies a Tīrthaṅkara figure as a yakṣiṇī, she is shown with only one child.[91]

The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra of Paṇḍit Āśādhara (13th cent. A.D.) invokes Ambikā as follows:

"Here do I worship the Goddess Āmrā, devoted as she is to the Jina whose height is ten Dhanus—Āmrā of dark-blue complexion, who is in the habit of resting under a mango-tree, who rides on the lion that was her own husband in the past existence, who bears in her left hand a bunch of heavenly mangoes

for the delight of her son Priyaṅkara seated on her left lap and whose fingers of the right arm are held tight by Śubhaṅkara."

It is interesting to note that Ambikā is described as dark-blue in colour. A similar description is found in the *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* of Nemicandra, who flourished in the 15th cent. A.D.[92]

Several images and paintings of two-armed Ambikā, obtained from all over India, in Jaina shrines, manuscripts collections, and in collections of various museums in India and abroad, prove the immense popularity that this goddess enjoyed, next only to the Tīrthaṅkaras (*Devādhidevas*), but perhaps more than any other Jaina deity. Of forms of Ambikā, the two-armed one seems to be the earliest. Even in the two-armed variety there are more than one forms, but the form with the mango-bunch in the right hand and a son held by her left hand, sitting on her left lap (when the devī is shown sitting), seems to be the earliest (see figs. 162, 96, 97).

In *Figure 35* is represented the earliest known image of Ambikā, shown as the attendant yakṣī of a standing Tīrthaṅkara[93] (the corresponding yakṣa being Sarvāṇha yakṣa), dedicated by Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, obtained amongst bronzes of the Akota hoard.[94] The inscription on the back is engraved in a script of c. 550-600 A.D. This Jinabhadra Vācanācārya is identified with the famous Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, the author of Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya (quoted above), who lived in c. 520-623 A.D.[95] In this bronze, Ambikā sits in the *lalita* pose on a big lotus, carrying a mango-bunch in her right hand and holding with her left hand a son sitting on her left lap.

From the same hoard came an ornate bronze figure of Ambikā worshipped as an independent image not accompanying Neminātha figure on a pedestal.[96] The devī wears an elaborate crown, an *aṣṭamangala-mālā*, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, etc. and her eyes are studded with silver. There is a *cūḍāmaṇi* ornament on the crown. The devī holds the *āmra-lumbi* (mango-bunch) and the child with her right and left hands respectively. The image shows the goddess accompanied by both her sons. The goddess sits in *lalitāsana* on a cushion placed on her couchant lion-mount. Script of an inscription on the back and the style of the figures etc. suggest an age not later than c. 600 A.D.

Figure 87 represents a Ṣaṭ-Tīrthika bronze image of Pārśva, dated in Samvat 1055=998 A.D., and having the two-armed Sarvāṇha yakṣa on the right end of the pedestal, the corresponding left end being occupied by a figure of two-armed Ambikā of this variety of form. She has only one son with her. The bronze was discovered in the Vasantagadh hoard.[97] The same form of Ambikā is seen on a Tri-Tīrthika bronze of Pārśvanātha in the Akota hoard.[98] Two elaborate Tri-Tīrthika bronzes of Pārśvanātha in the Vasantagadh hoard,[99] inscribed in samvat 726 and 756, also show Ambikā in the same form and with only one child

Some more images and paintings of this form were published by us in *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambika*, *Journal of the University of Bombay* (henceforth referred to as *JUB*), Vol. IX, part 2 (September 1940), pp. 147-169 and plates, especially see figs. 2 and 3 from Devgadh fort, fig. 4 from Orissa, now in the British Museum, fig. 5 from Vimala vasahi, Abu, fig. 6 bronze from Baroda, fig. 7 bronze in Museum of Saint Xavier's College, Bombay, fig. 8 from Angadi in Karnataka State. Of the above, figs. 2, 3 and 4 show the second son of Ambikā standing near the mango-bunch held by the mother; in fig. 8 the second son rides on the lion near the right leg of Ambikā, and in fig. 6 behind the right leg of the mother. In fig. 5 from Vimala vasahi, Ambikā has only one son. In fig. 1 in the paper referred to above, a painting of two-armed Ambikā from a palm-leaf manuscript of Jñāta sūtra and other texts, preserved in Jaina Bhandāra at Chani, Gujarat, is shown. Here the devī carries her son with the right hand and holds the *āmra-lumbi* with the left. A small figure of the lion vehicle is seen below the devī's right leg.

In fig. 8 of above paper, the goddess has placed her left hand on the head of her son standing on her left side, while the second son is riding on the lion on the right side of the two-armed standing Ambikā from Angadi, Karnataka. The devī holds a mango-bunch in her right hand.

A big rock-cut relief panel of Sarvāṇha yakṣa and Ambikā yakṣī is preserved on a rock at Gwalior, M.P. This is illustrated in *Fig. 195* in this book. The right arm of the goddess is mutilated while with her left hand she holds the child in her lap. The second son stands on the right side of the mother. In

the British Museum, London, is a beautiful sculpture of two-armed standing Ambikā holding a son with her left hand while another son catches the mango-bunch held in Ambikā's right hand. The sculpture hails from Orissa (*JAA*, III, plate 318B). Of the same two-armed form another beautiful sculpture of Ambikā sitting is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*JAA*, III, pl. 324). The image hails from Orissa. A third beautiful sculpture of Ambikā, from Bihar, preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi, is interesting as two small dancing figures are depicted on her two sides. Her smaller son stands on her left and the goddess holds him by the hand. The elder son stands on her right side (*JAA*, III, pl. 338B). A beautiful bronze figure of standing Ambikā of this iconographic variety, hailing from Nalgora, Bengal, is illustrated in *JAA*, III, pl. 343B. But in Navamuni cave, Orissa, Ambikā shows *āmralumbi* and *abhaya* and child.[100] Two beautiful sculptures of standing Ambikā of this variety of form are preserved in Temple no. 12, Devgadh (Fig. 162).[101] Two-armed Ambikā with only one child is also seen on Tīrthaṅkara sculptures at Devgadh.[102] *Figure 96* illustrates a sculpture of this form of Ambikā preserved in the Museum at Vidisha, M.P. *Figure 97* illustrates a sculpture from Vimala vasahi, Abu, assignable to c. 1032, the date of building of the temple. Two bronzes of this variety, showing the goddess in a standing posture, hailing from Karnataka are noteworthy. They are illustrated by us in *Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey* (Paper 26) in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 269ff, figures 37 and 68. Fig. 37 is a beautiful bronze of c. 10th century Ganga art. The devī places her left hand on the head of the child standing on her left while she carries the *āmra-lumbi* in her right hand. The second son leans against the lion vāhana on the right side. The bronze is in worship in a shrine in Mudabidri, Karnataka. Fig. 68 is preserved in the Los Angeles Museum of Art, U.S.A. Fig. 67 in the above paper, from Bickford collection, Cleveland Museum, U.S.A. is probably from Northern Karnataka showing Chalukyan influence. Here the two sons are on two sides of the mother and Ambikā holds an *āmra-lumbi* in her right hand. Her left hand is broken at the wrist. It is in such a position that it cannot have held the son on her left. This hand probably held a citron as can be inferred from other images discussed below. This would be another variety of two-armed form of yakṣī Ambikā. In figure 71 in the above paper is illustrated another bronze of standing Ambikā, now in the National Museum and perhaps hailing from Northern Karnataka. Here again the left hand is broken at the wrist but it might have held a citron.

The above inference will be accepted by referring to fig. 9 in our article on Ambikā in *JUB*, IX (1940), *op. cit.*, illustrating a bronze figure of standing Ambikā from Rajnakin Khinkhini, Akola district, Maharashtra, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. Here the treatment and position of figures is similar to those in the above two images and the right hand holds the *āmra-lumbi* while the left hand holds the citron. Figure 93 in this book illustrates a stone sculpture of Ambikā seated under a big mango-tree in worship in the Chamundaraya Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagola. The devī carries an *āmra-lumbi* and a citron in her right and the left hands respectively.

But in a bronze figure of seated Ambikā from Rajnakin Khinkhini, now in Nagpur Museum, there is only one son and the position of her symbols is changed. She holds the child on the right lap with her right hand and the citron remains in the left hand. The bronze is illustrated as fig. 11 in *JUB*, *op. cit.* In one of the cloistures in the enclosure around Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa is an image of this goddess called *Yakṣadevatā* in the pedestal-inscription, assigned to c. 1231 A.D., by Narasimhachariar, who identifies her as *Kūṣmāṇḍinī*. The goddess shows a bunch of mangoes in her right hand and a fruit in the left one.[103]

Debala Mitra has published four bronzes of Āmrā or Ambikā of a two-armed variety of form wherein the goddess carries the *āmra-lumbi* and the child with the right and left hands respectively. In all these images she is shown sitting in *lalitāsana* on a full-blown lotus placed on a pedestal with the lion vehicle in its centre.[104]

A seated Ambikā, of c. tenth century A.D., from Hingalajgadh in Mandsore district, M.P., is preserved in the Bhanpur State Museum, M.P. (Mu. no. 292). She shows similar symbols. Representation of the tree behind is done in some different artistic ways at Hingalajgadh.

At Khajuraho, Pārśvanātha temple, on the wall of the garbhagṛha, south jaṅghā, is a fine sculpture of

standing Ambikā of this two-armed variety of from, dating form c. late tenth cent. A.D. The second son is standing near Ambikā's right leg. A similar form of standing Ambikā is found in the Śāntinātha temple at Thubon, Guna district, M.P.

Amongst bronzes from Aluara hoard, Bihar, in the Patna Museum, we find a standing Ambikā with this variety of form. The second son on the right is mutilated and only his feet remain. Two early mediaeval sculptures of Ambikā from Vaibhara giri, Rajgir show the same iconographic symbols.

But in the Śāsana Basti at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa there are two different sculptures of Ambikā seated under mango tree with a big foliage overhead and showing the *āmra-lumbī* and the citron in her right and left hands respectively. Some examples of this variety are already noted before. A bronze figure of the goddess with the above symbols, obtained in the Bapatla hoard and preserved in the State Museum, Hyderabad, M.P. shows similar symbols. A beautiful bold relief panel of Ambikā riding on a big lion, from cave 32, Ellora, shows the goddess carrying similar symbols. A fine painting showing two-armed Ambikā of this variety of form is obtained on one of the palm-leaves of the Dhavalā-Ṭīkā at Mudabidri.

In *JAA*, I, plate 91A is illustrated a stone sculpture of two-armed Ambikā from Bihar, now in Bejoy Singh Nahar's collection, Calcutta. Here one son stands near the lion behind the right leg of Ambikā sitting in *lalitāsana*. The younger son is held with her left hand on the lap while Ambikā's right hand shows the *varada mudrā*. A small circular mark on the palm of the right hand may either signify some fruit or may just signify a red *kumkum* mark which ladies sometimes do in the palms of their hands.

In *JAA*, I, pl. 91B is published a bronze figure of Ambikā sitting in the *lalita* pose and holding a child on the lap with her left hand. The second son is not seen. The bronze hails possibly from Bihar and is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. In her right hand Ambikā holds what seem to be a few lotus buds. A mango-bunch would generally by shown with the mangoes held down and the twigs connecting them held in the hand. One or more lotus buds can be held upwards with the stalks held by the hand. In this bronze Ambikā seems to have held some lotus buds. The way in which the lotus bud is held upwards is demonstrated by a look at the bronze figure of Jaina Sarasvatī now in the British Museum, illustrated in *JAA*, III, pl. 319B.

That there was a tradition of two-armed Ambikā holding a lotus-bud in one hand (usually the right hand) is demonstrated by a bronze figure of standing Ambikā from Jina-Kanchi, illustrated by us in *JUB*, *op. cit*, fig. 12. Here Ambikā's left hand is hanging without holding anything. Images of this form were first described by T.N. Ramachandran who could not find the relevant dhyāna verse. This form is known as Dharmādevī, the yakṣī of Neminātha. An independent shrine is dedicated to her and it stands to the south of the Vardhamāna shrine at Tiruparuttikuṇṛam. Ramachandran has described the left hand as hanging 'like the tail of a cow'. A similar figure of the goddess is found in a rock-cut relief at Chitharal in Kerala state (fig. 204). The symbol in her right hand is not clear.[105] Both the sons stand beside her on the left while a female attendant stands on her right. The relief is assigned to c. 800 A.D. (Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art*, figures 95 and 118). With this may also be compared the rock-cut relief of Ambikā on a boulder at Kalugumalai (see fig. 83 in this book) dating from c. 8th-9th century A.D. Here the right hand of Ambikā resting on the head of the attendant on the right may be interpreted as hanging. The left hand holds an indistinct object which might have been a lotus-bud.

The imposing later figure of standing Ambikā at Tirumalai, Tamil Nadu (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 88) shows Ambikā holding a lotus-like thing in the right hand while her left hand raised upwards seems to hold some thing or rests on something which cannot be identified. The standing Ambikā of Pallava-Chola transition, from Melsittamur, South Arcot district, Tamil Nadu (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, figs. 46, 47) shows a similar form.

Ambikā in Ellora cave 32 (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, figs. 152A, 153) possibly held the lotus-bud in her right hand while supporting a son on the lap with her left hand. Two Śāntara sculptures of Ambikā, published by Dhaky from Humca and Kambadahalli, South Karnataka,[106] show Ambikā sitting in the *lalitāsana* and holding the lotus and the child with her right and left hands respectively. The sculptures date from late ninth and early tenth cent. A.D. (Figs. 149 and 150 in this book).

T.N. Ramachandran has referred to a form supplied by a palm-leaf manuscript in possession of the temple-priest at Jina-Kanchi. The ms. is titleless and bears no date. Ambikā is here represented as dark-blue in complexion with two hands showing the fruit and the *varada mudrā*. The vāhana as usual is the lion.[107] Vasunandi, the author of the unpublished Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha describes Ambikā-Āmrā as *dvibhujī simhamārūḍhā Āmrādevī haritprabhā*. The Aparājitapṛcchā of Bhuvanadevācārya prescribes the same form. According to it, Ambikā has a dark-blue complexion, a child sits on her lap and another stands by. Her two hands show the fruit and the *varada mudrā*.

A stone sculpture of Ambikā sitting, from Pañcakūṭa Basti, Kambadahalli, Karnataka, published by Settar, shows yet another variety of form.[108] The symbol of the right hand, partly defaced, must have been a lotus-bud with stalk while in the left hand the goddess holds the citron. Both the sons are playfully riding on the lion vāhana depicted on the pedestal. Similar symbols are held by a figure of Ambikā found at Mangadevanpatti, Tiruchi district, Tamil Nadu. This sculpture is somewhat earlier than the tenth century Kambadahalli figure just discussed.

The Meguti temple at Aihole, Karnataka, contains a beautiful early sculpture of Ambikā, assignable to 634 A.D., the date of the temple-consecration. Ambikā sits with her right leg placed a little upwards on the pedestal and the left foot hanging (see *figure 88* in this book). In front of the *pīṭha* is her lion mount and one of the two sons is looking towards the mother from behind the lion. The goddess is attended by three ladies on her right and two on the left side. One of the ladies on the right holds one of the sons of Ambikā in her hand. Heads of the lady as well as the child in her hand are mutilated. Ambikā's right arm, raised up at the elbow, probably held a lotus with a stalk. The left forearm is broken but the palm of the hand resting on the *pīṭha* would suggest that this variety of form of two-armed Ambikā should correspond with the Chitharal Ambikā discussed above.

A sculpture of Ambikā from Sembuthu, Puddukottai, Tamil Nadu, showing the lotus-stalk in the right hand raised at the elbow and the left resting on the lap further supports our inference about the form of Ambikā in the Meguti temple (Fig. 202 in this book).

Of the variety showing the lotus-stalk in the right hand and the citron in the left, a fine lively miniature painting is preserved in one of the palm-leaves of the Dhavalā ṭīkā at Mudabidri (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 408). In another miniature, the two sons playfully ride on lions, one on each side while Ambikā sitting in the centre shows the *abhaya mudrā* and the citron in her right and the left hands respectively (*Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig. 397 and fig 172 in this book).

Figure 196 in this book illustrates an interesting sculpture of two-armed Ambikā from the Mathura Museum (Mu. no. D7). In her right hand the goddess held a bunch of flowers according to Vogel.[109] The symbol is partly damaged. With her left hand the devī holds one of her sons on the left lap. On top of the sculpture, in the centre is the Jina (Neminātha) sitting in padmāsana with Kṛṣṇa standing on his left side and Balarāma standing on the right. Near the right leg of the goddess is a figure of the second son standing beside whom is a small seated figure of Ganeśa. On the corresponding left side is another small seated figure with the face and crown damaged. This figure represents Kubera according to Vogel's suggestion. This sculpture suggests the close relationship of the conception of the Jaina Ambikā with the Brahmanical conception of the Durgā-Pārvatī (also called Ambā) whose son is Ganeśa and who also rides the lion.

Rock-cut reliefs at Anandamangalam in Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu, include a figure of Ambikā standing with the two sons by her side. The goddess stands on her lion vehicle. Her right hand rests on the *kaṭi* while the left hand is placed on the head of a female attendant standing beside the goddess. The form is unusual (see figure 48 in this book).

2. Four-Armed Variety

A striking feature of the four-armed variety of form of Ambikā is that instead of showing the *āmra-lumbi* in one hand the goddess holds it in three hands while the fourth hand as usual supports the child on the lap. This is an easy way to multiply the forms of Ambikā.

The Vimala vasahi, Abu, provides a number of images of this type. One such specimen from the south-west corner of the ceiling of the sabhāmaṇḍapa of Vimala's shrine is illustrated in figure 154 in this book. It dates from around V.S. 1201 = 1144 A.D. when Pṛthvīpāla rebuilt the sabhāmaṇḍapa. A beautiful loose bronze image of this variety from a cell in the same shrine was illustrated by us in our article on the iconography of the Jaina Ambikā.[110] This bronze dates from c. eleventh century A.D. Images of this variety are found at Gandhaval, M.P., in the Śāntinātha and Neminātha temples in Kumbharia and at many other places in Gujarat. An image of this type is preserved in the Baroda Museum.

No literary dhyāna for this form is yet known. Perhaps the two-armed form served as a model for this form by multiplying the *āmra-lumbi* symbol in the two upper hands, to produce an artistic effect. A painting of Ambikā from the palm-leaf manuscript of Neminātha-Carita, dated in V.S. 1198 = 1142 A.D. preserved in the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay, represents the goddess in this form.[111] She has a golden complexion. Here the child is held by the right lower hand instead of the right one as in the above figures. A painting on the last folio of a palm-leaf ms. of the Jñātādharmakathā sūtra, in the collection of Shri Rajendrasinhji Singhi of Calcutta, shows the same four-armed form but the right lower hand of the goddess is here held in the *varada mudrā* while the left lower hand holds the child on the lap.[112] The two upper hands carry the *āmra-lumbi*. The second son is standing near the right leg of the devī. Coomaraswamy had published an old Jaina painted *Paṭa* on cloth probably done in the fifteenth century.[113] In the centre is Pārśvanātha and the figure on his extreme left is Ambikā carrying the *āmra-lumbi* in her two upper hands; her right lower hand is held in the *varada-mudrā* while the left one grasps the child. A sculpture on the outer wall of the Jaina shrine at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, shows the same form (Fig. 199). In a sculpture in a Jaina shrine at Cambay, the right lower hand of the goddess, held in the *varada mudrā*, carries the rosary, all other symbols remain the same.

A palm-leaf ms. of Pāṇḍavacarita in the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay, contains on the first folio a painting of Ambikā-devī.[114] Under a full-grown mango-tree is seated Ambikā holding the *āmra-lumbi* in both the upper hands. The left lower hand is held in the *varada mudrā* while the right lower hand holds the child. A lion on the left represents the vāhana of the goddess. Below the end of her scarf on the right is seen only half of the figure of her second child.

An earlier brass image of Ambikā sitting in the *lalitāsana*, preserved in the Museum of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and dated in V.S. 1198 = 1141 A.D., shows the citron instead of the *varada* in the right lower hand of the goddess.[115]

Another metal image of Ambikā, dated V.S. 1505 = 1448 A.D., preserved in the same Institute, illustrates yet another variety of four-armed Ambikā images. As usual, the two upper arms hold the *āmra-lumbi* but both the lower ones are engaged in supporting her two sons on her laps.[116] According to *Yakṣa-Yakṣī-lakṣaṇa*, a work of the Digambara sect, Dharmā-devī or Ambikā is seated with two sons on her lap, one on each thigh. Two of the arms hold the sons, one left arm shows a bunch of mango-flowers while the corresponding right is extended towards the lion, her vāhana.[117]

In another form based on a Canarese (Karnataka) tradition given by T.N. Ramachandran,[118] Dharmādevī shows, in the two upper hands, the sword and the *cakra* (disc), while the two lower hands are placed on her lap as a support to the seated sons.

Burgess had published a drawing prepared from the Canarese (Karnataka) tradition collected by Alexander Rea.[119] According to Burgess, "the Yakṣī is Kuṣmāṇḍinī . . . four-armed, with two children on her lap and lion as her cognizance. She is the only attendant who has not the front right hand in the *varada-hasta* attitude." In the drawing she is shown holding a sword and a *cakra* in the right and the left upper hands respectively while the two lower ones support the sons seated on the thighs. In these drawings of Burgess, what we know as *abhaya mudrā* is described as *varada*.

Digambara tradition provides an interesting form of Ambikā found amongst the wall-paintings of Jina-Kanchi. Here she is represented sitting in *padmāsana* with four arms. Her two upper hands show the goad and the noose, while the right and the left lower ones exhibit the *abhaya* and the *varada mudrā* respectively.[120]

Many descriptions of Ambikā with four arms are found in the Śvetāmbara works. Hemacandra ācārya in his Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacarita says:[121] "In his (Neminātha's) *tīrtha* was born Kuṣmāṇḍi of golden appearance whose vāhana was a lion and who showed in her two right hands an *āmra-lumbi* and a noose and held in the two left ones a child and a goad. (Popularly) known as Ambikā, she became the *śāsanadevatā* of the Lord."

Siddhasena sūri, the commentator of Pravacanasāroddhāra of Nemicandra, describes an exactly similar form of Ambikā.[122] The *Ambikādevī-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri[123] referred to above, and the *Ācāradinakara*[124] of Vardhamāna Sūri (v.s. 1468) also follow the same tradition.

A Ms. of *Rūpāvatāra* preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, gives a similar Dhyāna of Ambikā.[125] The *Devatāmūrtiprakarṇam* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* also give the same form.[126]

A brass image from a Jain temple in Baroda[127] illustrates this form of Ambikā. It has an inscription on its back dated v.s. 1534. A similar image was found in the Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha temple in Cambay. It is dated v.s. 1547. In the Baroda image the *pāśa* is held in the upper right hand and the *aṅkuśa* in the upper left, but in the Cambay image the symbols are interchanged. Images of this variety seem to have become more popular in the fifteenth century.

The *Nirvāṇakalikā* of Pādaliptācārya[128] gives a slightly different Dhyāna:

"In the same *tīrtha* is born Kuṣmāṇḍī who is four-armed and of golden complexion, whose vāhana is a lion and who bears in her right hands a *mātuliṅga* (citron) and a noose, and in the left a child and an *aṅkuśa*."

Thus the *āmra-lumbi* in the form given by *Ācāradinakara* is here replaced by a *mātuliṅga*.

The *Ambikā-tāḍaṅkam*[129] gives another Dhyāna of Ambikā:

"In *rakta-dhyāna* one should meditate over a form of Ambikā-devī golden in complexion, wearing red garment, adorned with golden ornaments and riding on a lion, with one child holding her finger and the other seated on the lap. Four-armed, she bears a goad in her upper left hand and an *āmralumbi* in the upper right; a *bījapura* is held in the lower right and a *pāśa* in the lower left."

It may be remembered that this form is for the *rakta-dhyāna* only. Sāgaracandra in his *Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*[130] follows the same tradition when he says that Ambikā holds the *pāśa*, the *āmralumbi*, the goad and the fruit in her arms.[131]

Another variety of Ambikā images with four arms is supplied by a stone sculpture from Mahoba now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.[132] Here Ambikā is shown seated under a mango-tree over which is a small figure of Neminātha in dhyāna mudrā. She holds a *pāśa* in the right upper hand and an *āmralumbi* in the right lower. With the left lower she supports the child on her lap while in the left upper hand she holds a *vajraghaṇṭā* instead of a goad. The second child is seen standing on her right (Fig. 165). I am unable to trace a dhyāna for the same.

In the Devgadh Temple no. 12 set of Tirthankaras with their yakṣiṇīs, Ambikā, labelled as *Ambāyikā*, is four-armed, carrying, as Klaus Bruhn describes,[133] in her right upper and lower hands, the "*cāmara*-padma" and the "blossom (?) held before her breast" and in the corresponding left ones, the "*cāmara*-padma" and the "child standing on the hand of the goddess and reaching for her ear-ornament" respectively.

On a pillar (*mānastambha*) dated equal to 1059 A.D., in front of Temple no. 11 at Devgadh, is a figure of four-armed Ambikā showing the *āmralumbi* and the *aṅkuśa* (goad) in her right lower and upper hands respectively and the child and the *pāśa* (noose) in the corresponding left ones. The lion is shown as her vāhana. On a later pillar in front of Temple 16 at Devgadh Ambikā seems to have shown the same symbols which are partly defaced. A similar form of seated Ambikā is noticed in Khajuraho, Temple 27, by M.N.P. Tiwari. At Khajuraho the four-armed form of Ambikā predominates whereas at Devgadh there are more two-armed images of Ambikā than the four-armed ones. The four-armed Ambikā with the goad, the noose, the mango-bunch and the child, obtained at Devgadh and Khajuraho, is, as remarked by M.N.P. Tiwari, probably due to Śvetāmbara influence.[134]

Figure 91 represents a door-lintel found in the compound of the Matangeśvara temple, Khajuraho. It shows on the right end a figure of four-armed Ambikā sitting in the *lalita* posture and holding the

child on the lap with her left lower hand and the *āmralumbi* in the right lower hand. She sits under a mango-tree. In her two upper hands she carries what looks like a lotus with a long stalk.

Tiwari notes another form of four-armed Ambikā on the northern wall of the Śve. Jaina temple of Ajitanātha at Taranga, Gujarat. Here Ambikā standing in *tribhaṅga* has her lion vehicle on her left and shows the *varada mudrā*, *āmralumbi*, *pāśa* and the son with her four hands.

No. G.312 in the Lucknow Museum, published earlier by us in *JUB*, *IX.2*, *op. cit.*, fig. 30, represents another variety of four-armed Ambikā images. Ambikā here holds a book in her right upper hand and a mirror in the left upper one. The right lower hand shows an *āmralumbi* while the left lower hand supports the child on the lap. Above the two upper hands are seen figures of *mālādharas*, one on each side. The goddess is seated under a mango-tree surmounted by a figure of a Jina (Neminātha) in the dhyāna mudrā (Fig. 173). A crouching figure of a lion below her feet represents the vāhana of the goddess. Obviously the sculpture represents Ambikā though no dhyāna for this form is yet known.

A brass image of Ambikā is preserved in the Boston Museum (*JUB*, *IX.2*, *op. cit.*, fig. 31). It has an inscription on its back which shows that it was installed in Samvat 1547 (A.D. 1490) by Jinasamudra sūri of Kharatara gaccha in the line of Jinabhadra sūri. Ambikā shows, in her four hands, the *āmralumbi*, the child, the trident and the *ḍamaru* (Fig. 164).

A big sculpture reputed to be of Pattainī Devī, now preserved in the Museum at Allahabad, came from the temple of Pattainī Devī at Pithaurā in the old Nagod State, now in M.P. (*JUB*, *IX.2*, *op. cit.*, fig. 28). The standing goddess has four hands but unfortunately all the symbols are mutilated. Two youths flank her; at their feet are a male and a female devotee, flanked by two four-armed goddesses. These and the compartmented flanking pilasters have attendant goddesses, all labelled. In all there are 23 such labelled figures who seem to be twenty-three yakṣiṇīs of Digambara tradition; with the main figure of Ambikā these make a group of 24 Jaina yakṣiṇīs. The sculpture dates from c. 11th century A.D., though the shrine of Patiān-dei (Pattaini devī) at Pithaura seems to date from c. 900 A.D. Not all the names in the labels are clear. They were mentioned in the Western Circle Report for 1920 (*JUB*, *op. cit.*, p. 163, note 2). Tiwari read them as: Aparājitā, Mahāmunusi, Anantamatī, Gāndhārī, Manusī (Mānasī), Jalamālinī, and Manujā on the right side, Jayā, Anantamatī, Vairoṭā, Gaurī, Mahākālī, Kālī, Puṣadadhi (?) on the left side, Bahurūpiṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Sarasatī, Padumāvatī, and Vijayā in the upper row and Prajāpati (? Prajñapti), Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Rohiṇī and Cakreśvarī in the lower row.[135] The names correspond in some respects with the names in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti of the 24 yakṣīs.

A colossal image of a Jaina goddess preserved in the Khajuraho Museum was discussed by us in *JUB*, *op. cit.*, fig. 29, p. 163. The four-armed goddess stands in the *samabhaṅga* posture. Her two lower arms are mutilated. The two upper hands carry lotuses with long stalks. Two female attendants are standing beside her and a male and a female devotee are seated near the feet. Just above the crown is a seated figure of a Jina with an attendant and an elephant on each side. Below the elephant are seen mangoes hanging. A lion is shown on the pedestal. The figure can be identified as representing Ambikā devī.

Vidyānuśāsana, an unpublished Digambara Jaina Tantra-work, describes a different form:[136]

"On a *paṭa* one should draw a figure of the goddess, black in colour, and having four hands exhibiting the conch, the disc, the *varada* and the noose. She is shown seated on a simhāsana and a *devakanyā* (heavenly damsel) stands by with *vimupakādiśramatām* (?) written on her left hand."

Obviously this is a form employed for cruel rite as the goddess is to be painted black in complexion.

3. *Eight-Armed Variety*

The unpublished *Vidyānuśāsana* also records a dhyāna of Ambikā with as many as eight arms.[137] According to it, just below the figure of Neminātha is to be represented, on a *paṭa*, a figure of *Āmrakuṣmāṇḍī*, black in colour and having in her eight arms the conch, the *cakra*, the bow, the axe, the javelin, the sword, the *pāśa* and corn (ear of corn).

A late painting in our collection, published in *JUB*, *IX.2*, *op. cit.*, fig. 24, gives a similar form of

Ambikā but with some difference in the symbols held in her hands. In her right hands she shows the corn, the trident, the bow, and the *abhaya mudrā*, while in her left hands she holds the goad, the lotus, the arrow, and the *āmralumbi*. The lion vehicle also helps us to identify the goddess as Ambikā.

4. Multi-Armed Variety

The *Ambikā-tāṭaṅkaḥ*[138] provides for us a terrific form of the goddess. She is addressed as *Śive, Śankare, Stambhinī, Mohinī, Dīpanī, Śoṣanī* etc., thus showing that she is invoked in diverse Tantric rites.[139] She is also invoked as *Bhūmanāde, Caṇḍike, Caṇḍarūpe, Aghore*, and so on. In her terrific form she is the destroyer of the whole universe (*sṛṣṭisaṃhārakartri*).

In this form she holds a number of weapons in her hands: the bow, the arrow, the staff, the sword, the *cakra*, the lotus etc. (*dhanurbāṇacakrāmbujānekaśastrodite*), and is also said to hold mangoes in her hand (*āmrahaste*). She puts on various ornaments such as anklets, necklace, etc., and rides on a fierce lion.

Fortunately for us one such sculpture preserved in the famous temple of Vimala Sāha at Mt. Ābu, in *bhāva No. 25*, in the second ceiling opposite cell No. 35 can be identified as Ambikā devī. Upon a raised seat sits Ambikā in *lalitāsana*, with the lion as the mount. She has twenty arms but unfortunately most of them are broken. She shows the *khaḍga*, the *śakti*, the snake, the mace, the shield, the axe, the *kamaṇḍalu*, the lotus, the *abhaya* and the *varada* mudrās. The rest of the symbols cannot be identified as they are wholly or partly broken. The goddess wears a crown, ear-rings, necklaces, garland, *mekhalā*, bracelets, anklets, lower garment, and a scarf. The sculpture has not been identified so far but it appears that this rare sculpture represents the terrific form of the goddess Ambikā (*JUB, IX.2, op. cit.*, fig. 25).

On each side of Ambikā stands an eight-armed male figure in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The *vajra* (or possibly a *vajra-ghaṇṭā*) and the *aṅkuśa* are seen in the hands of the figure on the right, the other hands showing different mudrās. Similarly, the figure on the left holds the noose.

It appears probable that Ambikā-devī has her own *parivāra* though full information on this is not yet available. In this sculpture she is flanked on either side by two eight-armed male figures. I am inclined to take them as her two sons, whom we know already as Siddha and Buddha. The identification is tentative.

Two elaborate sculptures occur on the architrave in the corridor of the temple built by Tejapāla at Ābu (*JUB, op. cit.*, figs. 26, 27). They show her accompanied by attendant figures. In Fig. 26 we find one female *chowrie*-bearer on each side of Ambikā, and two dancing female figures on the right and three on the left. In *JUB, op. cit.*, fig. 27 there are three such figures on her right and two on her left. In both these panels the goddess has two arms and one child only.

The *Ambikā-devī-kalpa* (in ms.) of Śubhacandra prescribes a *sādhana* of *Raṇḍā* who is called a yakṣiṇī and an attendant of Kuṣmāṇḍinī. It will not be surprising if details regarding the *parivāra* of Ambikā are found in some unpublished Jaina Tantra-work.

We have already shown that at Akota and many other sites Ambikā accompanied Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha, Śāntinātha and other Tīrthaṅkaras as a yakṣī along with the Kubera-like Sarvāṇha yakṣa. This pair was the earliest *śāsanadevatā* pair *par excellence* (see figs. 55, 86, 87, 195), common to all Tīrthaṅkaras in the Śve. as well as the Dig. tradition before 24 different yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs for 24 Tīrthaṅkaras were evolved.

Worship of Ambikā seems to be very old. Images (and temples) of Ambikā were consecrated at Mathura, Ujjayantagiri (Girnar), Hastināpura, Ahicchatrā, Pratiṣṭhānapura, and other places in ancient times. Jinaprabha sūri refers to such images and temples in his Ujjayantamahātīrtha-kalpa, Raivatakagiri-kalpa, Pratiṣṭhānapattana-kalpa, Arbuda-giri-kalpa, Kanyāyanamahāvīra-kalpaviśeṣa, Hastināpura-tīrtha-stavana, Ḍhimpurī-stava, Ahicchatrānagarī-kalpa, Mathurāpurī-kalpa, Śrīpura-Antarikṣa-Pārśvanātha-kalpa, etc.[140] Riding on a lion Ambikā is said to have guarded the ancient tīrtha of Mathura.[141] Near the rampart in Ahicchatrā, stood the goddess Ambikā riding on a lion and holding

a bunch of mangoes in her hand. She was accompanied by Siddha and Buddha and held the image of Śrī Neminātha over her head.[142]

We have seen that Ambikā has two, four, eight or more arms. Of these various forms, worship of images with two arms represents the older tradition all over India and the form continued in worship even when forms with four or more arms were introduced.

Origin of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā

When the present writer first published his paper on the *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā* in the *Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. IX, part 2, September, 1940, pp. 147-169,* he was not able to find out and show why the Jaina Ambikā was identified with and addressed as *Kuṣmāṇḍinī*.

Haribhadra sūri (c. 550 A.D.-c. 640 A.D.) writes, in his comm. called the Lalitavistarā:[143]

"*. . . Vaiyāvṛttakarāṇām pravacanārtham vyāpṛtabhāvānām yathā Ambā-Kusmāṇḍi=ādīnām śānti-karāṇām . . .*"

Here Ambā-Kuṣmāṇḍī is referred to as a *Vaiyāvṛttakarā*, a Śāsanadevatā. An Ambā-Kuṣmāṇḍī Vidyā has also been referred to by the same author in his gloss on the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti.[144]

In the account of the origin of the Jaina goddess Ambikā, given by Jinaprabha sūri in his Ambikā-devi-Kalpa,[145] it is said that, after death, Ambikā, the Brāhmaṇa lady, was born in one of the heavens called *Kohaṇḍa Vimāna* and that the devi is also known as *Kohaṇḍī* (Kuṣmāṇḍī or Kuṣmāṇḍinī) In the unpublished Ambikā-devi-kalpa of Śubhacandra, one mantra of this goddess reads: "*Om Kuṣmāṇḍinī rakte rakta-mahiṣa-samārūḍhe śubhāśubham kathaya jhvim svāhā.*"

Ambikā is variously addressed as Ambā, Āmrā, Kuṣmāṇḍinī, Simhavāhinī, and Ambikā. In the mūlamantra of Ambikā, published in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa, Appendix 19, p. 92, she is addressed as *Āmra-Kusmāṇḍinī*. The Digambara tantric work Vidyānuśāsana (still unpublished) also refers to an eight-armed form of Āmra-Kuṣmāṇḍī.[146]

Thus it would appear that in the origin and development of the Jaina Yakṣī Ambikā, elements of perhaps three different ancient deities have contributed: first, a mother-goddess (*ambā*=mother), probably a form of Durgā riding on the lion or a prototype of the Brahmanical Durgā; secondly, some goddess associated with the mangoes and the mango-tree (*āmra*=mango); thirdly, some goddess associated with the Kūṣmāṇḍas.

Let us first consider the name Ambā or Ambikā. The Śukla-Yajurvedīya-Vājasaneyi Samhitā has the following well-known mantra:

> *Ambe Ambālike Ambitame na mā nayati kaścana /*
> *sasatyaśvakah subhadrikām Kāmpīlavāsinīm //*[147]

The Jaina Ambikā, since she is associated usually with one or two sons, is a mother-goddess, and as such is rightly addressed as Ambikā or Ambā. In Brahmanical mythology, Ambikā is generally the name of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. Compare:

> *Śivā Bhavānī Rudrāṇī Śarvāṇī Sarvamaṅgalā /*
> *Aparṇā Pārvatī Durgā Mṛdānī Caṇḍikā=Ambikā //*
> *Amarakośa*, I.37-38

Ambikā is further explained as *Ambikā Pārvatī Mātror-Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya Mātari*. In the Amarakośa Ambikā has three meanings, the name of Pārvatī, the Mother and the mother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In the Ṛgveda the sense of "mother" is expressed by Ambā or Ambitamā. In the Ṛgvedic age Ambikā was a Mother-Goddess. Her association with Rudra, as pointed out by Bhandarkar, is clear from a reference in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā (III.58) where she is mentioned as sister of Rudra. The Taittirīya Samhitā, I.8.6.4 also speaks of the same relation of brother and sister between Ambikā and Rudra.

According to Hindu iconography, Ambikā is generally seated up on a lion and has three eyes. She holds a mirror in her left hand. Her one right hand shows the *varada* pose. In her two other hands are carried the sword and the shield.[148] A four-armed figure of the Jaina Ambikā, preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, illustrated in *Fig 173*,[149] represents her as holding the book and the mirror in her two upper hands while holding the āmra-lumbi and the child with the two lower ones. Thus the mirror, which is a known characteristic symbol of the Hindu Gaurī, is given here in one of the hands of the Jaina Ambikā.

In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, chapter IX (ācāra adhyāya) on Vināyaka-pūjā, we find: *Vināyakasya jananīm=upatiṣṭhet=tato=Ambikam*. Ambikā was famous as the Mother of Vināyaka. This is remembered in the famous image of the Jaina Ambikā in the Mathura Museum (no. D.7) where small figures of Gaṇeśa and Kubera are shown on two sides of Ambikā.[150] The Anuyogadvāra-sūtra, a Jaina canonical text, has the following passage:

"... *teyasā jalante Indassa vā Khandassa vā Ruddassa vā Sivassa vā Vesamaṇassa vā Devassa vā Nāgassa vā Jakkhassa vā Bhūyassa vā Mugundassa vā Ajjāe vā (Duggāe vā) Koṭṭakiriyāe vā uvalevanasammajjanāsaṇavarisanadhūvapupphagandhamallāiāim duvvāvassayāim karenti* ..."

—*Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, sū. 20

Commenting on this, Haribhadra suri writes: "... *Āryā praśāntarupā Durgā, Koṭṭakiriyā saiva mahiṣārūḍhā* ." The Cūrni on the above passage (possibly by Jinadāsa Mahattara, 7th cent. A.D.) reads: "*Durgāyāḥ pūrvarūpam Amra-Kuṣmāṇivat (Āmra-Kuṣmāṇḍivat) tadhā ṭhitā Ajjā bhaṇṇati, saiva mahisavyāpādanakālātprabhṛti tadrūpasthitā Koṭṭavyā (Koṭṭakiriya) bhaṇṇati* ..."

Thus the Anuyogadvāra sūtra refers to the worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Śiva, Vaiśramaṇa, Deva, Nāga, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Mukunda (=Baladeva, acc. to Maladhārī Hemaprabha), Āryā and Koṭṭakiriyā Āryā is explained as a pacific (śānta) form of Durgā while Koṭṭakiriyā (Koṭṭavi of the Cūrṇi) is the terrific form of Durgā, destroying the Mahiṣa demon (Mahiṣāsuramarddinī). The author of the Cūrṇi further adds that Āryā, the original form of Durgā, is like Āmra (Ambā ?)-Kuṣmāṇḍinī. The close similarity of the Brahmanical Durgā-Āryā and the Jaina Ambikā was obvious to the author of the Cūrṇi This was also known to the Jaina writers like Haribhadra sūri Incidentally, an interesting point deserving investigation may be mentioned here. Śvetāmbara Jaina legends acknowledge *Koḍināra*[151] in Saurashtra as the place of origin of Ambikā and also associate Mt Raivataka (Girnar) with Ambikā devī. Ambikā as Kuṭṭanaparā, worshipped in the place, might have led to the place-name Kuṭṭanī-nagara—Koḍinagara—Koḍināra. Koḍināra perhaps obtained its name from the ancient goddess Koṭṭakiriyā—Koṭṭavyā—Kuṭṭanaparā (Kuṭṭanī) of the Jaina references cited above. Girnar is well-known as an ancient Tīrtha of Ambikā worshipped by both the Jainas as well as the Hindus. Koṭṭavi—Koṛṛavai, in South India, is Vana-Durgā, giver of victory. Koṛra=Mahiṣa in Dravidian language.

In his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi-Koṣa,[152] Hemacandra ācārya gives the following synonyms of the Brahmanical Durgā: Gaurī, Kālī, Pārvatī, Mātṛ, Aparṇā, Rudrāṇī, Ambikā, Tryambakā, Umā, Durgā, Caṇḍī, Simhayānā, Mṛḍānī, Kātyāyanī, Dakṣajā, Āryā, Kumārī, Satī, Śivā, Mahādevī, Śarvāṇī, Sarvamaṅgalā, Bhavānī, Mahiṣamathanī, Bhūtanāyikā, Menādrijā, etc. etc. In his own commentary on the above, Hemacandra quotes Śeṣa giving 108 names of the goddess. These include names like Prakuṣmāṇḍī, Revatī, Haimavatī, Bahuputrī, Skandamātā, Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī, Sinivālī, Ekānasī (Ekānamśā), Sunandā, Nandā, Ṣaṣṭhī, etc. Even in Brahmanical tradition Āryā or Durgā was known both as Ambikā and Kuṣmāṇḍī.

Kuṣmāṇḍas are a class of Vyantaras according to Jaina accounts. The Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇatti[153] speaks of eight classes of Vyantaras, namely, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas and Piśācas. The Śvetāmbara tradition speaks of the same eight classes.[154] The Digambara Tiloyapaṇṇatti further divides Piśācas into 14 classes, namely, *Kuṣmāṇḍa*, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Sammoha, Tāraka, Aśucināmaka, Kāla, Mahākāla, Śuci, Satālaka, Deha, Mahādeha, Tuṣṇika, Pravacana. The Śvetāmbara tradition gives 16 classes of Piśācas, namely, *Kuṣmāṇḍa*, Pālaka, Sujoṣa, Āhnika, Kāla, Mahākāla, Cokṣa, Acokṣa, Tālapiśāca, Mukharapiśāca, Adhastāraka, Deha, Videha, Mahādeha, Tusṇika, and Vanapiśāca.[155]

Of the Vyantaras there are eight more classes given by the Prajñāpanā sūtra and other Śvetāmbara texts. They are: Aṇapaṇṇi, Paṇapaṇṇi, Isivāī, Bhūyavāī, Kandi, Mahākandi, *Kohaṇḍa*, and Piyaṅga. Thus *Kuṣmāṇḍa-Kohaṇḍa* belong to the class of semi-divine beings called Vyantaras. In Brahmanical traditions, *Kuṣmāṇḍas* are a class of Śiva's Gaṇas, according to Viṣṇupurāṇa, I.12.13. *Kubhāṇḍas* or *Kuṣmāṇḍas* are mentioned as super-human beings in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[156] The Viṣṇupurāṇa also refers to them as Piśāca-gaṇas harassing children. They created obstacles in the meditation of Dhruva.[157] In the *taḍāgotsarga-vidhi*, a *Kuṣmāṇḍa-stotra* is recited from the Yajurveda.[158] *Kūṣmāṇḍa* (*Kohlā* in Gujarati and Hindi) is a big melon-like fruit of a creeper. The skin is thick and the kernel is used for eating. One variety with yellow or reddish yellow kernel is cooked as a vegetable while the second variety with white kernel is boiled and sweets are prepared from it. In Northern India this sweet is very popular and is known as *peṭhā*. This second variety of Kūṣmāṇḍa is also used as *bali* or offering. In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (2.7), *Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa* is prescribed before beginning any rite or karma.[159] In a *Kūṣmāṇḍa-Vrata*, the creeper of Kūṣmāṇḍa is worshipped as Lakṣmī on the Kārttika full-moon day, according to the text called Vratarāja:[160]

Kuṣmāṇḍavallim subhagām suphalām viśvarūpiṇīm /
Laksmīrūpām suvistarām dhyāyāmi Harivallabhām //

In Vratarāja and in another text called Ṛgvedīya Brahmakarma-samuccaya, is prescribed a Kuṣmāṇḍī-vrata wherein the creeper of Kuṣmāṇḍa is worshipped for six months daily, beginning from Vaiśākha Śukla 14 and ending on Kārttika Purnimā, along with the following prayer:

Kūṣmāṇḍyai kāmadāyinyai Bhrahmāṇyai sukhahetave /
namo=stu Śivarūpāyai saphalam kuru me vratam //

Kumbhāṇḍas are said to be servants of Rudra.[161] Viduḍhaka, the ruler of the Kumbhāṇḍas, is the Guardian of the Southern Quarter according to Buddhist Sanskrit literature.[162] Thus Ambā or Ambikā, riding on the lion, like the Hindu Durgā-Āryā, can be easily identified as Kuṣmāṇḍī by the Jainas.

But was there a very ancient Mother-Goddess who was so popular that she became the prototype or the origin of the Hindu Durgā, the Jaina Ambikā and the Buddhist Hārīti? The Buddhist Hārīti is intimately associated with children. According to Buddhist accounts she was the child-devouring tutelary goddess of Rājagṛha and was called Nandā according to one tradition.[163] She was later converted by the Buddha. Thus Hārīti is both a benefic and a malefic goddess and in this sense she reminds one of the Bāla-grahas (child possessing or child-molesting demi-gods and goddesses) of whom Ṣaṣṭhī or Revatī is a principal deity. In an earlier paper on Harinegameṣin,[164] U.P. Shah has suggested the relation between Bahuputrikā and Revatī-Pūtanā. The account of Hārīti shows that she was formerly known as Nandā. We have seen above that Nandā is one of the names and forms of Gaurī or Pārvatī or Durgā. Thus Nandā, Gaurī, Ambikā, Āryā, Bahuputrikā and Hārīti are all intimately related Mother-Goddesses especially associated with children, and are based on one or more ancient Mother-Goddesses.

It seems that Nandā is a Sanskrit adopted name for Nanā or Nanaiā. The identity of Nanā or Nanaiā with Hindu Ambikā-Durgā was discussed by D.R. Bhandarkar and Baijnatha Puri.[165] A coin in the British Museum Cabinet mentioned by Whitehead in his Supplementary List of the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, p. 214, no. 10, plate 20, actually shows Nanā seated on lion; another coin noticed by Cunningham,[166] as also by Whitehead (op. cit., p. 207, no. 29 unrepresented type), shows the Goddess Nanā (or Ambā) worshipped by the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka. The goddess Nanā (or Nanaiā) appears on coins of Vāsudeva and Huviṣka. A type of Huviṣka's coin shows the goddess Nanā and the god OPHO facing each other.[167] D.R. Bhandarkar identified OPHO with Umeśa or Lord Śiva, the husband of Umā. The presence of Nandi along with OPHO and the fact that the god holds the trident

show the correctness of the identification. On one coin of Sapaleiges the name Nanaiā appears and is associated with lion.

Recently B.N. Mukerjee has treated the problem thoroughly in his brilliant monograph "Nana on the Lion"[168] and has shown that Nanā of the coins must be a prototype of Durgā. Nanā or Nanaiā however has no correspondence with the name Durgā, but in RV IX.112.33, Nanā means 'Mother' (=Ambā).[169] Even today Nānī = Mother's mother in North India.

B.N. Mukerjee writes,[170] "The appearance of the famous ancient Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nanā on several coins of the Kuṣāṇa empire[171] is a well-known fact. So is also her identification with the ancient Akkadian-Assyrian deity Ishtar and the Persian goddess Anāhitā.[172] Anāhatā (Anāhitā), whose cult was perhaps not so ancient as that of Ishtar or Nanā, was described in an epigraph from Susa as being invoked by Artexerxes (II Mnemon) (405-361 B.C.). The same Achaemenid emperor was described by Berossos as having created statues of *Aphrodite-Anaitis* in the temples of the great cities of the empire including Bactra. Several classical sources speak of an attack on the temple of *Artemis-Nanaia* in Elymais by (the Seleucid king) Antiochus (IV). Epigraphic evidence found in a temple complex at Dura-Europos, dated roughly to the third and second century B.C., refers to Nanaia (i.e Nanā). A cult image of Nanaia has been discovered at Hatra. She also appears on clay votive tablets at Palmyra, while a few seals found there carry the figure of Ishtar. The lion of Nanā and the inscription Nanaia can be noticed on coins of Sapadbizes found in the territories on the Oxus and datable to a period before the rise of the Kuṣāṇa empire . . . The above evidence also indicates the existence of the cult of the goddesses (Babylonian Nanā and the Assyrian Ishtar) and also of Anāhitā in territories later included in the Kuṣāṇa empire . . ."[173]

Incidentally we may note here that a goddess Anihatā (Anaitis ?), Anāhiyā, Anāhitā, appears in the old Jaina Tantric formula known as the Varddhamāna Vidyā.[174] Also a god Aṇāḍhiya is spoken of as the Gate-Keeper or protector of the Jambū-dvīpa, in Jaina traditions.[175]

B.N. Mukerjee writes in his Epilogue:[176] "The coins bearing the figure of Nanā . . . were probably known in the early period as Nāṇaka. In the *Aṅgavijjā* the expression *Nāṇam ca Māsako* refers to the term Nāna (which may be related to the name of Nanā) as signifying a particular class or species (of coins). It has been observed that the term Nāṇaka was explained by a commentator on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti as denoting the coins having Nāṇā (Nanā ?) as their cognizance (*Nāṇāṅka-taṅka*).[177]

Mukerjee's following remarks are noteworthy: ". . icons, particularly syncretic ones, indeed mirror fusion of thoughts. This is not only true of Kuṣāṇa icons, but also of those of later periods and even of the late mediaeval age. Nevertheless, the tendency of imbibing foreign influence in this field of Indian art had never been so pronounced as in the age of the Kuṣāṇas." Trade was one of the carriers of thought. It helped India to get acquainted with the "West". Again, probably through the same or associated channel of human activities an Indian concept influenced as artist of the Alexandrian (or West Asiatic ?) school of the first or second or the third century A.D. who engraved a figure of the Hermaphrodite figure on a silver dish found at Lampracus in Turkey. It is not difficult to recognise in this figure a representation of the Indian Ardhanārīśvara. Such an identification is strengthened by the evidence of Dio Coccieanus regarding the presence of Indians as well as Bactrians in Alexandria in the second century A.D., apparently for carrying on trade and commerce . . . The artists of the Kuṣāṇa empire exerted as well as imbibed influence. The Kuṣāṇa age, like some other periods of Indian history, brought the world in India and presented India to the outside world."[178]

Since the Jainas have assimilated, in their ancient tantric formula known as the Varddhamāna-Vidyā, the Iranian goddess Anaitis—Anāhitā as a separate deity along with ancient Indian goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantā and Aparājitā, it would be worthwhile noting here something more about Anāhitā.

Yasht V of the Avesta is dedicated to Anāhitā. Yasht V.64 describes her thus: "Then Aradvī Surā Anāhitā approached in the form of a beautiful maiden, very powerful, beautifully formed, who is high-girded, tall of stature (?) of noble descent, exalted, whose feet are shod with shining gold-laced shoes."[179]

Anāhitā is well-known as a goddess of water and a fertility goddess. In the same Yasht, the

supreme god Ahura Mazda says: "Worship for me, O Spitāma Zarathustra, the heroic pure Arədvī (Arədvī Surā Anāhitā), who extends herself widely, who is health-giving . . . holy, who furthers water-channels, the holy, who furthers herds, the holy, who furthers fields, the holy, who furthers possessions, the holy, who furthers the land, who prepares the seeds of all males, who makes ready for birth the offspring of all males, (who) makes all females deliver easily, who provides milk for all females at the proper time, the great, far-famed, who is of the magnitude of all the waters that flow on this earth . . ."[180]

Anāhitā has another aspect as well; in this Yasht V (7) reads: "O Zarathustra, Arədvī Surā Anāhitā came forth from the Creator, the wise; beautiful were her white arms, as strong as horses . . . (Anāhitā) who flows (? hastens) with her strong arms . . ." Again, in Yasht V (11) we find, Anāhitā is she "who drives the chariot ahead, holding the reins of the chariot as she travels on this chariot . . . who has four steeds to draw (her), all uniformly white, equally fast and tall, who vanquish the hostility of all enemies, of the devil and of men, of sorcerers and witches, of tyrants, of obdurant princes and priests . . . It is she who grants boons to the Iranian heroes that they may smite the daevas and their mortal enemies . . ."

"Thus we see in this Yasht that Anāhitā is worshipped both as a fertility and water-goddess and as a war goddess, . . . a protectress who assures victory to the Iranian heroes who worship her and denies it to their enemies."[181]

We have records of Anahitā cult in Iran from Achaemenian times to the present day. It is recorded that Aratexerxes II (404-359 B.C.) caused the cult of Anāhitā to flourish along with other cults. He established shrines to Anāhitā in Susa, Ecbatana, and elsewhere. Once the cult was established it spread widely beyond the borders of Iran, and took root strongly in Armenia and Asia Minor.[182]

A temple or sanctuary of Anāhitā near Persepolis was known since the time of Artexerxes II and a fire temple of Anāhitā at Istakhr is mentioned in the third century inscription of Kartir at Naqsh-e-Rostam. The cult of Anāhitā as a war-goddess attained widespread popularity during the Parthian period and continued even during the reign of Ardashir I (A.D. 226 ?-240). After defeating Ardavan, Ardashir sent the severed heads of his enemies to an Anāhitā temple. Shapur II (A.D. 309-379) did the same with the heads of Christians executed in Pars. Chaumont states that Anāhitā was the only one amongst the gods to whom heads were offered in the temple.[183]

Hanaway notes that "an important element in the iconography of Anāhitā is her frequent association with the bird. She is often depicted on Sassanian vessels and trays of silver and bronze as accompanied by doves and peacocks.[184]

A coin from the collection of Narendra Sinhji Singhi of Calcutta shows on the obverse the figure of Kuṣāna King Kaniṣka I with the legend in Greek script reading *Kaneshko Koshano*. B.N. Mukherjee discussed this coin elaborately and described the female figure on its reverse as "facing to front, and seated on a lion, standing (or walking) to left. She has a crescent above her shoulders. Locks of hair, along two sides of her head, hang down to the shoulders . . . Another crescent is seen above her head. She wears a chiton reaching near her feet, which rest on a lotus (?). She holds a sceptre in her left hand, and a fillet in the right."[185] The blundered legend on the right, in Greek script, is deciphered by B.N. Mukherjee as NwNA CAO, i.e., NwNa SAO 'which reminds one of the legend NANA SHAO appearing along with a female deity on a number of Kusāna coins'.[186] Mukherjee writes: "Apparently the goddess (with sceptre and patera), described as Nana Shao in certain coin legends is referred to as Nana (or Nanaia, or Nano or Shao Nano) in some others."[187] The female figure on lion on the coin under discussion is called NANA SHAO in the legend, and "the name judged against the background of our knowledge of the appearance of the West and Central Asian deities on Kuṣāṇa coins,[188] connects or identifies her with Nanā,[189] the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess. The latter was considered to be the same as the Akkadian as well as the Assyrian deity Ishtar." Ishtar is also conceived as a mother-goddess. Lion was sacred to her, and is a symbol emphasising her war-like character. In Mesopotamian glyptic art and statuary she is shown as war-goddess armed with a bow, quivers, arrows and a sword (or a sceptre) and standing on a lion. Mukherjee has shown that Ishtar and Nanā were also connected with the Persian Anāhitā, a common link having been their supposed identity with the planet Venus.[190]

We have thus seen that Nanā-Ishtar-Anāhitā, closely associated with one another and often identified, have two aspects; one, that of a mother-goddess and peaceful and the other, that of a war-goddess and therefore terrific. We have noted above the two aspects of Āryā; one, peaceful, as Durgā, and the other, terrific, as Koṭṭakiriyā or Koṭṭavyā (Mahiṣāsuramarddinī). The conception of Durgā-Āryā seems to have as its prototype this Nanā riding on the lion. The Jaina yakṣī Ambikā similarly has the Nanā-Durgā conception as its prototype and imbibes also the mother-goddess aspect of Ishtar referred to above. Anāhitā too has two aspects, one peaceful, connected with waters, and the other terrific, as a war-goddess. As Hanaway has pointed out in his analysis of the Iranian legend of Darab Nama, Anāhitā is associated with waters and fish. In India, too, certain aspects of the Devī (Cāmuṇḍā for example) are sometimes associated with fish. Cāmuṇḍā and Kālī are terrific aspects of the Devī wearing a garland of skulls and/or holding a severed head in one hand. As shown above, Anāhitā was offered severed heads.

Mukherjee[191] has discussed and illustrated a unique gold medal, coin or token, in the British Museum, displaying, on the obverse, a female figure wearing a turreted crown (similar to turreted crown worn by Tyche on Imperial Parthian coins), clad in a loose robe or chiton reaching down to the feet, and holding in her half-raised right hand the stalk of a half-opened lotus. Her left hand, clutching a part of her garment, is placed on her left thigh (*kaṭi-hasta* ?). A Kharoshthi inscription on the obverse refers to Ampa, the deity of Pakhalavadi, i.e., Pushkalāvatī or Pushkarāvatī of ancient Gandhara (modern Charsadda region of Pakistan). The city-goddess aspect of the deity is also emphasized by her turreted head-dress. According to Mukherjee: "The expression Ampa may stand for Ampā or Amvā or Ambā. The term Ambā denotes, *inter alia*, a mother as well as Durgā, the consort of Śiva." Mukherjee is right in his interpretation because on the reverse is a figure of a bull with a Greek legend deciphered as "Tauros" and a Kharoshthi inscription reading (U)ṣabhe. This distinguishes the goddess as Śiva's consort. In this context Mukherjee has also mentioned that "a lady holding a lotus, delineated by the side of the figure of Oesho, on some coins of Huvishka, is described as Ommo." Oesho is perhaps based on some Prakrit rendering of Vṛṣa. Vṛṣa or Bull on several early Indian coins is considered to be theriomorphic representation of Śiva. Ommo either stands for Umā or for Ammā (Ambā ?). Umā is another name of Durgā or Ambā. Mukherjee writes: "If the Ommo refers to Umā, her relation with Ambā, the city-goddess, is indicated by the flower held by her. On a few other pieces of Huvishka, the female figure, standing by the side of Oesho, is referred to as Nanā. This numismatic evidence thus distinguishes Nanā as a consort of Śiva and identifies, or at least associates, her with Uma, alias Ambā."[192]

The process of assimilation and fusion of different concepts and forms that goes on in the iconography of any pantheon forms an interesting subject of study. Hanaway has made some illuminating remarks regarding the Iranian goddess Anāhitā. He writes:[193] "The rock reliefs, coins, and silver objects testify to the existence of Anāhitā worship, in one form or another, until at least the seventh century and probably later. Thus there would have been sufficient opportunity for the worship of this goddess to assume various popular or non-official forms, and for it to penetrate and be penetrated by folk-lore and popular story-telling. In such a process the standard iconographical or symbolic elements will assume new forms as they move into new milieus and contexts. They will shed some of their characteristic features, acquire others not previously possessed, and emphasize or suppress certain of their original aspects so as to render the new forms in some measure unlike their source."

There is no literary or archaeological evidence so far discovered which can show the origin or existence of the Jaina Ambikā before the fifth century A.D. The earliest literary reference to Ambā-Kuṣmāṇḍi Vidyā occurs in the Svopajña commentary on the Viśesāvaśyaka-bhāṣya of Jinabhadra gaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa, left incomplete and completed by Koṭṭācārya in the sixth century A.D. The earliest image of the Jaina Ambikā so far discovered is on a metal image of Ṛṣabhanātha (or Śāntinātha) from Akota, installed by this very Jinabhadra in the sixth century as proved on the basis of the inscription on the back of the image.[194]

So far we have been able to establish the relation between the Jaina Ambikā and the Brahmanical Durgā, both having their origin in the ancient Nanā-Nanaia-Ishtar. Also the relation between the

above goddesses and Hārīti, Bahuputrikā, is obvious. But the Jaina Ambikā's association with the mango-tree deserves further investigation.

Since the yakṣas in ancient Indian literature are known as sylvan deities, Ambikā-yakṣī's association with a tree is natural and should not be surprising. However none of the other Jaina yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs in the group of śāsanadevatās of the different Tīrthaṅkaras are shown sitting or standing under a tree.

We know that the conception of the Jaina Ambikā is strongly influenced by the conception of a Mother-Goddess and by the Brahmanical deity Durgā. Mother-Goddesses in Brahmanical rites are to be invoked with *Āmra-pallavas* (tender leaves of a mango-tree) according to the Kātyāyana Smṛti. Again, in a group of sculptures of Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka), obtained from Bengal and Bihar,[195] Gaṇeśa is shown standing or sitting under a canopy or toraṇa (suggestive of a tree) of mangoes. This characteristic of Gaṇeśa, standing or sitting or dancing under a mango-tree, seems to have been based on a hitherto untraced literary tradition which very well preserved the original Yakṣa character of the Hindu Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka.

The Yājñavalkya Smṛti, ācārādhyāya,[196] chp. IX, which seems to be an abridgement and versification of the XIV khaṇḍa of the second puruṣa of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra, refers to the worship of Vināyakas (verse 1). They are *Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kuṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita* and *Devayajana* (verse 2). The signs manifested by persons possessed by these are referred and the penance for removal of these obstacles is described and the mantras for the Vināyakas are given. Then we find: *Vināyakasya jananīm upatiṣṭhet = tato = Ambikām* (v. 30). The following prayer for Ambikā is prescribed at night: "O Lady of Prosperity (*bhagavatī*), give me prosperity, O Lady of Good Complexion (*varṇavatī*), give me good complexion, O Lady possessing many sons, give me sons, O Lady of Beauty, give me beauty, O Lady having everything, grant me all desires."

These passages not only explain the purpose of Ambika's name Kuṣmāṇḍinī but also explain her association with Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) and Kubera (lord of the yakṣas) in the mediaeval image no. D.7 in the Mathura Museum. We have also seen that in a certain group of sculptures Gaṇeśa is associated with the mango-tree. Yakṣa worship is intimately associated with tree-worship and water cosmology as demonstrated by Coomaraswamy.

It can be demonstrated that a goddess with one or two children, standing under a mango-tree and associated with waters, existed in c. fifth century A.D. and continued later; the conception might have for its basis some earlier one or more mother-goddesses. The conception of Gaṅgā—the river-goddess who, with Yamunā, was a favourite deity on the door-frames of the Gupta period—fulfils all the above requirements and shows the above iconographic characteristics One of the most beautiful specimens of this river-goddess, from Besnagar, now in the Boston Museum, illustrated by Coomaraswamy,[197] shows its close similarity with the conception of the Jaina Ambikā. Catherine Glynn tried to trace the origin of this type of the Gaṅgā image and showed parallelism with the image of the Sudarśanā Yakṣī from Bharhut (second century B.C.).[198] The child is absent but the mango on two sides of the head of the Yakṣī and the form of the vāhana below are noteworthy. Glynn identifies the tree in the Bharhut example with the tree in the Besnagar figure of Gaṅgā referred to above and calls it "tree of fertility". In the Besnagar example it is clearly a mango-tree.

Gaṅgā is associated with children which she bore to Śāntanu according to the Mahābhārata. She destroyed eight of them. Thus both the malefic and the benefic aspects of Gaṅgā as a Mother Goddess are retained along with her treatment as a River Goddess.[199] Further investigation into the origin of the iconography of Gaṅgā will be welcome.

It seems that there existed a conception of a yakṣī or a śālabhañjikā or a goddess standing under a mango-tree and having a child by her side. This conception was the prototype of the form of Gaṅgā, the Jaina Ambikā and the Brahmanical Tripurasundarī. This is inferred from a figure on the entrance doorway of cave 19 at Ajanta and some figures in Ellora cave 21. In the sculpture from Besnagar illustrated by Coomaraswamy, we find the river goddess standing under a mango-tree, with a bird (parrot ?) perched

on her right shoulder. A small figure of a dwarf stands to her left. The goddess has placed her left hand on the head of the dwarfish child-like figure.

A sculpture from cave 21, Ellora, shows the śālabhañjikā-like goddess standing under a full-grown mango-tree with the goddess touching it with her raised (mutilated) left hand while her right hand rests on a child standing beside her right leg. No vāhana is seen and, if it was shown on her left, it is now mutilated and lost.

In another sculpture, also a bracket figure from cave 21, Ellora, the right hand is raised up while her left hand rests on the shoulder of a female figure standing beside her. A male figure stands beside her on her right side.

There is a loose architectural piece representing a śālabhañjikā, now preserved in the site museum at Halebid Here the standing goddess looks very much like the Jaina Ambikā with a child held by her left hand while her right hand holds an *āmra-lumbi*. This hand is shown touching the tree above and the figure was possibly treated as a śālabhañjikā rather than the Jaina yakṣī Ambikā. However the origin of the Jaina yakṣī Ambikā is quite discernible from such traditions continued even in the Hoyaśala period.

But earlier examples of a yakṣī associated with the mango and/or a mango-tree are also known. Perhaps she was then known as Āmrā or Āmra-Kuṣmāndī or simply Kuṣmāṇḍī. It this form she is seen carrying a bunch of mangoes (*āmra-lumbi*) in one hand. Dhavalikar published a beautiful Kaoline-moulded yakṣī figurine[200] with the head mutilated and lost Her pose indicates that she was riding on some animal The figure is decked with ornaments and wears a beaded yajñopavīta (sacred-thread). In her right hand she holds a mango bunch and a parrot is perched on her left hand. The figure hails from Paithan (Pratiṣṭhānapura) and dates from the Satavahana period. It seems that the yakṣī is shown naked (*Fig. 145*).

A male counterpart of this yakṣī, perhaps Kuṣmāṇḍarājaputra, a Vināyaka referred to above, or a yakṣa of unknown identity but showing the same symbols of āmralumbi and a parrot hails from Paithan[201] as well as from Ter. The yakṣa is shown naked.

It is thus quite clear that an ancient yakṣa and a yakṣī associated with the mango existed in the early centuries of the Christian era and the Jaina Yakṣī Āmrā (another name of Ambikā) was evolved from this ancient yakṣī. The Jaina Ambikā also imbibed the conception of the ancient Mother Goddess Nanaia or Nanā riding on the lion either directly or through the form of Durgā-Āryā.

Iconography of Ambikā, the Yakṣī of twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha

Two-Armed Variety

No.	*Colour*	*Symbols*		*Vehicle*
1.	Golden	r. h. bunch of mangoes	l. h. child	Lion
		(another son sometimes accompanies)		for
2.		r. h. child	l. h. *āmralumbi*	all
3.	Dark-blue	same as above nos. 1 and 2		forms
4.		r. h. *āmralumbi*	l. h. citron	
5.		r. h. child	l. h. citron	
6.		r. h citron	l. h. child	
7.		r. h. *varada*	l. h. child	
8.		r. h. lotus	l. h. child	
9.		r. h. lotus	l. h citron	
10.	Dark-blue	(1) fruit	(2) *varada mudrā*	
		one child on lap, another beside, acc. to *Aparājitapṛcchā*		
11.	Greenish	r. h. *abhaya*	l. h. citron	
12.		(1) blue-lotus	(2) hanging down	
13.		r. h. *abhaya*	l. h. *varada*	
14.		r. h. *abhaya*	l. h. child	

Four-Armed Variety

No.	*Colour*	*Symbols*	
1.	Golden	*Āmralumbi* in three hands	
		child in the left lower	
2.	Golden	two upper—*āmralumbi*	
		two lower—*abhaya*, child	
3.		two upper—*āmralumbi*	
		r. l. citron	l. l. child
4.		two upper—*āmralumbi*	
		two lower—supporting two sons on the lap	
5.		two arms supporting two sons on the lap	
		āmralumbi in one left, corresponding right extended towards the lion	
6.		two upper—sword, *cakra*	
		two lower supporting sons on lap	
7.		r. u. goad	l. u. noose
		l. r. *abhaya*	l. l. *varada*
8.	Golden	r. u. noose	l. u. goad
		r. l. *āmralumbi*	l. l. child
9.	Golden	two upper—noose, goad	
		r. l. citron	l. l. child
10.	Golden	*garment—red*	
		r. u. *āmralumbi*	l. u. goad
		r. l. citron	l. l. noose
11.		r. u. *pāśa*	l. u. *vajraghaṇṭā*
		r. l. *āmralumbi*	l. l. son
12.		r. u. book	l. u. mirror
		r. l. *āmralumbi*	l. l. child
13.		r. u. trident	l. u. *damaru*
		r. l. *āmralumbi*	l. l. child
14.	Black	(1) conch, (2) disc, (3) *varada*, (4) *pāśa*	
		(*Lion Vāhana for all forms*)	

Eight-Armed Variety

No.	*Colour*	*Symbols*
1.	Black	conch, *cakra*, bow, axe, javelin, sword, *pāśa*, corn
2.		corn, trident, bow, *abhaya*, goad, lotus, arrow, *āmralumbi*
		(*Lion Vāhana for all forms*)

Twenty-Armed Variety

No.	*Appearance*	*Symbols*
1.	Fierce	*khaḍga*, *śakti*, snake, mace, shield, *kamaṇḍalu*, lotus, *abhaya*, *varada*, etc. (not specifically mentioned)
		(*Lion Vāhana*)

XXIII. Padmāvatī, the Yakṣī of Pārśvanātha

Jainas of both the sects—the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara—associate Padmāvatī with the account of the austerities of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, and give her the role of a *śāsanadevatā*, the attendant yakṣī protecting the Saṃgha or Church of Pārśvanātha.

Earlier texts like the Kalpa-sūtra speak nothing about either Dharaṇendra or Padmāvatī, either in their role of protecting Pārśvanātha during Kamatha's attack or as his yakṣa and yakṣī, although later Jaina purāṇas give detailed accounts of them both.

Once upon a time, a heretic saint (*tāpasa*), called Katha or Kamatha, was practising penance with fires all around, when Pārśva, the prince, turned up with his attendants, and seeing snakes burning in the logs of wood, pointed out to the *tāpasa* the futility of practices that involved hiṃsā or killing. Enraged at this, Kamaṭha asked the prince to show in what manner hiṃsā was committed. Pārśva immediately removed a log of wood from the fire and broke it into two pieces whereupon, to the surprise of all, a half-burnt serpent came out. The snake died subsequently but became in its next birth the lord of the Nāgas and was known as Dharaṇendra. After death, Kamaṭha, the *tāpasa*, was born as Meghamālī, a god of the Meghakumāra class.[202] According to some Jaina accounts, not one but two snakes were burning and after death they became Dharanendra and his queen of the Nāgakumāra class.

Renouncing the worldly ties, Pārśva became a monk. Once when he was standing in deep meditation under the shade of a tree, Meghamālī saw him, and remembering the past enmity, attacked him first in the shapes of wild animals etc. Later he ordered a fierce thunderstorm which raised a flood of water drowning Pārśva upto his nostrils. Seeing this with his clairvoyant knowledge, Dharaṇendra rushed headlong to the spot along with his chief queens and protected Pārśva by covering his head with the seven hoods spread like an umbrella and entwining the monk's body with lengthy coils lifted Pārśva above water. Dharaṇa's queens staged a play and danced to divert Pārśva's attention from the miseries inflicted by the storm etc., but, throughout the period, the great ascetic Pārśvanātha remained indifferent both to the attacks of Meghamālī (Śambara acc. to some texts) and to the protective steps taken by Dharanendra. Unsuccessful and repenting, Meghamālī bowed before Pārśvanātha and gave up his evil ways.[203]

The Digambara account differs from Śvetāmbara traditions by saying that not one but two snakes—one male and the other female—were burning in the log of wood and that they were reborn as king and queen of the Nāgas. In the Digambara tradition Kamatha is reborn as Bhūtānanda (instead of Meghamālī in Śve tradition).[204]

Since Dharanendra and Padmāvatī are king and queen of the Nāgas, a salient feature of their iconography is that their Nāga form or character is invariably emphasised in sculptures and paintings. Padmāvatī is always represented as having one, three, five, seven or nine snake-hoods over her head. Sometimes when two-armed, she is represented as a mermaid with the lower half of her body represented like that of a snake.

Images of Padmāvatī can be divided into several groups such as: (1) the two-armed variety, (2) the four-armed variety, (3) the six-armed variety, (4) the eight-armed variety, (5) the twelve-armed variety, (6) the twenty-armed variety, (7) the twenty-four-armed variety, and (8) the multi-armed variety.[205] She is mostly found in a sitting posture and her standing figures in all varieties except the first two are rare.

In some forms she is known by special names such as *Bhairava-Padmāvati*, *Totalā*, *Tvaritā*, *Nityā*, *Kāmasādhinī*, *Tripurā* and *Tripurabhairavī*. The eight-armed variety is found only in the last two special forms. Her name suggests that she should always carry a lotus as one of her symbols although the principle is not rigidly followed in all representations of the goddess.

A. Two-Armed Variety

Specific dhyānas for this form are not available, but sufficient archaeological evidence is forthcoming to establish a two-armed plastic form of the goddess.

In the scenes of Kamaṭha's *upasargas* (attacks, obstructions, harassments), Dharaṇa and his queen or

queens figure' invariably. One of the queens holds the umbrella over Pārśva, while the rest are shown adoring him with folded hands (as in fig. 142, *Panorama of Jaina Art*), or dancing, to divert the attention of Pārśva from the storm and thereby help him in his austerities. Here the Nāga character of Dharaṇa's queens is emphasised by representing them as having a snake-hood overhead and/or by showing some of them as mermaids with half-human and half-snake bodies as at Ellora in one such panel. There is a beautiful scene of attack of Kamaṭha carved on a boulder at Tirakkol, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, wherein only one queen bearing the umbrella with both hands and Dharaṇendra are represented as rescuing Pārśvanātha (Fig. 33 in *Panorama of Jaina Art*). In the Digambara tradition, it is Padmāvatī who is principally associated with Dharanendra in this act of rescue, and hence in all the Digambara panels at Ellora etc. the umbrella-bearer may be identified as two-armed Padmāvatī.

It must however be remembered that in the cosmographical accounts, especially in the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name Padmāvatī does not figure in the list of Dharaṇa's chief queens.

M.A. Dhaky published two elegant sculptures of this scene from Digambara Jaina temples at Humcha in Karnataka.[206] In a miniature painting from the palm-leaf manuscript at Idar, N. Gujarat (Śvetāmbara tradition), Dharaṇendra and his queen are represented standing with folded hands by the side of Pārśvanātha. Here Padmāvatī is painted red and has three snake-hoods over her head. The painting belongs to the fourteenth century A.D.[207] It is to be noted that the form of the yakṣī with the lotus symbol is absent here. A similar case is found in a miniature painting of a paper manuscript of Kalpasūtra (c. 15th cent.) now preserved in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 76).

Padmāvatī with both the hands folded together is also associated with another type of image representing Pārśvanātha. It is not the scene of Kamaṭha's attack. In such cases, Pārśvanātha is the chief figure represented either standing or sitting with Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī occupying the flanks. Padmāvatī can be seen in these sculptures with two hands folded in the act of worship.

A mutilated sculpture from Arthuna, Rajasthan, now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, shows both Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī in the position just described. Padmāvatī has only one hood overhead. This sculpture has another peculiarity in as much as it has, below the feet of Pārśva, two kneeling figures of Dharaṇendra and his queen, represented half-human and half-snake, with three hoods over the head and both the hands folded (*Bulletin of the Clevelend Museum of Art*, Dec. 1970, pp. 303ff, fig. 15) In the Mahuḍī bronze image of Pārśvanātha, now in the Baroda Museum, Dharaṇa and Padmāvatī are similarly represented half-snake and half-human. But here they do not figure as the yakṣa and yakṣī of Pārśvanātha and seem to have been retained in order to suggest the act of rescue performed by them. In the Ajmere Museum sculpture they are twice represented, once perhaps as attendant yakṣa and yakṣī in their standing postures and once again as kneeling before Pārśva in their act of rescue. In a bronze of Pārśvanātha preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Mu. no. 67.23), Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, both half-human and half-snake, are shown sitting with folded hands on two sides of Pārśvanātha, in positions generally assigned to yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of a Jina. The bronze is assigned to c. 8th cent. A.D. This bronze and the Arthuna sculpture in the Ajmere Museum, referred to above, seem to represent a transitional stage. The introduction of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī as yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of Pārśva is a later conception. Some images from Bengal, for example the Pārśvanātha from Bahulara, Bankura (*Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 38), represent the tradition of the Mahuḍī bronze by showing Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī in worshipful attitude with their lower snake-halves joined and tied in a beautiful knot (*nāga-pāśa*), the knot being shown in the centre of the pedestal.[208] In the Mahudi bronze we find Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣinī. In a Vasantagadh-Pindwada bronze of Pārśvanātha, dated in V.S. 1088=A.D. 1031, we also find Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣī while the half-snake half-human Dharaṇa with folded hands is shown on the right of the simhāsana and a similar Padmāvatī on the corresponding left corner. Here their lower bodies are not tied into a knot. The Bahulara Pārśvanātha noted above dates from c. 11th cent A.D. The practice of showing Dharaṇa and his queen joined with a beautiful *nāga-pāśa* knot seems to have been especially popular in Gujarat and Rajasthan (see *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 17b and fig. 34). As will be seen from a study of a number of Pārśvanātha bronzes published by us in the book *Akota Bronzes*, at least upto the end of the

tenth century A.D. in Western India, Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā were usually shown as the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of Pārśvanātha.

A third form of two-armed Padmāvatī comes from the Śītalanātha temple at Patan, North Gujarat, where a big loose stone image of Padmāvatī is still in worship. There is a snake with five hoods over the head of the goddess and a small figure of Pārśvanātha surmounts her head. On a full-blown lotus, Padmāvatī here sits in the lalitāsana. Two-armed, she carries the lotus-stalk in her right hand and a cup of sweets or a fruit in the left one (Fig. 144). Two mermaids with folded hands are seen over her shoulders on two sides while two more are shown near her feet.[209]

In the famous scene of Kamaṭha's attack at Kalugumalai (fig. 50, and also see fig. 1 in *Panorama of Jaina Art*) we find the snake-queen holding something in her raised right hand while the left hand hanging carries nothing.

In the Mahāvīra temple, Osia, Padmāvatī carries the snake and the fruit in her right and left hands respectively. Her vāhana is a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. Tiwari has noted that in the Māladevī temple, Gyaraspur, M.P., we find two-armed Padmāvatī showing rosary with *vyākhyāna mudrā* in one hand and a water-jar in the other. Another variety of form in the same temple shows the lotus in her right hand and the *gadā* in the left one. Tiwari has noted two images of two-armed Padmāvatī at Devgadh, one showing *varada mudrā* and lotus-stalk, the other showing the fruit and the flower.[210]

In the Navamuni cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, is a two-armed form of the yakṣī of Pārśvanātha showing the *abhaya* and the lotus in her right and left hands respectively. A *kukkuṭa-sarpa* vāhana is shown below. There is no snake-hood seen above the yakṣī's head but her figure is carved below the figure of Pārśvānātha and is therefore intended to be shown as Padmāvatī, the yakṣī of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 89).[211]

The two-armed Padmāvatī continued in Jaina worship for a much longer period even after the introduction of her four-armed form, as can be seen from a bronze dated in V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273) still in worship in a Jaina temple in Baroda. A two-armed form is seen on a mediaeval sculpture of Pārśva, no. J.935 in the Lucknow Museum, where Padmāvatī holds the lotus in her right hand while her left hand rests on her lap.

B. Four-Armed Variety

Of this variety a number of dhyānas as well as representations are found. According to Hemacandra (Śve.), the goddess is golden in complexion and rides on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. She is four-armed, in her two right hands she carries the lotus and the noose, and in the two left the fruit and the goad.[212] Nirvāṇakalikā,[212] Ācāradinakara,[213] Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭikā,[214] Mantradhirāja-kalpa,[215] and the Kālalokaprakāśa follow Hemacandra; Mantrādhirājakalpa adds that a snake with three hoods should be shown over her crown. The Nirvāṇakalikā mentions *kukkuṭa* and not the *kukkuṭa-sarpa* as her vāhana. Possibly there was a scribal mistake in the manuscript used for the printed edition.

The Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa, describing the symbols of Padmāvatī clock-wise from the right lower hand, gives the lotus, the noose, the goad and the citron as her weapons. Red in complexion, she rides the *kukkuṭa(-sarpa ?)*.[216] The same form is met with in the Rūpamaṇḍana.

This form is available in Śvetāmbara temples; for example, in cell 4, Vimala vasahi, Abu, we find this form on the pedestal of an image of Pārśvanātha. The same form is seen on the southern entrance to the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahi. Tiwari has noted a similar form in the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia.[217]

This form is available in Digambara shrines also. P. Gururaja Bhatt has illustrated such figures in his *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, pl. 444a from Dharmanātha Basti, Naravi, and pl. 429a from Setrabasti, Mudabidure.

A bronze image in the temple at Tiruparuttikuṇṛam (Jina-Kāñcī)[218] represents Padmāvatī as wearing a kirīṭa-mukuṭa surmounted by five snake-hoods and showing a seated figure of Pārśva in front. The goddess stands on the lotus and her vāhana, the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*, is seen in front of the pedestal. Padmāvatī carries the goad and the noose in her right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the lotus and

the citron in the corresponding lower ones (Fig. 127). The image belongs to the Digambara shrine. In the Neminātha temple at Kumbharia, Padmāvatī carries the same symbols.

A sculpture of a goddess, probably hailing from Karnataka, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has been identified by Sankalia as Padmāvatī.[219] She has a single-hooded cobra over head and is stylistically similar to a figure of Dharaṇendra in the same museum. She carries the lotus and the goad in her right lower and upper hands respectively while the noose is held in the left upper one. The left lower hand, partly mutilated, probably carried the citron (*Fig. 110* in this book). A beautiful sculpture of this variety exists in the Pārśvanātha temple at Humcha, Karnataka.[220] The form was popular as such images are available in the Pañcakūṭa Basti, Humcha and Śāntinātha Basti, Jinanathapur, at Lakkundi, at Dharwar on a standing image of Pārśva, in a stone image of Padmāvatī with 5 hoods in K.R. Institute, Dharwar, at Muḍabidri where the devī has 3 hoods and also at Mugad, Karnataka, on a sculpture of Pārśvanātha standing. The form offers favourable comparison with the iconographic traditions given by Hemacandra and others noted above as well as with the late bronze from Jina-Kāñchī described above.

The form was known earlier in south India since it is carved on a rock at Vallimalai, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, in c eighth-ninth century A.D. (see *Fig. 198* in this book). Sivaramamurti's identification of this relief as representing Śrutadevī cannot be accepted.[221] The goddess has a beautiful cobra-head above her crown and her figure is carved next to a sculpture of Pārśvanātha. This form is also found in a palm-leaf miniature painting of the Dhavalā-ṭīkā at Mudabidri.

A four-armed figure of Padmāvatī from the Śvetāmbara Kharatara vasahi Caumukha temple at Abu represents the goddess sitting in padmāsana and carrying the same set of symbols as described above from Humcha etc. but Padmāvatī here shows only three snake-hoods overhead instead of five in some of the above-mentioned sculptures. Again, instead of the *kukkuṭa-sarpa* a mermaid is shown as the vāhana.

The Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, referred to below, omits the lotus and introduces the *varada mudrā* instead in the above set of symbols as in a sculpture of Padmāvatī in the Jaina temple at Anatur in Karnataka (Fig. 125), while in a relief in the Badami Jaina cave (Fig. 142) Padmāvatī's right lower hand shows the *abhaya mudrā* instead of the lotus. The Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa,[222] composed by Śrī-Candra sūrī, pupil of Yaśobhadra Upādhyāya, says that the goddess rides on the swan, and shows the fruit, the *varada mudrā*, the noose and the goad in her four hands (Figs 46, 100).[223] She is further addressed as terrific in appearance (*bhairave, raudre*), with blood-shot eyes (*raudralocanāvatāre*) and is also called Tārā.[224] The saviouress impregnable, she drives out, by her fierce laughter, the fifty-two Kṣetrapālas, the eighty-four Ceṭakas, and the hosts of the Bhutas. She is vanquisher of the sixty-four Yoginis and is ever ready to dispose of such supernatural beings as Kāla, Vyāla, Vetāla, Karāla, Kankāla, Bhūta, Preta, Piśāca, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Gandharva, Kinnara, and Uragendra. The three cobra-heads hissing over her crown melt the pride of the wicked. Red in complexion, Padmāvatī removes all miseries and is, verily, the wish-giving Cintāmani-stone.[225]

The Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa of Malliṣena gives the set of symbols in the following order: the noose, the fruit, the *varada* and the goad. This order, according to the commentator Bandhuṣeṇa, should commence with the left upper hand.[226] According to Malliṣena, Padmā is three-eyed, red in complexion, and resting on the lotus. Very probably, both Malliṣeṇa and Śrī-Candra, the author of Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa, refer to the same form, although the vāhana is different in the two cases.

This terrific aspect of the goddess was popular since similar dhyānas are also obtained from the still unpublished Jaina Tantra work Vidyānuśāsana, composed in c 16th century A.D. According to this work, the goddess Padmāvatī is three-eyed and sits on a red-lotus. In her four hands she holds the symbols in the following order:[227] the noose, the fruit, the *varada* and the goad. Even though the text does not give the order of the hands it would be reasonable to suppose that it describes the same form as the one in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa. According to another dhyāna given in the Vidyānuśāsana, the goddess is called Kamalāvatī, red in complexion, sitting on a big (full-blown) red-lotus and riding on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. The lord of snakes adorns her crown. Symbols are given in the following order: the *varada*, the goad, the noose and the divine fruit. Obviously the text describes the same form.[228]

The unpublished Jina-Saṃhitā of Bhaṭṭāraka Ekasaṃdhi (c. 11th or 12th cent. A.D.) describes the

same set of symbols in two consecutive verses. In the first, it is said that starting from the right lower hand, the goddess shows the *varada mudrā*, the goad, the noose and the fruit. The number of her eyes is not mentioned, and the goddess is called Padmāvatī. In the second verse the same symbols are given and it is said in addition that the goddess Bhairava-Padmāvatī has three eyes. It is evident that all these texts describe one and the same form. In this form the devi is variously addressed as Bhairava-Padmāvatī, Kamalāvatī and Padmāvatī.

A figure of Padmāvatī standing to the left of Pārśvanātha and showing the same set of symbols can be seen in *Fig. 78* from Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagola, illustrated in this book. A sculpture of Padmāvatī from the Jaina Basti, Lakkundi, Dharwar district, Karnataka, illustrates this variety (Fig. 100). The goddess sits with the left knee upright and carries the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively while the corresponding lower hands show the *varada mudrā* and the fruit. The same form of yakṣī Padmāvatī is seen on a sculpture of standing Pārśvanātha from Pārśvanātha Basadi, Rona, Dharwar district, on the figure of Pārśva in the set of 24 Jinas at Ve ur, and in a sculpture of standing Pārśva at Lakkundi. Another sculpture, from a pedestal lying in a Śvetāmbara temple, Cambay, illustrates the same variety of form. The devi has three snake-hoods overhead. The pedestal is dated in the year V.S. 1332. A third specimen is a bronze from Cambay giving the same form (Fig. 101). Here the *kukkuṭa* is also shown. A fourth example is a painting on folio 239 of the palm-leaf manuscript of Vivekamañjarī in the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay. Here Padmāvatī is painted red and wears a lower garment with red design.

A similar form in the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, shows the rosary along with the *varada mudrā* in the right lower hand of the goddess. Padmāvatī here has five snake-hoods over the head.

In the beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva, illustrated as *Fig. 46 in this book*, yakṣī Padmāvatī sitting in lalitāsana shows the same form. She has one snake-hood. The sculpture is a beautiful specimen of Chalukyan art of c. 12th century, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In a paper manuscript of Pārśvanāthacaritra at Patan (c. 15th-16th cent. A.D.), the devi, with three snake-hoods overhead, shows the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the *varadākṣa* (rosary + *varada mudrā*) and the lotus in the corresponding lower ones. A *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her vāhana.

A sculpture worshipped in a niche in the Navakhaṇḍā Pārśvanātha temple, Cambay, shows the goddess sitting in lalitāsana and carrying the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands, thus reversing the order of symbols of the above-mentioned figures. The right lower hand, held in the *varada* pose, also carries the rosary while the left lower one holds a fruit. The vāhana remains unchanged. The devī has five snake-hoods over the crown. *Figure 101 in this book* illustrates a small bronze image of Padmāvatī sitting in the lalitāsana and having three snake-hoods over her head, and a *kukkuṭa-sarpa* below the left knee. The devī shows the same set of symbols as in the sculpture from Navakhaṇḍā Pārśva temple just described. The bronze is preserved in the Śītalanātha temple, Cambay. Padmāvatī, showing the same order of symbols but sitting in the padmāsana and having a *kukkuṭa-sarpa* as her vāhana, is shown as a yakṣī accompanying a big marble sculpture of Pārśvanātha in a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple at Patan, N. Gujarat. The right lower hand of the goddess is here held in the *varada mudrā* but does not carry the rosary.

On the door-lintel from Khajuraho, illustrated in *Fig. 91* in this book, Padmāvatī is shown as sitting in the lalitāsana with five snake-hoods held like an umbrella behind her head and a *kukkuṭa-sarpa* near the left leg. The devī carries the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the *varada mudrā* with the right lower hand. The left lower hand is unfortunately mutilated.

The Aparājitapṛcchā gives the following symbols for Padmāvatī: they are the noose, the goad, the lotus and the *varada mudrā*. The goddess is red in complexion and rides on the *kukkuṭa*. The order of symbols is not specified.[229]

A beautiful white marble sculpture of Padmāvatī with an inscription dated in V.S. 1254 (A.D. 1197) is in worship in the Digambara Jaina temple, Idar, N. Gujarat. In her right and the left upper hands, the goddess, sitting in the lalitāsana on a *kukkuṭa-sarpa*, carries the goad and the noose respectively while

she shows the *varada mudrā* and the lotus in the corresponding lower hands. A miniature figure of a Jina is shown sitting over the crest of the three snake-hoods while two more figures of Jina Pārśvanātha are shown on two sides of the devī's head (Fig. 117).

The Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa gives a different form. Here she is *white* in complexion and is dressed in white garments. *Śrī-Padmā*, resplendent with three snake-hoods over her head, *rides on the white swan* and rests on the lotus-seat. Four-armed, *Śrī-Padmā* carries the lotus, the goad, the *varada* and the noose in her hands The worshipper should meditate on this form in his heart.[230]

This form of *Śrī Padmā* differs from that of the Idar sculpture described above as the *kukkuṭa* vāhana is here replaced by the swan. The form offers an interesting comparison with the Buddhist goddess Durgottāriṇī Tārā who shows the same set of symbols and rests on the lotus. The difference lies in the complexion only since the Buddhist goddess is green in colour. Besides, Durgottāriṇī Tārā is not associated with snakes, but Jāṅguli, one of the four varieties of Green Tārā, is associated with snakes and is a well-known ancient deity connected with snake-charm.[231] Thus this variety of Padmāvatī is a mixture of Jāṅguli and Durgottāriṇī Tārā. We have already seen before that in the Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa, Padmā, addressed as *Bhairavarūpāvatāre* and *sapadme haṃsapṛṣṭhādhirūḍhe*, is also invoked as *Tāre* and *Tārāvatāre*.

A sculpture in black stone, probably from Karnataka, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, illustrated as *Fig. 110 in this book*, discussed before, would follow this tradition of Aparajitapṛcchā and the Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa describing Śrī-Padmā, if the mutilated left lower hand had shown the *varada mudrā*.

A manuscript entitled Padmāvatī-Pūjā[232] gives her red complexion and a lotus-seat. Padmāvatī here shows the noose, the goad, the *abhaya mudrā* and the fruit in her hands. A sculpture of Padmāvatī sitting in padmāsana on a lotus-seat, in worship in the Chandragupta Basti, Śravana Belagola, follows this tradition. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D.

T N. Ramachandran illustrated a bronze image of Padmāvatī of this variety of form.[233] Upon a lotus-seat the devī sits with her right foot hanging. She carries the goad and the noose in her right and left upper hands respectively and shows the *abhaya mudrā* and the fruit with the corresponding lower ones. The *kukkuṭa* vehicle is shown below her right foot. The goddess has only two eyes in this figure instead of three enjoined by the Padmāvatī-Pūjā manuscript.

The variety of form noted by this ms. of Padmāvatī-Pūjā apppears to represent an old tradition as the Jaina cave at Badami has a relief of Padmāvatī representing this form. This is referred to before. The relief dates from c. 10th century A.D.[234] Two palm-leaf miniatures in the Digambara Jaina Bhaṇḍāra at Mudabidri also illustrate this variety of form of four-armed Padmāvatī. The miniatures are assigned to c. 12th century A D. (*Panorama of Jaina Art, op. cit*, figs. 392, 394).

Sankalia has discussed a sculpture of Padmāvatī preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum (Mu. no. 130).[235] The devī here sits in the lalitāsana and has a single-hooded cobra overhead. She carries the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the *varada mudrā* and the snake with the corresponding lower ones. A *kukkuṭa* figures as her vāhana (Fig. 124). An image of this variety, showing Padmāvatī sitting in the padmāsana, also figures as a yakṣī on a sculpture of Pārśvanātha in a Śve. temple at Patan.

A Padmāvatī-stotra refers to the three eyes and three snake-hoods over the head of this goddess who carries the noose, the goad, the snake and the fruit in her four hands.[236]

The same text gives another form in a different verse according to which Padmāvatī holds the *vajra*, the goad, the noose and the lotus in her four hands. Her pleasing countenance is said to be especially noteworthy.[237]

The Padmāvatī-mantrāmnāyavidhi says that the worshipper should meditate upon the goddess who is four-armed and shows the *abhaya*, the *varada*, the noose and the goad in her hands. The form of the goddess is invoked for various rites like the *vaśya*, *vidveṣa*, *kṣobha*, *śāntika* and *pauṣṭika*.[238]

In a Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Paṭa appears the figure of Padmāvatī illustrating this variety. The devī is reddish-yellow with three snake-hoods over her head and the cock as her vehicle. She holds the goad and the

noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the *varada* and the *abhaya mudrās* with the corresponding lower hands.[239]

The symbols and complexion of this form of Padmāvatī agree with those of the Brahmanical goddess Mitrā worshipped in the Śrī-Cakra and described in the Śarabha Tantra.[240] These symbols also agree with those of the Brahmanical godddess Tripurā,[241] one of the twelve forms of Durgā. Bhuvaneśvarī also shows similar symbols.[242]

In the yantra of Mantrādhirāja, the devī is to be placed on the left of Pārśvanātha and her colour should be as black as collyrium; she should have three snake-hoods over her head and should ride on the *kukkuṭa*.[243] Snakes as ornaments should adorn her body. The text here does not give the symbols held by Padmāvatī. But earlier in the work, while describing the forms of the 24 yakṣiṇīs to be drawn in the fifth *valaya* (circle) of this great Tantric diagram, namely, the Mantrādhirāja-Paṭa, the author gives the symbols of Padmāvatī. Here she is said to be of golden complexion and riding on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. Her crown is adorned with three snake-hoods. Queen of the king of snakes, Padmāvatī shows the noose and the lotus in her right hands and the fruit and the goad in the left ones.[244] This form agrees with the form given in Triṣaṣṭi., Ācāra-Dinakara, etc.

The Sahasra-phaṇā-Pārśvanātha-Paṭa, published in Jaina Citrakalpadruma, vol. I, shows a figure of Padmāvatī standing to the left of Pārśvanātha, the central deity. She is four-armed and carries, in the two upper hands, the goad and the noose, while her two lower hands are clasped against the chest in *añjali mudrā* in adoration of her master Pārśvanātha.[245]

A bronze figure from the Kokā-Pārśvanātha temple, Patan, may be identified with this form of Padmāvatī. The goddess has her two lower hands folded against the breasts in *añjali mudrā*. The symbols of the two upper hands, partly mutilated, can still be identified as the goad and the noose. Three snake-hoods are spread over her head. Though late the form seems to have been popular in Jaina worship.

W. Norman Brown has published a miniature painting, from a Kalpa-Sūtra manuscript, showing Pārśva's austerities.[246] The Jina is in the centre while Dharaṇa and Padmāvatī stand on his right and the left respectively. Here two hands of Padmāvatī are folded while the other two are empty. The *kukkuṭa* is shown as her vāhana.

In a Jaina temple in Bhiloḍā, Sābarakānthā district, N. Gujarat, is worshipped a metal image of Padmāvatī seated in padmāsana with nine snake-hoods spread over her head surmounted by a miniature figure of Pārśvanātha. Two snake-goddesses with snake-hoods overhead flank the central devī as attendants. The goddess carries the goad and the noose in the right and left upper hands, the rosary (?) appears in the right lower hand while the water-jar is shown in her left lower hand. The *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her vāhana.

Another variety of form is shown by a sculpture from Patan (Fig. 140). Here the devī sits in padmāsana and carries the same symbols except the pot in the left lower hand (of the Bhiloḍā image) which is here replaced by the *varada mudrā*. The goddess has five snake-hoods over her crown.

In the drawing published by Burgess,[247] Padmāvatī sits in the lalitāsana and has the *kukkuṭa-sarpa* as the vāhana. Over the crown are seen five snake-hoods. In the two upper hands she holds the goad and the noose, the right lower hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā* while the left lower hand seems to signify the *kaṭaka* pose.

One of the earliest varieties of four-armed images of Padmāvatī is found at Devgaḍh. On a pillar near the Western Gate of the Devgaḍh fort is a beautiful representation of the goddess sitting in lalitāsana on a big lotus with a thick stalk; on two sides of the stalk below the lotus-seat are two circular volutes of lotus-stalks. The devī carries lotuses with long stalks in her two upper hands (Fig. 141). Her right lower hand is held in the *varada mudrā* while the left lower hand holds a pitcher—a *kumbha* of nectar and knowledge. Over the big chignon on the head of the devī are spread like an umbrella five snake-hoods signifying her role as a Nāga-queen. On top is a miniature figure of Pārśvanātha seated in padmāsana. The sculpture dates from late ninth or early tenth century A.D. A very similar sculpture, perhaps from the

wall of a Jaina temple, is preserved at Sironi, Jhansi district, U.P. and dates from the same age. The only difference between the two sculptures is that the devī has three snake-hoods overhead at Sironi.

Perhaps a little earlier in age is a beautifully carved elaborate sculpture of Padmāvatī from Mahoba preserved in the Lucknow Museum (Mu. No. G.316). There are five snake-hoods held like an umbrella over her head. On top is a seated figure of Pārśvanātha with two small attendant cāmaradharas. On two sides of the head of the devī are two female garland-bearing attendants standing on lotuses while below on two sides of her legs are standing two female cāmaradharas. The devī sits in lalitāsana on a big lotus with her right foot hanging on two sides of which are worshipping, with folded hands, two male devotees who are perhaps the donors of the image In her two upper hands the devī holds lotuses with long stalks and with the left lower hand a *pūrṇa-kumbha*. Her right lower hand is unfortunately mutilated (fig. 143). Perhaps this beautiful sculpture of the goddess was installed in a separate niche in a Digambara Jaina temple.

An inscribed pedestal (?) of c. ninth century A.D. from Tripuri (Tewar), M.P., shows Padmāvatī sitting in padmāsana in the centre with a goddess on each side in separate compartments (*JAA, vol. I, pl. 98A*, p. 169). The goddess holds lotuses in two upper hands and shows the *abhaya* and the water-pot (*kalaśa*) in the right and the left lower hands respectively.

Of c. 862 A.D. is the sculpture of standing Padmāvatī from the set of 24 yakṣiṇīs on the walls of Temple no. 12, Devgadh. The devī holds a lotus with a stalk and a board-like thing (book ?) in her right and the left upper hands and shows the *varada mudrā* and the *kalaśa* (water-jar, pot) with the corresponding lower ones.[248]

A closely allied iconographic variety of four-armed Padmāvatī is also found in the Śvetāmbara tradition. A miniature in a palm-leaf manuscript of Pāṇḍavacaritra (c. 13th cent A.D.), preserved in the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay, represents the goddess as carrying the lotus in each of the two upper hands and the water-jar (*kalaśa*) in the left lower one. Her right lower hand, held against the chest, holds a fruit in the open palm. The devī is white in complexion, wears a white lower garment and has three snake-hoods overhead. On one side is seen the *kukkuṭa-sarpa* with a rosary in its beak. Only the head and the neck are visible.

A figure of later origin, from the pedestal of a sculpture of Pārśvanātha, in the Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha temple, Patan, represents another stage in the evolution of iconography of Padmāvatī. The devī holds the lotuses in her two upper hands, the noose in the right lower and the goad in the left lower hand. A *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her vāhana. The form, although not very popular, shows nevertheless a combination of two distinct types of sculptures of four-armed Padmāvatī. The first and probably the earlier type has the lotuses as the chief distinguishing symbols of Padmāvatī (lit. the goddess with the lotus). The second type, probably later in chronological order, mainly showed the goad and the noose in her two hands.

Another such combination, described below, dating at least from the eleventh century A.D., was popular amongst the Digambaras of the south since authors like Vasunandi,[249] Āśādhara,[250] and Nemicandra[251] describe this particular form of the deity. In this form the goddess shows the goad, the rosary, the lotus and the *varada mudrā* in her four hands. Brahmasūri[252] also gives the same symbols and adds that the goddess has, in this form, three snake-hoods over the crown, sits on the lotus and is red like the evening clouds.

A late metal image of Padmāvatī from a temple in Cambay shows the devī sitting in lalitāsana. She has nine snake-hoods over her head and carries the lotus in her right upper hand, the goad in the left upper, the snake in the right lower and a conch-like object in the left lower hands. The *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her vāhana.

A peculiar variety of four-armed form is noteworthy since the symbols are entirely different from those of the rest. T.N. Ramachandran has given a form of Padmāvatī from the popular Canarese Dhyāna-ślokas recited by temple priests in South India. According to this tradition, the goddess sits in lalitāsana and holds the axe and the thunderbolt (*vajra*) in the two upper hands while the *abhaya* and the

kaṭaka mudrās are shown by the two lower ones. The goddess has five snake-hoods overhead and rides on the swan (*haṃsa*).[253]

In the Father Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is a mutilated sculpture where yakṣī Padmāvatī shows the axe and the noose in her right and the left upper hands and the *varada mudrā* and the citron with the corresponding lower ones. The sculpture hails probably from Karnataka.

In the Pañca Basadi, Stavanidhi, in Chikkodi taluq, Belgaum district, Karnataka, is a sculpture of Pārśvānātha standing with Dharanendra sitting on his right and Padmāvatī on his left. The devī has one snake-hood and shows the sword and the shield in her right and the left upper hands respectively and the lotus and the citron in the corresponding lower ones.

Special Forms of Padmāvatī (Four-Armed Variety continued)

Malliṣeṇa says that Padmāvatī is known by six other names, namely, *Totalā*, *Tvaritā*, *Nityā*, *Tripurā*, *Kāmasadhinī*, and *Tripura-Bhairavī*.

In addition to these six special forms there exists one more special form, known as Bhairava-Padmāvatī which latter is already described earlier along with other forms of the goddess. Forms which are worshipped under special names that do not include the title Padmāvatī although they are forms of the goddess Padmāvatī, such as the six noted above, are here treated as the special forms of Padmāvatī.[254] The Vidyānuśāsana gives a full description of all these six forms. Out of these six mentioned above, the first four are four-armed, and the next two are eight-armed. These are described below.

1. Totalā

Totalā has four hands showing the noose, the *vajra*, the fruit and the lotus. The colour and the vāhana are not specified in the work; very probably, she is like the principal deity, red in colour, riding on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*.[255]

2. Tvaritā

Tvaritā is red in complexion and shows the conch, the lotus, the *abhaya* and the *varada* in her four hands. The vāhana is not specified.[256]

3. Nityā

Nityā has the noose, the goad, the lotus and the rosary, in her four hands, and rides the swan. She is red in complexion and shines with a halo of flames behind her head.[257]

4. Kāmasādhinī

Kāmasādhinī is red like the bandhūka flower and rides on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. In her four hands she carries the conch, the disc, the fruit and the lotus.[258]

C. Eight-Armed Variety

5. Tripurā

The complexion of Tripurā is red like saffron and she is eight-armed. She carries the trident, the disc, the goad, the lotus, the bow, the arrow, the fruit and the goad, in her eight hands.[259]

A beautiful eight-armed form of Padmāvatī (as Tripurā) is available in the vedibandha niche on south, in the Jaina temple at Jhalrapatan (Jhalawar, Rajasthan), dating from c. 11th cent. A.D. The

goddess, in lalitāsana, shows the lotus, the sword, the *vajra* and the *varada* in her right hands and the lotus, the shield, the *ghaṇṭā* (bell) and the fruit in the left ones (fig. 111). An eight-armed form of the goddess exists in the Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, but symbols are indistinct.[260]

6. *Tripura-Bhairavī*

As Tripura-Bhairavī, Padmāvatī is three-eyed and eight-armed and shines like the Indragopa-flower. She carries the conch, the disc, the bow, the arrow, the sword, the shield, the lotus and the fruit in her hands.[261]

D. Six-Armed Variety

Vasunandī, Āśādhara and Nemicandra refer also to a six-armed form. This shows the popularity the goddess enjoyed in the Jaina Pantheon, in the ages in which these authors lived. According to Vasunandī, she holds the noose, the spear, the sword. the crescent, the club and the pestle (*musala*) in her six hands.[262] The other two authors merely say that the goddess holds the symbols beginning with *pāśa*. According to Nemicandra, Padmāvatī, when invoked in this form, gives victory over the enemy.

E. Twelve-Armed Variety

No specific dhyānas for this form are available. But, a beautiful figure on a pillar in the courtyard of temple no.12 in the Devgadh Fort can safely be identified as Padmāvatī with the twelve arms (fig. 197).

Adorned with five snake-hoods over the crown, the goddess sits on a bhadrāsana with her right foot hanging. The figure shows the club, the bow, the lotus, the arrow, the sword (?) and *varada mudrā* in six hands on the right. In her left hands are seen the *vajra*, the snake, the noose, the bow, and the fruit. The *kukkuṭa-sarpa* is here very artistically represented.

A sculpture of 12-armed Padmāvatī seated in padmāsana illustrated in fig. 174 is from the Thakur Sahib collection, Shahdol. The goddess shows the *varada mudrā*, the sword, the axe, the arrow, the snake, the *vajra*, the disc, the shield, the mace, the goad, the bow and the lotus in her twelve hands.[263]

At Sohagpur in the Bilaspur district, M.P., are found loose images lying near the palace of the local Thakur. One of these is a rare image of Padmāvatī with twelve arms with a small figure of Pārśvanātha over her head. In her right hands she shows the wheel, the thunderbolt, the battle axe, the sword, the arrow and the varada while the bow, the goad, the noose, the mace and the lotus are carried in the left ones. The sixth left hand is unfortunately broken.[264]

Maruti Nandan Prasad has identified a sixteen-armed devī as Padmāvatī in the ceiling in front of cell 41 at Vimala Vasahi. I believe the goddess there is Vairoṭyā and not Padmāvatī.

F. Twenty-two-Armed Variety

The Padmāvatī-stotra[265] gives separate verses for the worship of the symbols held by Padmāvatī; they are worshipped in the following order: first pair—the *vajra* in the right and the goad in the left hands, the second pair—the lotus in the right and the disc in the left, similarly, the *chatra* in the right and the *ḍamaru* in the left, the bowl (*kapāla*) in the right and the sword in the left, the bow in the right and the pestle in the left, the plough in the right and the flame of fire in the left, the *bhiṇḍimāla* in the right and the cluster of stars (*tārāmaṇḍala*) in the left, the trident in the right and the axe in the left, the cobra in the right and the club in the left, the staff in the right and the noose in the left and lastly, the stone in the right and the big tree in the left hands. A twenty-two-armed figure of Padmāvatī can thus be reasonably expected, although as far as is known no sculpture has yet been discovered which answers to the above description.

G. Twenty-four-Armed Variety

The Pratiṣṭhāsārasangraha of Vasunandi gives a form with twenty-four arms showing the following weapons and mudrās, they are: the conch, the sword, the disc, the crescent, the lotus, the stone (*upala*), the bow, the *śakti*, the noose, the goad, the bell, the arrow, the pestle, the shield, the trident, the axe, the spear, the *vajra*, the rosary, the fruit, the club, the leaf, the stalk and the *varada mudrā*.[266]

Āśādhara[267] and Nemicandra[268] also refer to the twenty-four-armed form but do not give all the symbols. They, however, add that the form is invoked for benefic as well as malefic rites. The form was certainly popular as it is referred to by three chief Digambara writers.

H. Multi-Armed Variety

According to a verse in the Padmāvatī-stotra[269] the goddess carries swords, bows, arrows, pestles, ploughs, *vajras, nārācas,* discs, *śaktis, śalyas,* tridents, axes, clubs, staves, nooses, stones, trees, and such innumerable divine weapons in her hands. The goddess is said to destroy the wicked in this form. A form like this is yet to be discovered in sculptures or in paintings.

The Guḍnāpur inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman (Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VII, S.K.176) refers to a gift of a village (?) Makundi made to the *Kāmadevālaya* at Hakinipalli and the temple of goddess Padmāvatī (*Padmāvatyālaya*) at Kallili. The record is supposed to date from early sixth century A.D. Ravivarman is said to have built an abode (*veśma*) for *Manmatha* (*Kāma*, the god of love). The boundaries given suggest that this temple was near the palace complex. B.R. Gopal,[270] discussing the inscription, has suggested that the temple was dedicated to Bāhubali as Bāhubali is one of the Kāmadevas in (later) Jaina texts. The inscription has also called it *Kāma-Jinālaya*. G.S. Gai disputes the reading of Kāma-Jinālaya (*JIH*, 4.2 (1973), pp. 301-303).

A. Sundara,[271] discussing this, has suggested that this may have reference to Kāmadeva or Cupid, the god of love. In that case the *Kāmadevālaya* may or may no be a Jaina temple. If so, the reference to the shrine of *Padmāvatī* might not have been a reference to the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī in view of the fact that a goddess *Padmā* or *Padminī* is known to ancient literature and art.[272]

It is interesting to note here that Jinasena (783 A.D.), in his Harivaṃśapurāṇa, sarga 29, verses 1-5, shows that one Kāmadatta installed in (front of) the Jaina temple at Śravasti images of Kāmadeva and Rati in order to attract people to the Jaina temple. It seems that images of Kāmadeva and Rati used to be installed in Jaina temples.[273]

About the cult of Padmāvatī in South India, P.B. Desai writes: "Among the secondary deities of the Jaina pantheon chosen for individual adoration as an independent goddess, Padmāvatī, the Yakshiṇī of Pārśvanātha, stands foremost, being the most popular and widely invoked goddess in Karnataka. Though her cult might date from an earlier age, she frequently figures in the epigraphical sources roughly from the period of the tenth century A.D. . . . Śilāhāras and Raṭṭas, and many a high official of the state, of the Jaina persuasion, became votaries of this goddess and took pride in styling themselves the favourite devotees of the deity, having adopted the title *Padmāvatīdevilabdha-vara-prasāda* in their praśasti . . . A well-known early instance of a family of subordinate chiefs who adopted Padmāvatī as their tutelary goddess, are the Śāntaras,[274] . . . Jinadatta, a prince of a ruling family of North India, came to the south with an image of Padmāvatī. The goddess blessed him with the power of transmuting iron into gold, and through her grace he founded the town of Pombuchchapura which became the capital of his kingdom. The goddess, it seems, chose her residence in a Lokki tree of the locality and therefore, came to be called Lokkiyabbe. These events may be referred to the 9th century A.D., though the epigraphs describing them are dated in the 11th-12th century A.D."[275]

P.B. Desai also states: "As Padmāvatī figures in the story of the foundation of the Ganga kingdom through Simhanandi, the cult of Padmāvatī, it may appear, dates from the 2nd century A.D. But this position is misleading because the inscriptions giving this account are dated in the 12th century A.D. which was the period when the cult was in the ascendancy. Compare Ep. Carn., vol. VII, sh. 4."[276]

In this context it is important to note that Jaṭāsimhanandi (c. sixth century A.D.) in his Varāṅgacarita does not refer to Śāsanadevatās (including Padmāvatī Yakṣī) even when he had scope to do so in canto 2.[276]

Padmāvatī enjoyed a unique position in Jaina ritualistic literature, especially in the Jaina tantra. Malliṣeṇa (c. 12th century A.D.) wrote a special text called the Bhairava-Padmāvatī kalpa, discussing all the rites connected with Padmāvatī, namely, stambha, vaśya, ākarṣana, nimitta-jñāna, gāruḍa-tantra, and so on. Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa was composed by a Śvetāmbara writer Śrī-Candra sūri (c. 12th century A.D.). Indranandī, an earlier Digambara writer, composed a Padmāvatī-pūjanam while a number of texts of uncertain authorship like the Rakta-Padmāvatī-kalpa, the Padmāvatī-mantrāmnāya-vidhi, the Padmāvatī-Pūjana-Kramaḥ, the Padmāvatī-vratodyāpana, the Padmāvatī-stotra, the Padmāvatī-sahasra-nāma-stotra, etc., are also available.[277] A Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka has been commented upon by the Śvetāmbara scholar Pārśvadeva gaṇi, and his commentary gives details of various tantric rites.[278] Jinaprabha sūri composed a Padmāvatī-catuṣpadikā,[279] and writers like Āśādhara, Nemicandra and Vasunandī expressly mention that the six-armed form is meant for both propitiatory and cruel rites.

Padmāvatī has a big parivāra or group of attendants and companion deities. The Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa gives the following twenty-four companions of the goddess to be worshipped in the maṇḍala: Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī, Aparājitā, Mandā, Bhadrā, Rudrā, Karālikā, Yoginī, Śivā, Nandā, Amalā, Kamalā, Padmā, Mahāyoginī, Suyantrā, Surūpā, Citrā, Viyutā, Parā, Jambhā, Stambhā, Dambhā, Mohā, Siddhā. The text also refers to four-thousand bodyguards of the devī and five-hundred *ceṭis* or slave-girls. The following eight *dūtikās* are also worshipped in rites consecrated to Padmāvatī and writers like Indranandi, Malliṣeṇa, and the author of Vidyānuśāsana mention them. They are Padmagandhā, Padmavaktrā or Padmāsyā, Padmakamalā or Anangakamalā, Madanonmādinī, Kāmoddīpinī, Padmāvaraṇā and Trailokyamohinī. Six more are usually found in diagrams of the vaśya rites, and seem to be her attending goddesses. They are named as Nityā, Klinnā, Madā, Dravā, Madanā, and Unmādā. The famous Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka also expressly refers to the *parijana of Padmāvatī* including Bhṛṅgī, Kālī, Karālī, Caṇḍī and Cāmuṇḍī. Besides these, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Jambhā, Mohā, Stambhā and Stambhinī are almost invariably worshipped in the yantra of Padmāvatī. According to Pārśvadevagaṇi's vṛtti on the Padmāvatyaṣṭaka, the goddess has the surprising total of 48000 attendant deities.

Padmāvatī, according to Rūpamaṇḍana,[280] is one of the four principal yakṣīs of the Jaina pantheon, the other three being Ambikā, Cakreśvarī and Siddhāyikā. This is corroborated by the discovery of a large variety of images of the goddess found all over India If proper search is made many more images besides these are likely to be discovered. A figure of Padmāvatī has been found at Dorāsmudra (Halebid) in the Pārśvanātha Bastī. The goddess is standing with a three-hooded cobra over the head and showing the goad, the noose and the fruit in her three hands, the weapon in the fourth being mutilated. Another figure of the goddess has been noticed by B.C. Bhattacharya in the Gwalior fort, Eastern roof, but unfortunately, he has not described it.[281] Metal images of the goddess are also very common in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara temples. Of the earlier images, the testimony comes from the Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, which refers to an image of Parśva with Dharaṇa and Padmāvatī, standing at Ahicchatrā, the scene of Pārśva's austerities. According to the same text, images of Padmāvatī were also installed at Śaṅkhapura, Ḍhimpura, Cambay, the ancient Śrīpura, and the Amarakuṇḍa in the Andhra-deśa.[282]

Padmāvatī was originally a companion of Dharaṇendra who rescued Pārśvanātha and she grew subsequently into a powerful yakṣī and a powerful tantric deity, and surpassed the other snake-goddess Vairoṭyā.

But in the earliest lists of Dharaṇa's chief queens Padmāvatī is conspicuous by her absence: the Bhagavatī Sūtra gives the names of *Ilā*, *Śukrā*, *Sadārā* (? *Satārā*), *Saudāminī*, *Indrā*, and *Ghanavidyutā* as the six chief queens of Dharaṇendra.[283] The Sthānāṅga Sūtra follows the same tradition.[284]

Earlier writers like Bappabhaṭṭi and Śobhana, while offering worship to Ambikā, the Vidyādevīs, and the Śrutadevatā, omit Padmāvatī. Vairoṭyā is invoked by both of them while Bappabhaṭṭi dedicates a verse to Dharaṇapatta-mahilā[285] a word by which Vairoṭyā is evidently meant, since Dhanapāla, commenting upon the title Ahināgryapatnī used by Śobhana explains it as referring to Vairoṭyā and not Padmāvatī.[286]

Archaeological evidence also supports the conclusions drawn above. In earlier images of Pārśvanātha dating from periods earlier than the ninth century, it is Ambikā, and not Padmāvatī, who is the yakṣī accompanying Pārśvanātha (cf. figs. from Dhank, Rohtak etc.). The most notable example of this tradition is supplied by the group of Jaina caves at Ellora, all of which date roughly between the eighth and the tenth centuries A.D. Here there is no sculpture of Padmāvatī as yakṣiṇī even though quite a large number of figures of the yakṣī Ambikā and also representations of the scene of Pārśvanātha's austerities and the attack of Kamaṭha are found in these caves. However, only one separate figure of a standing Padmāvatī is found carved on one side of the doors leading to the upper floors of the cave adjoining the Jagannatha Sabha and is perhaps a later addition without plan. An eight-armed form was intended. All the symbols are not clear, but the lotus, the bow and the arrow can be recognised.[287] In fact Pārśva and Gommata are the most popular figures in these as well as the other Jaina caves like those of Badāmī and Aihole. The only yakṣa and yakṣī met with are the common type of the Kubera-like yakṣa and Ambikā who were unfortunately miscalled Indra and Indrāṇī. In fact, these represented the earlier examples of yakṣa and yakṣinī pair in the Jaina Pantheon

Once Padmāvatī was introduced in Jainism, she tried to usurp with success the place of the only important snake-goddess in early Jainism, namely, Vairoṭyā. That Vairoṭyā was popular is shown by the fact that both Bappabhaṭṭi and Śobhana invoked her in their works. Besides, the Jaina traditions associate Vairotyā with Ārya Nāgila Sūri who flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era.[288]

While the Vimala Vasahi at Abu as well as the Kumbhāriā temples contain a large number of sculptures of Vairotyā of different iconographic varieties, Padmāvatī is practically absent or thrown into backgrounds which fact clearly shows that at least in the eleventh century A.D., Vairoṭyā remained more popular amongst Jainas of Western India. Such a goddess as Padmāvatī could never have been underrated by Vimala Saha, Tejapāla and others had she obtained, in the age of Vimala Saha, the status which she now holds in Jaina worship. But Padmāvatī seems to have been more popular in other parts of India since 8th-9th centuries A.D.

Padmāvatī offers interesting comparison with snake deities of Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. Manasā,[289] the popular snake-goddess in Bengali folklore and worship, is always represented with snake-hoods over the crown, and with a huge snake as vāhana. Figures of Manasā, however, usually show a child in the lap or on one side, and two snakes in her two hands. There are other forms also, with the swan as the vehicle and showing the book, rosary, *varada* and pot. In this form Manasā is similar to Sarasvatī.[290] But the literature on Manasā only shows the unsettled nature of her origin as well as iconography. Some scholars suggest that Manasā has an affinity with the Buddhist snake-goddess Jāngulī,[291] who "appears to have been the divinity of the aboriginal tribes of India".[292]

Others are of opinion "that the goddess Mancha of the Dravidians has obtained in Bengal the semi-Sanskritized name of Manasā".[293] Still others have shown that the Manasā cult first obtained a footing in Aryanised Bengal in the 10th-11th century.[294] The attempts to identify Manasā with Jaratkāru of Mahābhārata have proved less convincing, and the subject still remains a controversial one. The account of Manasā however shows certain outstanding facts: firstly, her enmity with the famous Brahmanical goddess Caṇḍī, and secondly, her origin from the lotus wherefrom she derived her name Padmā. She was called Manasā as she was born from Śiva's mind. Taking into consideration these two main facts, her origin should be sought from the (non-Brahmin and) Jaina snake-goddess Padmāvatī who had already become popular in the 10th century A.D. Both have snake-hoods over their heads and both have a snake as the vāhana. Besides, the antipathy between the followers of the Jaina and the Brahmanical traditions is well-known. The story of Manasā is possibly reminiscent of the struggle for supremacy and popularity as the most powerful goddess between Padmāvatī and Caṇḍī.[295] The former became victorious and was introduced into the Brahmanical worship although in a somewhat modified form.

It is of interest to note that the Jaina texts emphasise Padmāvatī's association with *padma* or the lotus. She is called variously as Padmā, Padmahastā, Padmasaṃsthā, Padma-kaṭinī, Padmavadanā, and Kamalāvatī which shows that the goddess originally perhaps held the lotus symbol only, and that the form

with the goad and the noose was a later development. Archaeological evidence referred to previously also points to the same conclusion.

The lotus again is the chief recognition symbol of the Buddhist Tārās, and here again Padmāvatī offers an interesting comparison. One of the forms of Padmāvatī is almost identical with that of Durgottāriṇī Tārā. Again, Viśvamātā, a variety of white Tārā, actually rides on a snake, while the Buddhist snake-goddess Jāṅguli, who sits on the snake-vehicle, is also a variety of Tārā. The four-armed *Pomini-devī* (*Padminī-devī*) described in the Jaina text Karakaṇḍa-cariu, holding the book and the lotus amongst other symbols,[296] finds another Buddhist parallel in the Dhananda Tārā.[297]

Jaina Tantras also identify her with Tārā on the one hand and Durga and Gaurī on the other. Śrī-Candra sūri in his *Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-Kalpa* calls her Caṇḍī, Tārā, Tārāvatārā and Durgā, thus suggesting some sort of relationship amongst them. In another place, the same author eulogises the goddess as Padmāvatī of the Jainas, Gaurī of the Śaivites, Tārā of the Buddhists, Prakṛti of the Sāmkhyas, Gāyatri of the Bhaṭṭamārgīs and Vajrā of the Kaulikas. According to the author, she is found everywhere in every religion and every cult, even the whole universe is pervaded by her.[298] The same idea is repeated in the Padmāvatī Stotra where she is named Tripurā.[299]

It is thus possible that Padmāvatī originated from the conception of the Buddhist Tārā. The earliest texts like the Bhagavatī and Sthānāṅga do not mention her in the lists of chief queens of Dharaṇendra. Padmāvatī with the lotus symbol is only a later innovation in the mythology of Pārśvanātha. In the scenes of Kamaṭha's attack at Ellora and other places she (Padmāvatī) is not known and the queen of Dharaṇendra, holding the umbrella, is called Padmāvatī (in the preceding descriptions of such reliefs) for the sake of convenience only. In all early sculptures, at least upto the beginning of the ninth century A.D., Padmāvatī did not figure as the Yakṣiṇī of Pārśvanātha, but it was Ambikā who figured as the Yakṣiṇī for all Tīrthankaras. With this it must be remembered that both Padmāvatī and Tārā are chiefly associated with the lotus.

Padmāvatī and Janguli are remarkably alike. The Buddhist snake-goddess Jāṅgulī is a variety of Tārā. She resides on the snake and has a snake over her crown. Now, Jāṅgulī, according to (later) Buddhist traditions, is "as old as Buddha himself"[300] which suggests that she existed in ancient Indian popular worship in the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra, or that a prototype of her with any other name certainly did exist.

It is always difficult to ascertain the correct age of introduction of a god or goddess in any pantheon, since the presence of the deity is generally noted in the texts much later when the deity is already popular with the laity.

As noted above. Jaina texts address Padmāvatī as Durgā and Gaurī and say that she herself is Tripura. This is borne out by the fact that the symbols of Tripurā given in the Rūpamaṇḍana exactly correspond to those of Padmāvatī described in the Padmāvatī-mantrāmnāya-vidhi. Both show the *abhaya*, the *varada*, the noose and the goad. Tripurā in the Brahmanical pantheon is only one of the forms of Gaurī. Moreover, deities like Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparajitā—the doorkeepers associated with Padmāvatī and the deities Mohinī and Sthambhinī, who find a place in the Yantras of Padmāvatī, are also included in the lists of pratīhāras of the Brahmanical Gaurī. The lotus is also one of the most common symbols of Gaurī and is seen in the hands of Umā, Gaurī and Sāvitrī. But Padmāvatī does not seem to have been directly borrowed from Gaurī although one or more forms may be found to possess similarity in symbols.

The source of Tārā, Padmāvatī and Gaurī—the three well-known goddesses of the principal Indian sects—should be searched elsewhere, when it is known that Jaina writers regard them as all forms of one and the same deity. And the nearest approach to them is the ancient goddess Padmā-Śrī, so thoroughly discussed by Coomaraswamy and Moticandra. The lotus symbol was primarily associated with the goddess of wealth and beauty—Lakṣmī or Padmā-Śrī. The Jaina Padmāvatī is a mixture of two cults—one of Sirima Devatā and the Nāga cult of the ancient Magadha where Jainism had its origin. That Padmā-Śrī or the Padminī Vidyā is the source of these three goddesses is evident from the following passage, from Bhārata, first pointed by J.N. Banerji:

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या
लक्ष्मीस्तस्याधिदेवता ।
तदाधारश्च निचय
तान्मे निगदत: श्रुणु ॥[30]

In Hindu traditions Padmāvatī is also referred to as Śakti of Śiva where she is also associated with the snakes, cf.:

नागाधीश्वरविष्टरां फणिफणोत्तंसोरुरत्नावली—
भास्वद्देहलता दिवाकरनिभां नेत्रत्रयोद्भासिताम् ।
मालाकुम्भकपालनीरजकरा चन्द्रार्धचूडा परा
सर्वज्ञेश्वर भैरवाङ्कनिलया पद्मावतीं चिन्तये ॥
—*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, chp. 86*

Iconographic Tables of Forms of Padmāvatī

A. Two-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Hoods*	*Vāhana*	*Tradition*
1.	holding chatra over Pārśva	—	1	—	Dig.
2.	both hands folded	red	1 or 3 or 5	—	Dig. & Śve.
3.	r. h. lotus l. h. on lap (*kaṭihasta*)	—	3		Dig.
4.	r. h. lotus l. h. cup with sweets	—	5	snake mermaid	Śve.
5.	r. *abhaya* l. lotus	—	?	—	Dig
6.	r. snake l. fruit	—		kukkuṭa-sarpa	Śve.
7.	r. lotus l. mace	—	3	.	Dig.
8.	rosary + *vyākhyāna mudrā* in one hand, water-jar in the other	—	—	—	Dig.
9.	*varada*, lotus	—	—	—	Dig
10.	fruit, flower	—	—	—	Dig.

B. Four-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*		*Colour*	*Hoods*	*Vāhana*	*Tradition*
1.	r. u. noose r. l. lotus	l. u. goad l. l. citron	golden or red	3	k.-sarpa	Śve. & Dig.
2.	r. u. goad r. l. lotus	l. u. noose l. l. citron	red	1, 3, or 5	k.-sarpa	Śve & Dig.
3.	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. citron	red	1 or 3	k.-sarpa	Dig.
4.	r. u. goad r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. noose l. l. citron	red	1 or 7	kukkuṭa	Dig.
5.	same as 4		red		swan	Dig.
6	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l citron	red terrific	3	swan	Śve.
7.	same as 6		red	1, 3, or 5	k.-sarpa lotus seat	Dig. & Śve

No.	*Symbols*		*Colour*	*Hoods*	*Vāhana*	*Tradition*
8.	r. u. goad r. l. *varadākṣa*	l. u. noose l. l. fruit	red	2	k.-sarpa	Śve.
9.	r. u. noose r. l. *varadākṣa*	l. u. goad l. l. fruit	red	3 or 5	k.-sarpa	Śve.
10.	r. u. noose r. l. *varada*	l. u. goad l. l. fruit	. . .	3 or 5	k.-sarpa	Śve. & Dig.
11.	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. lotus	. . .	3	k.-sarpa	Dig.
12.	lotus, goad, *varada*, noose		white	3	white swan	Śve.
13.	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. snake	. . .	1 or 3	k.-sarpa	Dig. & Śve.
14.	noose, goad, snake, fruit		red	3	. . .	Śve. or Dig.
15.	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. *abhaya*	golden	3	cock	Śve.
16.	r. u. noose r. l. lotus	l. u goad l. l. fruit	golden or black	3	cock	Śve.
17.	r. u. goad r l. & l. l. folded, *añjali mudrā*	l. u. noose				
18.	r. u. empty r. l. & l l. folded, *añjali*	l. u. empty	. .	. . .	kukkuta	Śve.
19.	r. u. goad r. l. rosary	l. u. noose l. l. pot	. . .	9	kukkuta	Dig.
20.	r. u. goad r. l. rosary	l. u. noose l. l. *varada*	. . .	5	kukkuṭa	Śve.
21	r. u. goad r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. noose l. l. *kaṭaka*	. . .	5	kukkuṭa	Dig.
22	r. u. lotus r. l. *varada*	l. u. lotus l. l. pot	. . .	3, 5	. . .	Dig
23.	r. u. lotus r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. lotus l. l. pot	. . .	5	padmāsanā	Dig.
24.	r. u. lotus r. l. *varada*	l. u. book ? l. l. pot	. . .	. . .	. . .	Dig.
25.	r. u. lotus r. l. fruit	l. u. lotus l. l. pot	red	3	k.-sarpa	Śve.
26.	*vajra*, goad, noose, lotus		red	. .	swan	Śve. ? Dig. ?
27.	r. u. axe r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. citron	. . .	1	. . .	Dig.
28.	r. u. sword r. l. lotus	l. u. shield l. l. citron	. . .	1	. .	Dig.
29.	r. u. lotus r l. noose	l. u. lotus l. l. goad	. . .	. . .	k.-sarpa	Śve.
30.	goad, lotus, rosary, *varada*		red	3	lotus-seat	Dig.
31.	r. u. lotus r. l. snake	l. u. goad l. l. conch	.	9	kukkuṭa	Śve.
32.	r. u. axe r. l. *abhaya*	l. u. *vajra* l. l. *kaṭaka*	. .	5	swan	Dig.

C Six-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	noose, spear, sword, crescent, club, pestle	red	—	*k.-sarpa*	Dig.

SPECIAL FORMS

Bhairava-Padmāvatī

Four-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols		Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	r. u. goad r. l. *varada*	l. u. noose l. l. fruit	red terrific	3	k.-sarpa	Dig. & Śve.
2.	r u. noose r. l. *varada*	l. u. goad l. l. fruit	red	1 or 3	k.-sarpa lotus seat	Śve & Dig.
3.	fruit, *varada*, noose, goad		red	3	swan	Śve

(1) Totalā

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	noose, *vajra*, fruit, lotus	(red)		k.-sarpa	Dig.

(2) Tvaritā

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	conch, lotus *abhaya*, *varada*	(red)		k.-sarpa	Dig.

(3) Nityā

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	noose, goad lotus, rosary	(red)	?	swan	Dig.

(4) Kāmasādhini

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	conch, disc fruit, lotus	red	?	k.-sarpa	Dig.

(5) Śrī-Padmā

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vāhana	Tradition
1.	lotus, goad, *varada*, noose	white	3	white swan lotus seat	Śve. & Dig.

(6) Tripurā

D. Eight-Armed Variety

1.	trident, goad, bow, fruit	disc, lotus, arrow, goad	red	?	k.-sarpa	Dig.
2.	lotus, sword, *vajra*, *varada*	lotus, shield, *ghaṇṭā*, fruit	red	5 or 7	k.-sarpa	Dig.

(7) Tripura-Bhairavī

1.	conch, bow, sword, lotus	disc, arrow, shield, fruit	red	?	k.-sarpa	Dig.

E. Twelve-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Hoods*	*Vāhana*	*Tradition*
1.	right—club, bow, lotus, arrow, *varada*, sword left—?, *vajra*, snake, noose, bow, fruit	(red)	5	k.-sarpa	Dig.
2.	*vajra*, sword, axe, arrow, *varada*, shield, disc, mace, goad, bow, lotus, snake	(red)	5	padmāsanā	Dig.

F. Twenty-two-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*		*Colour*	*Hoods*	*Vāhana*	*Tradition*
1.	r. 1. *vajra* r. 2 lotus r. 3. chatra r. 4. *kapāla* r. 5. bow r. 6. plough r. 7. *bhiṇḍimāla* r. 8. trident r. 9. cobra r. 10. staff r. 11. stone	l. 1. goad l. 2. disc l. 3. *ḍamaru* l. 4. sword l. 5. pestle l. 6. *jvālā* l. 7. *tārāmaṇḍala* l. 8. axe l. 9. club l. 10. noose l. 11. big tree	red	3	k.-sarpa	Dig.

G. Twenty-four-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vâhana	Tradition
1.	conch, sword, disc, crescent, lotus, stone, bow, *śakti*, noose, goad, bell, arrow, pestle, shield, trident, axe, spear, *vajra*, rosary, fruit, club, leaf, (lotus-)stalk, *varada*	(red)	?	k.-sarpa	Dig.

H. Multi-Armed Variety

Symbols	Colour	Hoods	Vâhana	Tradition
innumerable weapons like swords, shields, bows, arrows, *vajras*, *nārācas*, *śaktis*, *śalyas*, discs, ploughs, pestles, nooses, etc.	(red)	?	k.-sarpa	Dig.

XXIV. Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-Fourth Jina Mahāvīra

A. SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Śvetāmbara)

Siddhāyikā is one of the four principal yakṣīs[302] in the Jaina pantheon of both the sects and is worshipped by the same name. Her position as a principal yakṣī is wholly due to her Master, Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina. Yakṣiṇīs like Ambikā and Padmāvatī have attained more prominence—the first because of the antiquity of her cult and the second because of her being a snake-deity, and because of being a yakṣī of Pārśvanātha who is a prominent figure in the Jaina Tantra.[303]

Siddhāyikā is worshipped in only one principal variety of form, namely, the four-armed one, in the Śvetāmbara traditions. Her chief distinguishing symbols are the book and the lion vehicle. It should be noted that lion is also the cognizance of her Master, Mahāvīra.

According to Hemacandra, she is greenish in appearance and rides on the lion. In her right hands she shows the book and the *abhaya*, while she carries the citron and the lute in the left ones. Both the Pravacana-sāroddhāra-ṭīkā and the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa follow this tradition.[304]

According to the Nirvāṇakalikā, the lute in one of the left hands is replaced by the arrow while the rest of the symbols remain unchanged.[305] Śilpa texts like the Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa and the Rūpamaṇḍana follow the Nirvāṇakalikā.[306]

The Ācāradinakara gives another form. Riding on the lion the goddess shows the book and the *abhaya* in her right hands while she carries the noose and the lotus in the left ones. The devī is green in complexion.[307]

A figure of the goddess is found on a pillar in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Vimala Vasahi, Abu (fig. 194A). The goddess here stands in *tribhaṅga* and carries the book and the *vīṇā* in the right and the left upper hands. The right lower one is held in the *varada mudrā* while the fourth hand is mutilated. Her vehicle sitting near the left foot, though mutilated, can still be identified as the lion.[308a]

Another sculpture of the yakṣī is found from a temple in Cambay.[308b] The goddess here sits in *lalitāsana* with her left leg tucked up and the other one hanging. Over her head is the miniature figure of her Master Mahāvīra while a small lion is seen in front of her *bhadrāsana*. The book and the *vīṇā* are held in her right and the left upper hands. The right lower one is held in the *abhaya* pose while the corresponding left hand carries the citron (fig. 193). A third sculpture of the yakṣī with identical symbols is found from Patan (fig. 194).[308c]

On the outer wall of the sanctum of Kharatara Vasahi, Delvāḍā, Abu, is a figure of Siddhāyikā in a sitting posture and carrying the *vīṇā* and the book in the right and the left upper hands and showing the fruit and the *abhaya mudrā* in the corresponding lower ones. The tiger is shown as her vāhana (*see Fig. 102 in this book*).

A painted figure of the Yakṣī with the label *Śrī Siddhāyikā Śāsanadevatā* is found on a cloth painting of Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, assignable to c. fifteenth century, published by U.P. Shah.[309] Yellow in complexion, Siddhāyikā holds the lotus-stalk with her right lower hand, and shows the *varada mudrā* with the right upper one. Her left upper hand carries the goad while the lower one, partly defaced, shows the *pravacana mudrā*. A miniature drawing of her lion vehicle is visible below her right foot tucked up. The goddess sits in the *lalitāsana* on a big cushion.

B. SIDDHĀYIKĀ, APARĀJITĀ AND KĀMACAṆḌĀLINĪ (Digambara)

The yakṣiṇī of Vardhamāna is known variously as Siddhāyikā, Aparājitā or Kāmacaṇḍālī in the Digambara traditions. Of these, the first is the most popular designation while the other two are well-nigh forgotten. The yakṣī is called Kāmacaṇḍālī in only one work, namely, the Vidyānuśāsana. Puṣpadanta, in his Mahāpurāṇa,[310] addresses her as Siddhāyinī, but does not detail her iconographic symbols.

The goddess is found worshipped in two principal varieties of form—the two-armed and the twelve-armed. As Kāmacaṇḍālī, she is described as having four arms.

APARĀJITĀ

Of the two-armed forms of the yakṣī of Mahāvīra, the form known as Aparājitā requires to be differentiated from the other two-armed forms when she is called Siddhāyikā. Firstly, Aparājitā represents the oldest known form of the yakṣī of Mahāvīra.[311] Secondly, Aparājitā seems to represent a wholly different tradition and is not a variety of Siddhāyikā. Though no dhyāna for Aparājitā is forthcoming, the Jaina temple no. 12 at Devgaḍh furnishes an interesting form of the goddess. The slab representing Aparājitā has the label "*Vardhamānasya*" on one side and "*Aparājitā*" below the figure of the yakṣī (*see Fig. 95 in this book*). Thus, in earlier Digambara traditions, the yakṣī of Vardhamāna was known as Aparājitā and not as Siddhāyikā. It should also be remembered that the group of yakṣiṇīs found in this temple represents perhaps the oldest known labelled Digambara set hitherto discovered in North India; the seven yakṣīs in the Orissan Navamuni Cave probably date from late ninth century but unfortunately they are not labelled. In Devgaḍh temple 12, Aparājitā is represented standing with her right hand in the *kaṭaka* pose and the left one carrying the fly-whisk.[311a]

Curiously enough, we find Aparājitā in the list of the Jayā group discussed elsewhere by us.[312] The four goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā of the group are invoked in the famous Vardhamāna-Vidyā,[313] a Tantric charm related to the worship of Vardhamāna as its name would suggest. The antiquity of the Vardhamāna-Vidyā is attested by the Mahāniśītha sūtra and by the tradition that it was first composed by Gautama swāmi, the first disciple of Mahāvīra.[314] No wonder, therefore, if Aparājitā obtained the first chance of being the yakṣiṇī of Vardhamāna. It will also be advisable to take her as an independent deity and not a variety of form of Siddhāyikā. We have no evidence to ascertain whether the Aparajitā of Mahāvīra's age had the same form as that on Devgaḍh temple no. 12 or not.

SIDDHĀYIKĀ

1. Two-Armed Variety

Vasunandi says that Siddhāyikā is golden in complexion and has two arms showing the *varada* and book. The yakṣī sits on the *bhadrāsana*.[315] Āśādhara Paṇḍita gives the same form and adds that the

goddess rides on the lion.[316] The Pratiṣṭhatilaka[317] specifies that the book is held in the left hand while the *varada mudrā* is shown by the right one. The Aparājitapṛcchā[318] gives the *abhaya* for *varada* in the above tradition.

According to the Canarese dhyāna ślokas, the yakṣī shows the *abhaya mudrā* with the right hand while the left one is held open with the fingers hanging down and the palm upwards (*varada mudrā* ?). The swan is her vehicle.[319]

In the Seattle Art Museum (U.S.A.) is a beautiful, almost completely preserved stone sculpture depicting 24 Tīrthaṅkaras in all with Mahāvīra in the centre. The lion cognizance of Mahāvīra is on the lowermost part of the pedestal. The yakṣī on the left end of the simhāsana is here two-armed showing the sword in her right hand and the shield in the left. Her vāhana is not shown. The sculpture, probably from Madhya Pradesh, dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D.

At Khajuraho, on three sculptures of Mahāvīra, two-armed Siddhāyikā shows the *abhaya mudrā* with one hand and carries the fruit or the lotus with the other.[320a] On pedestals of Mahāvīra images at Devgadh, Tiwari notes two-armed forms of the yakṣī showing the *abhaya* or flower in one hand and the fruit or the pot in the other.[320b]

Tiwari has noted one very interesting form of the yakṣī of Mahāvīra from temple no 11, Devgadh: on an image of Mahāvīra (1048 A.D.) in this temple, the yakṣī has three snake-hoods over head The devī carries a child and a fruit in her two hands.[320c]

In the Sāhu Samgrahālaya, Devgadh, on a Covīsī sculpture of Mahāvīra (c. 12th century A.D.), the two-armed yakṣiṇī displays the *abhaya mudrā* with one hand and holds a book with the other.[320d]

Two sculptures of Mahāvīra, Nos. J.808 and J.782 in the Lucknow Museum, have figures of two-armed yakṣī Siddhāyikā showing the *abhaya mudrā* with the right hand and carrying a *kalaśa* in her left hand.[320e]

In the Maladevi temple, Gyaraspur, M.P., on a Mahāvīra image of c. 10th century A D , Tiwari has noticed a two-armed yakṣī holding the *vīṇā* with both the hands.[320f] Amongst mutilated sculptures collected from this shrine is preserved a mutilated sculpture of Mahāvīra with only the hands and the legs crossed in padmāsana remaining and the upper parts lost. The Jina is sitting on a viśva-padma resting on a simhāsana with the dharmacakra in the centre and lion on each side of the wheel. Another figure of a lion, half seen above the wheel, represents the cognizance of Mahāvīra. On the right side of the simhāsana, is a two-armed pot-bellied yakṣa, possibly called Sarvānha, while on the left is the yakṣī Siddhāyikā with her left foot tucked up. Two-armed, she shows the *abhaya mudrā* with her right hand and carries the citron in the left one. Fig. 8 in JOI, vol. 22, *op. cit.* represents the above mutilated sculpture of Mahāvīra, reproduced from negative no. 16/93 of the Department of Archaeology of the old Gwalior State, the sculpture seems to date from c. tenth century A.D.

On a sculpture of Mahāvira, obtained from Arthuṇā, Rajasthan, and preserved in the Rajputana Museum (no. 279), Ajmer, the yakṣī Siddhāyikā carries a sword in one hand. Two-armed, she has the lion-vāhana. Her other hand is mutilated. The sculpture is dated in V.S. 1061 = A.D. 1004.

The two-armed variety of Siddhāyinī images seem to have been quite popular in Southern India. A sculpture of a standing Jina, identified as Mahāvīra due to the miniature figure of his lion-cognizance carved on the pedestal, is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The yakṣa and the yakṣī, shown on two sides near the legs of the Jina, are in a standing pose. Both are two-armed. The yakṣī holds the book in her left lower hand, while the symbol of her right hand is not distinct.[321a]

In the ceiling of the Śāntinātha Basti, Kambadahalli, Mandya district, Mysore State, is a beautiful central panel, carved in bold relief, showing Mahāvīra sitting on a *simhāsana* with his lion cognizance shown in the centre and attended by four fly-whisk bearers and flying demi-gods. To the right of the throne is the Mātaṅga-yakṣa on an elephant, while the yakṣī Siddhāyinī, sitting in the *lalita* pose on her lion-mount, is shown on the left end. The goddess is two-armed and carries the lotus in her right hand while her left hand holds the citron. She wears a crown and several ornaments. The beautiful sculpture, carved in fine minute detail, is an interesting specimen of Gangavadi style of c. 1130 A.D. (*see Fig. 49 in this book*).

Another beautiful sculpture also hails from Kambadahalli, Pañcakūṭa Basti. On the big ornate crown of the goddess is a miniature figure of Mahāvīra. The goddess sits on a pedestal in front of which is shown her lion vehicle with two figures riding on it. It would seem these two are the sons of Ambikā-yakṣī and that the sculpture represents the yakṣiṇī Ambikā. But here the goddess does not sit under a mango tree (which is invariably shown in reliefs of Ambikā) and hence it might be better to identify her tentatively as Siddhāyinī holding the citron in her left hand. The upper part of the symbol held in her right hand is mutilated. This was either a book (palm-leaf ms.) or a fly-whisk.[321b]

Boldly conceived and carved with every minute detail of her costly heavy ornaments and a lower garment with numerous folds, the sculpture shows Cola influence and perhaps dates from the eleventh century.

P.B. Desai[322] has referred to a two-armed goddess carved on a rock surface at Ānaimalai Hill near Madura. She carries the fruit in her right hand while the left hand rests on her lap. The goddess is shown sitting in the *lalitāsana*. P.B. Desai identifies her as Siddhāyikā.

P.B. Desai has also described a rock-cut relief of a goddess riding on a lion found at Settipodava near Kilakkudi, Madurai district.[323] The devī "holds a drawn bow in the right hand and arrow in the left, the other two hands also bearing weapons. The lion has grappled an elephant ridden by a male warrior with sword and shield in his hands." The goddess is identified by Desai as Siddhāyinī, "on account of her characteristic association with the lion." He further adds that "the sculpture probably portrays a familiar episode connected with her exploits." Since this "familiar episode" is not described, nor its source referred to, it would be safer to regard this identification as tentative. The relief probably represents Koṭṭavī or Koṭṭāryā, Koṭṭakiriyā, a form of Durgā discussed in the preceding portion on Ambikā.

2. Four-Armed Variety

A four-armed form of the yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra is obtained in the big bas-relief sculpture of Mahāvīra from the Jaina Cave at Badami. H.D. Sankalia describes her as carrying in the upper right hand a weapon which cannot be identified while her lower right hand shows the *abhaya mudrā* and the upper left one carries a weapon with an ovalish hollow head. On the seat is carved in low relief a bird identified by Sankalia as a swan, but it seems to be of doubtful identification.[323a]

Sankalia's identification of the symbols deserves correction. The right upper hand clearly shows the goad with the top end of the handle partly broken, the left upper hand holds the noose. The right lower hand, partly mutilated, might have shown the *abhaya*. The left lower holds the citron or pot. The vāhana is not clear. The goddess sits under the shade of a tree, which looks like a mango tree.

The form is unknown to available Digambara texts, but looking to the probable age of the cave, it represents a now lost Jaina tradition in Karṇāṭaka. This and some other reliefs in this cave seem to be somewhat later carvings than the Jaina cave itself which latter is not much later than the Vaiṣṇava cave near it, containing an inscription of Maṅgalīśa. It may also be remembered that two-armed variety according to the Canarese dhyāna ślokas prescribes the swan vehicle for Siddhāyikā. The swan vehicle reminds one of Sarasvatī and the iconography of the goddess Siddhāyikā in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions shows her association with one or more symbols connected with a form of Sarasvatī. Thus the book according to Vasunandī and Āśādhara, or the *vīṇā* in the Śvetāmbara tradition and on a Maladevi temple sculpture in the Digambara tradition may be noted. The lion is also a vehicle of Sarasvatī represented as Vāgdevī in the Brahmanical tradition. But the lion vehicle of Siddhāyikā might have been influenced by the lion cognizance of Mahāvīra though such a thing has not happened in the case of yakṣiṇīs of all other Tīrthaṅkaras.

On a c. 10th century image of Mahāvīra in Temple no. 1, Devgadh, the yakṣī shows the *abhaya*, the lotus with stalk, the lotus-stalk, and the fruit in her four hands.[323b]

Tiwari has noticed some new forms of four-armed yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra at Khajuraho. Since, as shown by him, they accompany figures of Mahāvīra, we have to identify them as representing some rare

varieties of four-armed forms of Siddhāyikā. As shown by him, on an image in Temple no. 2, Khajuraho, the yakṣī, four-armed, rides on the lion and carries the fruit, the disc, the lotus and the conch in her hands. On an image of Mahāvīra on a wall of Temple 21, Khajuraho, the yakṣī rides on the lion and shows the *varada mudrā*, the sword, the *cakra* and the fruit in her four hands. No. K.17 in the Khajuraho Museum has the yakṣī riding on the lion and showing the *cakra*, the lotus and the conch in her three hands, the fourth hand is mutilated.[323c]

In view of the above evidence from Khajuraho, Tiwari's identification of a four-armed goddess on the *uttaraṅga* of Temple no. 4, Khajuraho, and another from *uttaraṅga* of Temple 5, Devgadh—both showing the same set of symbols—may be correct.[323d] The four-armed goddess in each case rides on the lion and shows the *varada mudrā*, the sword, the shield and the *kalaśa* (pot) in her four hands. Identification of these two figures with the sixteenth Mahāvidyā Mahāmānasī cannot however be ruled out.

Douglas Barrett has described a c. ninth century bronze of Mahāvīra, worshipped in a shrine at Karanjā in the Akola district, which shows a four-armed Yakṣī Siddhāyikā who "carries an axe and a lotus in her upper left and right hands, and a citron and a flower (?) in her lower" hands.[324] The bronze probably hailed from Karṇāṭaka as can be inferred from a bronze in Nahara's collection, in similar style and having an inscription on its back.[325]

3. *Twelve-Armed Variety*

The titleless palm-leaf manuscript from Jina-Kanchi gives a twelve-armed form showing the sword, the shield, the flower, the arrow, the bow, the noose, the disc, the staff, the *varada* pose, the blue water-lily, and the *abhaya-mudrā*. The eagle is her vāhana.[326]

A twelve-armed figure of the goddess is reproduced by Ramachandran, from a temple in Jina-Kanchi. The goddess here stands on a lotus and shows in the first row of two hands the *cakra* and the conch. In the second pair are found the goad and the noose, in the third the arrow and the bow, in the fourth the sword and the shield, in the fifth the blue water-lily and the lotus and in the last or the bottom row the rosary and the *varada* (fig. 155A).[327]

S. Settar, *op. cit.*, p. 41, describes a twelve-armed image of Siddhāyikā accompanying Vardhamāna in a cell of Pañcakūṭa Basti, Markuli. The yakṣī is "wielding (from right bottom) the *varada mudrā*, a *vajra*, a *kaṭaka* (?), a *bāṇa*, a *khaḍga*, a *bāṇa*; (from top) a bow, a *padma*, a shield, a *phala*, an *akṣamālā*, and a bow."

4. *Twenty-Armed Variety*

The seven yakṣiṇīs in the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, date from c. ninth century A.D., as stated above, but these figures do not include any representation of Siddhāyikā. However, in the Barabhuji Cave near the Navamuni, are found complete sets of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras and the 24 Śāsanadevīs. But these figures stylistically seem to be of a later date, of about eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Here, Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra, is represented as twenty-armed. She shows, in her right hands, the *varada mudrā*, spear, rosary, arrow, small staff (?), hammer, *hala*, *vajra*, disc and sword. Of the attributes in her left hands, a water-jar, book, citron (?), lotus, bell (?), bow, *nāgapāśa* and shield are identifiable.[328]

KĀMACAṆḌĀLINĪ (Four-Armed Variety)

The Digambara Tantric text Vidyānuśāsana tells us that Kāmacaṇḍālinī is another name of Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Vardhamāna. The text gives a full sādhanā with the mūlamantra and the yantra. According to it, Kāmacaṇḍālinī has four arms. Naked, she moves with her hair untied and her person bedecked with ornaments. Dark in appearance, she bears in her four hands the fruit, the golden

jar, the staff of *śālmali* (Bombay Malabericum), and the *ḍamaru*.[329] The form is of a late origin and representations of Kāmacaṇḍālinī are still unknown.

Iconographic Tables of Forms of Siddhāyikā

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Śve.)

Four-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols	Colour	Vāhana
1.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—*vīṇā*, citron	Green	Lion
2.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—arrow, citron	Green	Lion
3.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—noose, lotus	Green	Lion
4.	r.u. book, l.u. *vīṇā*; r.l. *varada*, l.l. x	—	Lion
5.	r.u. book, l.u. *vīṇā*; r.l. *abhaya*, l.l. citron	—	Tiger (?)
6.	r.u. *varada*, l.u., goad; r.l. lotus stalk, l.l. *pravacana* (?)		Lion (?)

APARĀJITĀ (Dig.)

Two-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols	Colour	Vāhana
1.	right—*kaṭaka*, left—fly-whisk	—	—

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Dig.)

1. Two-Armed Variety

No.	Symbols	Colour	Vāhana
1.	r.h. *varada* l.h. book	Golden	Lion
2.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. book	Golden	Lion
3.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. *varada* (?) or hanging down	Golden	Swan
4.	r.h. sword l.h. shield	—	—
5.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. citron	—	—
6.	r.h. lotus l.h. citron	—	Lion
7.	r.h. fruit l.h. on lap	—	—
8.	*vīṇā* with both the hands	—	—
9.	child, fruit (*three snake-hoods*)	—	—
10.	*abhaya* or flower and fruit or pot	—	—

varieties of four-armed forms of Siddhāyikā. As shown by him, on an image in Temple no. 2, Khajuraho, the yakṣī, four-armed, rides on the lion and carries the fruit, the disc, the lotus and the conch in her hands. On an image of Mahāvīra on a wall of Temple 21, Khajuraho, the yakṣī rides on the lion and shows the *varada mudrā*, the sword, the *cakra* and the fruit in her four hands. No. K.17 in the Khajuraho Museum has the yakṣī riding on the lion and showing the *cakra*, the lotus and the conch in her three hands, the fourth hand is mutilated.[323a]

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A twelve-armed figure of the goddess is reproduced by Ramachandran, from a temple in Jina-Kanchi. The goddess here stands on a lotus and shows in the first row of two hands the *cakra* and the conch. In the second pair are found the goad and the noose, in the third the arrow and the bow, in the fourth the sword and the shield, in the fifth the blue water-lily and the lotus and in the last or the bottom row the rosary and the *varada* (fig. 155A).[327]

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4. Twenty-Armed Variety

The seven yakṣiṇīs in the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, date from c. ninth century A.D., as stated above, but these figures do not include any representation of Siddhāyikā. However, in the Barabhuji Cave near the Navamuni, are found complete sets of all the 24 Tīrthankaras and the 24 Śāsanadevīs. But these figures stylistically seem to be of a later date, of about eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Here, Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra, is represented as twenty-armed. She shows, in her right hands, the *varada mudrā*, spear, rosary, arrow, small staff (?), hammer, *hala*, *vajra*, disc and sword. Of the attributes in her left hands, a water-jar, book, citron (?), lotus, bell (?), bow, *nāgapāśa* and shield are identifiable.[328]

KĀMACAṆḌĀLINĪ (Four-Armed Variety)

The Digambara Tantric text Vidyānuśāsana tells us that Kāmacaṇḍālinī is another name of Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Vardhamāna. The text gives a full sādhanā with the mūlamantra and the yantra. According to it, Kāmacaṇḍālinī has four arms. Naked, she moves with her hair untied and her person bedecked with ornaments. Dark in appearance, she bears in her four hands the fruit, the golden

jar, the staff of *śālmali* (Bombay Malabericum), and the *ḍamaru*.[329] The form is of a late origin and representations of Kāmacaṇḍālinī are still unknown.

Iconographic Tables of Forms of Siddhāyikā

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Śve.)

Four-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Vāhana*
1.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—*vīṇā*, citron	Green	Lion
2.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—arrow, citron	Green	Lion
3.	right—book, *abhaya*; left—noose, lotus	Green	Lion
4.	r.u. book, l.u. *vīṇā*; r.l. *varada*, l.l. x	—	Lion
5.	r.u. book, l.u. *vīṇā*; r.l. *abhaya*, l.l. citron	—	Tiger (?)
6.	r.u. *varada*, l.u , goad; r.l. lotus stalk, l.l *pravacana* (?)		Lion (?)

APARĀJITĀ (Dig.)

Two-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Vāhana*
1.	right—*kaṭaka*, left—fly-whisk	—	—

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Dig.)

1. Two-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Vāhana*
1.	r.h. *varada* l.h. book	Golden	Lion
2.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. book	Golden	Lion
3.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. *varada* (?) or hanging down	Golden	Swan
4.	r.h. sword l.h. shield	—	—
5.	r.h. *abhaya* l.h. citron	—	—
6.	r.h. lotus l.h. citron	—	Lion
7.	r.h. fruit l.h. on lap	—	—
8.	*vīṇā* with both the hands	—	—
9.	child, fruit (*three snake-hoods*)	—	—
10.	*abhaya* or flower and fruit or pot	—	—

2. Four-Armed Variety

No.	*Symbols*	**Colour**	**Vāhana**
1.	r.u. goad l.u. noose r.l. (*abhaya*) l.l. citron or pot	—	—
2.	r.u. lotus l.u. axe r.l. flower l.l. citron	—	—
3.	*abhaya*, lotus-stalk, lotus-stalk, fruit	—	—
4.	fruit, *cakra*, *padma*, *śaṅkha*	—	Lion
5.	*varada*, sword (*khaḍga*), *cakra*, fruit		
6.	*varada*, *khaḍga*, *kheṭaka* (shield), pot	—	Lion

3. Twelve-Armed Variety

No	*Symbols*	*Colour*	*Vāhana*
1.	sword, shield, flower, arrow, bow, noose, disc, staff, *varada*, *nīlotpala*, *abhaya*	—	Eagle
2.	1st pair—*cakra*, conch 2nd pair—goad, noose 3rd pair—arrow, bow 4th pair—sword, shield 5th pair—*nīlotpala*, lotus 6th pair—rosary, *varada*	—	Lion
3.	*varada*, *vajra*, *kaṭaka*, *bāṇa*, *khaḍga*, *bāṇa*, bow, *padma*, shield, fruit, goad, bow	—	—

4. Twenty-Armed Variety

1.	r. hands—*varada*, spear, rosary, arrow, staff, hammer, *hala*, *vajra*, disc, sword l. hands—water-jar, book, citron, lotus, bell (?), bow, noose, shield, ?, ?		Elephant

KĀMACANDĀLĪ (Dig.)

Four-Armed Variety

1.	fruit, staff, jar, *ḍamaru*	Dark	—

REFERENCES

1. For iconography of Cakreśvarī vidyā, see *forthcoming Jaina Rūpamaṇḍana, Vol. II*, chapter on *Sixteen Mahāvidyās* and Shah, U.P., *Iconography of Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 132ff and plates.

1a. Dhaky, M.A., *Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India, Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I (Bombay, 1968), pp. 337-338.

2. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (JOI)*, Vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 280-313, Figure 1.

3. Dikshit, S.K., *A Guide to the State Museum, Dhubela, Nowgong* (1957), pp. 16-17.

4. A standing figure of this variety of form, with a man-like eagle vāhana on one side, from Vaḍnagar, Gujarat, is discussed in *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati Journal, Baroda), Vol. VI, no 1, p. 1.

5. गरुत्मत्पृष्ठ आसीना कार्तस्वरसमच्छविः ।
भूयादप्रतिचक्रा नः सिद्धये चक्रधारिणी ॥
Ācāradinakara, I, p. 162
आरूढा गरुड हेमाऽभाऽसमा नाशितारिभिः ।
पायादप्रतिचक्रा वो भासमाना सितारिभिः ॥
Caturviṁśatikā (Prof. Kapadia's ed), v. 28, p. 28

6. तथा अप्रतिचक्रा तडिद्वर्णा गरुडवाहना चक्रचतुष्टयभूषितकरा चेति ।
—*Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 37

7. *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, JOI, op. cit.*, figure 4.

8. या भिन्नवर्णा नरवाहनस्था भुजैश्चतुर्भिधृतभव्यचक्रा ।
विभूषणालङ्कृतदेहभागा चक्रेश्वरी नो दुरितानि हन्तु ॥ ७ ॥
Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3rd paṭala, verse 2, *Jaina-Stotra-Sandoha*, II, p. 240

8a. A serious difficulty, however, is presented by a group of 16 vidyās represented as six-armed and arranged in a circle in a ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahi, where the Apraticakrā Vidyā is shown as carrying the conch instead of the fruit held by other figures of this Vidyā in the same temple. The Vimala-vasahī underwent repairs in the twelfth and later centuries. Hence it all depends upon the age we assign to an image under consideration. In a ceiling of the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbhāria, the Apraticakrā Vidyā shows the conch instead of the fruit in the fourth hand.

9. The manuscript is preserved in the Saṁghavi-pāḍā Bhaṇḍāra, Patan, and can be assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D. The first parva gives life of Ṛṣabhanātha whose yakṣī is Cakreśvarī.

10. A similar form is also found on the southern outer wall of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa of the temple built by Kumbhā Rāṇā at Chitoḍ, see Dhaky & Bapana, Śrī Citrakūṭe Kumāravihāram, in Svādhyāya (Gujarati Journal), Vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 561ff, fig. 4.

11. They are: Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Tripurā. A Sārasvata-Kalpa ascribed to Bappabhaṭṭisūri gives Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍikā and Mahālakṣmī. The Vṛddhasampradāya of Uvasaggahara-stotra, verse 1 omits Caṇḍikā and Mahālakṣmī from the above list but adds Indrāṇī.

11a. For a discussion on Mātṛkās in Jainism, see Shah, U.P., *Some Minor Jaina Deities—Mātṛkās and Dikpālas, Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda*, Vol. XXX (1981), no. 1, pp. 75-109 and plates.

12. *Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās*, JISOA, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 137ff.

13. नामतोऽप्रतिचक्रेति हेमाभा गरुडासना ।
वरप्रदेषु भृच्चक्रिपाशिभिर्दक्षिणैर्भुजैः ॥
वामहस्तैर्धनुर्वज्रचक्राङ्कुशधरैर्युता ।
तत्तीर्थभूरभूत्स्वामिभर्तुः शासनदेवता ॥
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, parva I, sarga 3, vv. 682-83

14. तथा तस्मिन्नेव तीर्थे समुत्पन्नामप्रतिचक्राभिधानां यक्षिणीं हेमवर्णां गरुडवाहनामष्टभुजां वरद-बाण-चक्र-पाशयुक्तदक्षिणकरां धनु-वज्र-चक्राङ्कुशवामहस्तां चेति ।
Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 34

15. *Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭīkā*, I, p. 94. The text calls her Cakveśvarī and says that the deity is called Apraticakrā according to another tradition

16. तार्क्ष्यस्थितिः कनककान्तितनुस्तु पाश—
चक्रेषुपुञ्जवरदक्षिणपाणिरेषा ।
चक्राङ्कुशाशनिधनुर्युतवामहस्ता
चक्रेश्वरी सुखकरी भविता सदा स्यात् ॥
—*Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*, paṭala 3, verse 51, published in *Jaina Stotra-sandoha*, Vol. II, p. 247

17. *Ācāradinakara* of Vardhamanasūri, part 2, p. 176.

18. *Kāla-Lokaprakāśa* of Vinaya Vijaya, Chp. 32, verses 227-28.

19. For the date of Sāgaracandra, the author of Mantrādhirājakalpa, see *JUB*, Vol. IX, part 2, p. 160, footnote 2. Some verses of Sāgaracandra are quoted in Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (v.s. 1197). Another Sāgaracandra belonging to Rājagaccha was teacher of author of Samketa comm. on Kāvyaprakāśa, in v.s. 1226. A third Sāgaracandra was made ācārya by Jinarājasūri of Kharatara-gaccha in fifteenth cent. A.D.

20. Calcutta Skt. Series, Vol. XII, p. 135 for *Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa*, Chp. 7, verse 19 and p 44 for *Rūpamaṇḍana*, Chp. 6, v. 18.

21a. Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 167. What Tiwari calls *challā* is to my mind another form of *cakra*.

21b. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa* (Delhi, 1984), p. 224.

22. This as well as the *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* verses are quoted below in the discussion on the twelve-armed variety.

23. *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka* (composed in c. 15th cent. A.D.), 7th pariccheda, v. 1, pp. 340-41. See also *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* of Āśādhara (c. 13th cent. A.D.), p. 71, verse 156.

24. चक्रेश्वरी तु देवी चतुर्भुजा जाम्बूनदसमवर्णा ।
वरद चक्रे फलं च हस्तेषु दक्षिण (') करद्वयम् ॥
. . . .
गरुडस्थचक्रेश्वर्या भगवत्या वाहनं परिज्ञेयः ॥
—Ekasandhi's *Jinasaṁhitā*, 39th pariccheda (in Ms.)

The Jinasaṁhitā of Ekasandhi, edited by U.P. Shah, will be published later.

25. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1939, pp. 44ff, pl. VII.2, where it is wrongly called Padmāvatī. Also see Settar, *Chakreśvarī in Karnataka Literature and Art, Oriental Art* (N.S.), *Vol. XXVII, no 1.*
26. *Jaina Vestiges in the Pudducotta State, Quarterly Journal of the Mysore State*, Vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 213-214.
27. Śāntiśvara Basadi, built in about 1200 A.D. by Rechana, a general of Hoyasaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II.
28. Illustrated by S Settar, in *Oriental Art*, Vol XVII, no. 1, *loc. cit.*
29. Described by Krishna Dev, *Mālādevī Temple at Gyāraspur*, Mahāvira Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume, p. 262.
30. S. Settar, *Chakreśvarī in Karṇāṭaka Literature and Art, Oriental Art*, Vol. XVII, no. 1, pp. 63-69.
31. Sharma, B N., *Unpublished Jaina Bronzes in the National Museum, Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIX, no. 3, p. 276.
32. Tiwari, M.N.P , *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 168
33. *Ibid.*, p 169.
34. *Ibid* , p. 170.
35. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves, Journ. of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta, 1959), Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 127ff.
36. No. D.6 of Vogel's *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum*, Mathura, p. 95, pl. xvii. One would think of identifying this sculpture as a ten-armed variety of the Apraticakrā Mahā-vidyā of the Śvetāmbara pantheon. Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā is worshipped as a Mahāvidyā by the Śvetāmbara sect only, and is said to carry the disc in all the four hands. But no ten-armed variety of the Śvetāmbara Vidyā is known to exist elsewhere. Again the Jina figure overhead would suggest she is yakṣī.
37. Discussed by U.P. Shah, *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī, Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, part 2, Fig. 20.
38. See *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, appendix 23. The hymn calls her *Śrī-Cakrā*, shining like red-hot gold and carrying the discs, the lotus, the fruit and the thunderbolt in her hands Terrific in appearance and three-eyed, the goddess is invoked for protection from ḍākinīs and guhyakas, for destroying obstacles, for increase of wealth and for the *vaśya, mohana, tuṣṭi* or *kṣobha* rites as well. She is said to make a terrific noise and exhibit her teeth. Unfortunately, the text does not specify the exact number of her arms.
39. Bruhn, Klaus, *The figures of the two lower reliefs on the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajurāho*, Ācārya Vijaya-Vallabha-Sūri-Smāraka-Grantha (Bombay, 1856), English Section, pp. 7ff, esp. p. 25.
40. वामे चक्रेश्वरी देवी स्थाप्या द्वादशसद्भुजा ।
    धत्ते हस्तद्वये वज्रे चक्राणि च तथाष्टमु ॥ १५ ॥
    एकेन बीजपूर तु वरदा कमलासना ।
    चतुर्भुजाऽथ वा चक्र द्वयोर्गरुडवाहना ॥ १६ ॥
    —*Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* of Vasunandi, fifth pariccheda (in Ms.)
41. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 71, verse 156.
42. या देव्युच्चैःकरद्वयेन कुलिशं चक्राण्यथान्यैः करैः ।
    अष्टाभिश्च फलं वर करयुगेनाधस्त एवाथवा ।
    धत्ते चक्रयुगं फलं वरमिमां दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिः स्थितां
    ताक्ष्यं तां पुरुशीर्षवाससरतां चक्रेश्वरीं मंचये ॥ १ ॥
    —*Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, chp. 7, pp. 340-41
43. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 198.
44. S. Settar, *Cakreśvarī in Karnataka Literature and Art, Oriental Art*, Vol. XVII, no. 1.
45. I am thankful to Rev. H. Heras for allowing me to take a photograph of this figure.
46. *Mysore Arch Survey Report* for the year 1925, pp. 1-2. For a photo published by S. Settar, see *Oriental Art*, Vol. XVII, no. 1 (1971), fig. 6.
47. Cf. षट्पाद्या द्वादशभुजा चक्राण्यष्टौ द्विवज्रकम् ।
    मातुलिङ्गाभये चैव तथा पद्मासनाऽपि च ॥ १५ ॥
    गरुडोपरिसंस्था च चक्रेशी हेमवर्णिका ।
    —*Aparājitapṛcchā* (G.O.S., Vol. CXV), p. 566
48. Cf. अथ द्वितीयभेदेन चक्रे (श्वरी)
    द्वादशभुजाष्टचक्राणि वज्रयोर्द्वयमेव च ।
    मातुलिङ्गाभय चैव पद्मासना ग(रुडो)परि ॥
    —*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, Vol. XII), 7th adhyāya, verse 66, p. 142
49. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves, Journ. of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta, 1959), Vol. I, no. 2, p. 133, pl. VIA.
50. *Ibid* , p. 130, pl. IIIA. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 35 *JOI, XX.3, op. cit , Fig. 30.*
51. For its position see the diagram given by Jose Pereira in his *Monolithic Jinas* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 110 and 116.
52. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 198.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 197. Ramachandran thinks that the tradition of Canarese Dhyāna Ślokas agrees closely with the iconographic notes by Burgess in the Indian Antiquary.
54. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 461-463 and plates
55. Gupta, S.P. and Sharma, B.N. in "*Gandhāval Aura Jaina Mūrtiyān* (Hindi)", *Anekānta*, Vol. 19, nos. 1-2, pp. 129ff, and fig 4 refer to a twenty-armed form of Cakreśvarī. The small photograph published suggests that the figure is probably the same as the one discussed by us here as fig. 121. Our photograph seems to suggest that the goddess had sixteen arms. A proper checking on the spot would be necessary.
56. Mohapatra, R.P., *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, pp. 224-225.
57. This sculpture has been referred to by some scholars as representing a sixteen-armed Cakreśvarī. Evidently, it is difficult to fix up the exact number of her arms. I am inclined to regard this as a twenty-armed figure from a study of the same on the spot and also from the existence of another twenty-armed figure studied by me in temple no. 2 at Devgadh. A study of the photograph of the figure under discussion, published earlier by us in *JOI, Vol. XX, no. 3. Iconography of Cakreśvarī, fig. 36*, will show that it can either be taken as representing a twenty-armed Cakreśvarī or in an alternative way, an

eighteen-armed one, but in no case a sixteen-armed figure.

58. *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, *JUB*, Vol. IX, part 2, figs. 33-34.
59. We have also formerly suggested another name, *viz.*, *Sarvānubhūti yakṣa*, as he is an ancient yakṣa daily invoked by Śvetāmbara Jainas by reciting a hymn called *Snātasya-stuti*. Cf. Shah, U.P., Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 1, p. 46.
60. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, Vol. I (ed. by Dr. A.N. Upadhye and Prof. Hiralal Jain), chp. IV, verses 934-937.
61. Vide Pandit Fulchand Shastri's paper "*Varttamāna Tiloyapaṇṇatti aura usake racanā kāla ādi kā vicāra*" (*Hindi*), in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol. XI, no. 1, p. 73.
62. The verse is quoted by Pandit Nathuram Premi, in his paper on *Lokavibhāga aura Tiloyapaṇṇatti* in his *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa*, pp. 1-22.
63. णेरंदु कम्पणियरे दसिहण लडंभिसंयला झिणवरा जलधंरणिज्झा ।
    सिद्धि दिसतु तुरिदं सिरिजालकंदसिद्धसिक्खरहुदिसज्झवणाण सव्वे ॥
    —*Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, I, chp. 4, verse 1211, p. 303
64. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II, introduction, pp. 79ff.
65. *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa* (*Hindi*) by Pandit Nathuram Premi, pp. 293ff.
66. महाप्रभावसपन्नाम्बत्र शासनदेवता. ।
    नेमश्वाप्रतिचक्राख्या वृषभं धर्मचक्रिणम् ॥
    —*Harivaṃśa*, I, p. 192, verse 222

    Also see *op. cit.*, sarga 66, verses 43-4, p. 804.
67. *Mahāpurāṇa* (ed. by Dr. P.L. Vaidya), Vol I, pp. 10-11.
68. *Pañcāśaka*, chp 19, verse 24; *Lalitavistarāṭikā*, p. 60. For Haribhadra's date, see *Bharatiya Vidya* (Hindi), Vol 3, *Simghi Smṛti Number*, p. 196.
69. तत्थ चक्कसरी रयणमयापण [यलम ?] ट्ठियपडिमासब्बविग्घ हरेइ
    —*Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, ed. by Jinavijaya, p. 24
70. आगहा दे वरति अन्नम्बिका या, नमियमासनम्मालसमलकपुष्टा ।
    चक्रेश्वरी कविरुवक्रविरोधिवहन्ता, मस्ताप सा स्तु नवविद्रुमकायपाति ।
    —*Op. cit.*, p. 97
71. *Journ. Univ. of Bombay*, Vol. IX, part 2, p. 166 and note 4
72. Muni Sri Jinavijayaji (ed.), *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri (the Siṃghī Jain Granthamālā, no. 10). *Ambikā devī-kalpa*, on pp. 107-08 of the same work.
73. According to another tradition noted by Jinaprabhasūri, she fell down from the top of the Raivataka hill and died.
74. For similar Śvetāmbara accounts, see *Śraddha-guṇavivaraṇa* of Jinamandira gaṇi (1498 v.s.), p. 25; *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* of Dhaneśvara sūri, pp. 233-37. According to *Prabhāvakacaritra*, pp. 44ff, her two sons are called Śubhaṃkara and Vibhaṃkara.
75. For a fuller account see *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples* by Sjt. T.N. Ramachandran, pp. 157-60.
76. *Ibid.*, pls. xxix, xxx, figs. 83-4.
77. In one mantra at least we find a buffalo as her vāhana:
    ॐ कृष्माण्डिनि रक्ते रक्तमहिषसमारूढे शुभाशुभं कथय कथय देवी स्वाहा ।
    —*Ambikā-devī-kalpa of Śubhacandra* (*in Ms.*)
78. *Ibid.*
79. सिंहयाना हेमवर्णा सिद्धबुद्धसमन्विता ।
    कक्षाम्रलुम्बिमुत्तारविरताम्बा सङ्गुविक्षमङ्गल ॥
80. Edited by Pt. Dalsukh D. Malvania. Cf.
    यन्निमन्त्रणेनता स्त्री सा विद्या अम्बकूष्माण्डयादि: । यत्र देवता पुरुष: स मंत्र, यथा विद्याराज: हरिणगमेषि सर्वेणेय (सर्वाह्न)-यक्ष (यक्ष) इत्यादि ।

    विशेषावश्यक-महाभाष्य क्षमाश्रमण-मङ्गलहीया टीका, Palm-leaf Ms. in Samghavi Pāḍā Bhaṇḍāra, folio 226. Note that here the सर्वाह्न-यक्ष is also mentioned along with विद्याराज: हरिणेगमेषि.

    Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, according to tradition, lived in c. 520-623 A.D. A manuscript from Jesalmer shows that his Viśeṣāvaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya was copied (or completed ?) in 609 A.D. See Jinavijaya in *Bharatīya-Vidyā*, *Siṃghi Smṛti Aṅka*.
81. Cf. वैयावृत्यकराणां प्रवचनार्थं व्यापृतभावानां यथाऽम्बाकूष्माण्डी-आदीनां शान्तिकराणां…… ।
    —*Lalitavistarā*, p. 60
82. गृहीत्वक्राऽप्रतिचक्रदेवता तथोर्ज्जयन्तालयसिंहवाहिनी ।
    शिवाय यस्मिन्निह सन्निधीयते क्वतत्र विघ्ना: प्रभवन्ति शासने ॥
    —*Harivaṃśa* (M.D.J. Granthamala ed.), Vol. II, sarga 66, verse 44
83. *Upadeśa-Taraṅgiṇī* of Ratnamandira gaṇi, p. 148; Pandit Nathuram Premi, *Jaina Sahitya aura Itihasa*, pp. 239ff; Ramaprasad Chanda in *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, *1825-26*, pp. 176ff; Shah, U.P., in *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. I, pp. 30ff.
84. Cf. जितवचसि कृतार्था संश्रिता कल्पमाम्र
    समुदितसुमनस्कं दिव्यगौरावलीकम् ।
    दिशतु सततमम्बा भूतिपुण्याप्तमर्क न:
    समुदितसुमनस्कं दिव्यगौ धाम नीरुक् ॥ ८८ ॥
    सिंहऽसि हे तथाऽत्र जयति च्छत्रं लवैंर्वीतनिरोऽस्तमिरे
    शुभ न शुभकंजैतनाञ् दिशति शुभकृती पवितेस्ऽस्थिते ययम् ।
    याते सा ते जयमादयारा दधिदित जलदे भाति गौराङ्गियौरा
    पत्यापत्यायतीयान्मुदितसमयपद्धतर्यावं वाचमम्बा ॥ ९६ ॥
    —*Caturviṃśatikā*, *pp 143, 162*
85. देवि प्रकाशयति सन्ततमेव काम
    धामप्रदम्नव करपल्लवमाननानाम् ।
    कुष्माण्ड: प्रगुणिता सहकारलुम्बि —
    सम्भे विलम्बविकलस्य फलस्य लाभम् ॥ ६ ॥
    —*Jaina-stotra-samuccaya*, pp. 143-4
86. हस्तविन्यस्तसहकारफललुम्बिका
    हरतु दुरितानि देवि जगत्यम्बिका ।
    —*Ibid.*, p. 146
87. हस्तालम्बितचूतलुम्बिलतिका यस्या जनोऽभ्यगाद्
    विभ्रासेचिततोयदावरया वाचा द्विपुत्रासकृत् ।
    सा भूमि वितनोतु नोऽर्जुनरुचि: सिंहेऽधिरूढोल्लसद्—
    विभ्रातेऽत्रिकताऽऽशयवरताऽम्बा वाद्विपुत्राऽसकृत् ॥ ८८ ॥
    —*Stuticaturviṃśatikā*, *p. 264*

    The commentary of Dhanapāla, dissolves हस्तालम्बित, etc. as हस्तात् (? हस्ते) आलम्बिता, and another commentary quoted by Hemacandra does the same. Hence only

one hand should hold the bunch of mangoes. This supports the inference given above.

88. From Ms. no. 1425, Śrī Haṁsavijayaji's Collection, Śrī Ātmārāmji Jñānamandira, Baroda. See also *Bhairava-Padmāvatikalpa*, App. 16, p 89. The author's name is inferred from the last line देवी तस्य प्रकाम प्रकट्यति पटुं प्रौढ-मम्बा प्रसादम् ।

89. This Ambāprasāda may be identical with Ambāprasāda (*Aṁvapasāya*), the younger brother of Amarakīrti, the author of the Apabhraṁśa work *Chakkammuvaeso* (v.s. 1247 or 1274). See also M.D. Desai's *Hist. of Jain Lit.* (in Gujarati), p. 34.

90. सान्द्राम्रालुम्बिहस्ता नरनहरिगता बालकाभ्यामुपेता
    ख्याता या सिद्धिकामैर्विघटितडमरा साधकैर्भक्तियुक्तैः ।
    रक्ता रागानुरक्तै. स्फटिकमणिनिभा क्लेशविध्वंसधीभि
    पीता वश्यानुभावैर्विहितजनाहिता पातुमामम्बिका सा ।

91. *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (ed. by P.L. Vaidya), Vol. I, sandhi 1, 10-4-10, pp. 10ff.
    सव्येकद्युपगप्रियकरसुतप्रीत्यै करे बिभ्रती
    दिव्याम्रस्तबकं शुभङ्करकरश्लिष्टान्यहस्ताङ्गुलिम ।
    सिंहे भर्तृचरे स्थितां हरितभामाम्रद्रुमच्छायगा
    वंदारु दशकार्मुकोच्छ्रयजिन देवीमिहाम्बा यजे ॥ १७६ ॥

    —*Pra. Sā.*, *p. 176*

92. धत्ते वामकटी प्रियङ्करसुत वामे करे मञ्जरी
    आम्रस्यान्यकरे शुभङ्करतुजो हस्त प्रशस्ते हरौ ।
    आस्ते भर्तृचरे महाम्रविटपिच्छाय श्रिताऽभीष्टदा
    यासौ तां नुतनेमिनाथपदयोर्नम्रामिहाम्बा यजे ॥

    —*Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, VII 22, p. 347

93. The Tīrthaṅkara was formerly identified by us as Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha. Now, in the preceding chapter on Devādhidevas while discussing images of Śāntinātha, we have suggested that he might be identified as Śāntinātha.

94. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 10a, 10b, 11, pp. 28-29

95. See *Jaina Satya Prakāśa* (Journal in Gujarati, Ahmedabad), Vol. 17, no. 4, pp 86-91; Malavania, Dalsukhbhai D., *Gaṇadharavāda*, Introduction

96. *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 14, pp. 30-31.

97. Shah, U.P., *Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh*, *Lalit Kala*, nos 1-2, pp 55-65 and plates All these figures show only one son with Ambikā.

98. *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 22, 23b, p. 35; also see pp 36-37 and figures 25, 27a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 44b, 45a, 45c, 48a, 59, 60, 61 etc

99. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, *Paper no. 26*, figs. 11 and 12.

100. Debala Mitra, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khandagiri Caves*, *Jour of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)*, Vol I, no. 2, p. 129, pl. IIB

101 Bruhn, Klaus, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, figs. 14, 15. There are also some loose images of this variety showing Ambikā sitting in the *lalitāsana*. Besides we find this two-armed form on some *Mānastambhas* at Devgadh.

102. For example, see *ibid.*, fig. 232.

103. *Śravana Belagola Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, pp. 21-22.

104. Mitra, Debala, *Bronzes from Achutrajapur*, *Orissa* (Delhi, 1978), figs. 26, 27, 28, 30, pp. 45-47.

105. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 20.

106. Dhaky, M.A., *Śāntara Sculptures*, *JISOA* (*New Series*), Vol. IV, pl. XVII, fig. 8 and pl. XXII, fig. 19, pp. 84-85, 89-90.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

108 *The Classical Kannada Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper 5, p. 38, figs. 8, 12.

109. Vogel's *Catalogue of the Curzon Museum*, *Mathura*, pp. 95-96, pl. XVII.

110. *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, *op. cit*, fig. 14.

111. *Ibid.*, fig. 15

112. Shah, U.P., *More Documents of Jaina Paintings*, fig. 23.

113. *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, *op. cit*, fig. 17. As early as 1914, Coomaraswamy published his *Notes on Jaina Art*, in *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. 16, where he described and published this *Paṭa*.

114 *Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay*, IX.2, *op. cit.*, fig 16

115. *Ibid.*, fig. 18.

116. *Ibid.*, fig. 19.

117. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 209.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

119. *Indian Antiquary*, vol XXXII, *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, p. 463; also see pl. IV, fig. 22.

120. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, *op. cit*, *JUB*, *IX 2*, *op cit.*, fig. 21.

121. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, VIII, chp 9, vv. 385-386
    तत्तीर्थजन्मा कुष्माण्डी स्वर्णाभा सिंहवाहना ।
    आम्रलुम्बिपाशधरवामेतरभुजद्वया ॥ ३८५ ॥
    पुत्राङ्कुशधरवामकरयुग्माऽभवत्प्रभो ।
    अम्बिकेत्यभिधानेन भर्तुः शासनदेवता ॥ ३८६ ॥

122 श्रीनेमिजिनस्य अम्बादेवी कनककान्तिरुचि सिंहवाहना चतुर्भुजा
    आम्रलुम्बिपाशयुक्तदक्षिणकरद्वया पुत्राङ्कुशासक्तवामकरद्वया च ।

    —*Pravacanasāroddhāra*, Pūrvārddha, p 95

123 सा य भगवई चउब्भुआ दाहिणहत्थेसु अंबलुंबि पासं च धारेइ । वाम-हत्थेसु पुण पुत्तं अंकुसं च धारेइ । उत्तत्तकनगवण्ण व वण्णमुव्वहइ सरीरे । सिरिनेमिनाहस्स सासणदेवयत्ति निवसइ रेवइगिरिसिहरे । मउडकुंडलमुत्ताहलहाररयणकंकणनेउराइसव्वंगीणाभरणरमणिज्जा पूरेइ समदिट्ठीण मनोरहे, निवारेइ विग्घसंघायं । तीए मताइ नामाइंणि आराहिताण भविआणं दीसंति अणेगरूवाओ रिद्धिसिद्धिआ ।

    —*Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p 107

124. सिंहारूढा कनकतनुरुक् वेदबाहुश्च याम
    हस्ताद्वन्द्वेऽङ्कुशमनुपुवी बिभ्रती दक्षिणे च ।
    पाशाम्राली सकलजगता रक्षणैकाङ्कचित्ता
    देव्यम्बा न. प्रदिशतु समस्तौघविघ्नप्रमाणु ॥

    —*Ācāra-Dinakara*, II 22, p. 178

125. सिंहारूढाम्बिका पीताऽम्रलुम्बिनागपाशकम् ।
    अङ्कुश च भया (? तथा) पुत्र नस्य (स्याः) हस्तेषु कारयेत् ॥

    —*Rūpāvatāra*

126. Both are printed in the Cal. Skt Series no. XII; see *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇam*, VII, v. 61; and *Rūpamaṇḍana*, VI.18.

127. See *JUB*, *IX*, *op. cit.*, fig. 22

128. The work is wrongly attributed to the ancient ācārya Pādalipta who flourished in the first cent. A.D. As the *Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭīkā* refers to it, the lower limit for the work is v.s. 1248. The work seems to have been composed in the eleventh or the twelfth cent. A.D.
    Cf. तस्मिन्नेव तीर्थे समुत्पन्ना कुष्माण्डी देवी कनकवर्णा सिंहवाहना चतुर्भुजां मातुलिङ्गपाशयुक्तदक्षिणकरां पुत्राङ्कुशान्वितवामकरां चेति ।

    —*Nir. Ka.*, p. 38
129. Cf. रक्तध्यानेन मञ्जिष्ठारुणवसना स्वर्णाभरणभूषिताङ्गी सिंहारूढा अधुनोत्पन्नैकडिम्भा अङ्कस्थद्वितीयडिम्भ हेमवर्णा चतुर्भुजा उपरितनवामकराङ्कुशां उपरितनदक्षिणकरालम्बलुंबी अधस्तन-दक्षिणकरबीजपूरां अधस्तनवामकरपाशां देवीमम्बिकां ध्यायेत् ।
    —*Bhairava-padmāvatī-Kalpa*, App. 19, p. 92. The text gives the following *mūlamantra* of Ambikā:
    ॐ ह्रीं आम्रकूष्माण्डिनि ! ह्म्ल्व्र्यूं नमः ।
130. The date of composition of this work is uncertain. Some verses by a Sāgaracandra are quoted in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (v.s. 1197). Another Sāgaracandra belonged to Rājgaccha and was the teacher of the author of *Saṅketa*, the commentary on *Kāvyaprakāśa* (v.s. 1226). A third Sāgaracandra was made an ācārya by Jinarājasūri of the kharatara-gaccha in the fifteenth cent. A.D.
131. कुष्माण्डिनी कनककान्तिरभारियाता
    पाशाङ्कुशफलमाताहस्ता ।
    पुत्रद्वय करतटीसहया च नेमि—
    पादाम्बुजयुग शिवदा नमन्ती ॥

    —*Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*, 3rd paṭala, verse 64
132. *JUB*, *IX.2*, *op cit*, fig. 23. Lucknow Museum no. 66.225
133. Bruhn, Klaus, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, p. 106, fig 58.
134. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 228
135. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā Vijñāna*, p. 161
136. Cf. "...... देवीं चतुर्भुजां शङ्खचक्रवरदपाशान्यस्वकरेण सिंहासन-स्थितां शांतिद्विभुजादिस्थिता पार्श्वदेवकान्या वामहस्तस्थित "विमुरकादिश्यमना" एव कमेण देवीं पटे लिखित्वा ध्यायकर्तेण...... "
    —Ms. of *Vidyānuśāsana*, in the Ailaka Pannalal Dig. Jaina Bhandara, Bombay (now in Beawar)
137. "अष्टमहाप्रातिहार्यसमन्विता द्वादशगणपरिवृता अरिष्टनेमिभट्टारकस्य प्रतिमा लिख्य तस्य पादमूले आम्रकूष्माण्डी अष्टभुजा शङ्खचक्रधनु-परशुतोमरखड्गपाशकोद्रवपोहिफी. देवी... पटे लिखित्वा ध्याय-करेण ..."
138. *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, App. 18, p. 91.
139. Cf. also "स्वप्नपाद्वात् शान्तिक पौष्टिकं वश्यमाकर्षणं स्तम्भन मोहन दुष्टसंचूर्णनं धार्मिकारक्षणम्" given in the same text.
140. See *Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabha sūri, edited by Muni Jinavijaya, in Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, no. 10, for all these kalpas.
141. इत्थ कुबेरा नरवाहणा (कूबेरी नरवाहणी ?) अविया सीहवाहणा खित्तवालो अ मारंगअवाहणो निरवम्म रक्खं कुणति ।

    —*Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 19
142. गयारसयीवे सिरिनेमिपुत्तिसहिआ सिद्धबुद्धकलिया अंबलुंबिहत्था सिंहवाहणा अंबादेवी चिट्ठइ ।

    —*Ibid.*, p. 14
143. *Lalitavistarā*, *Caityavandanasūtra-vṛtti*, of Haribhadra sūri, p. 60.
144. *Āvaśyaka sūtra* with Niryukti and the Vṛtti of Haribhadra sūri, vṛtti on gāthā 931, p. 411.
145. For the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara accounts of the origin, see Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, *Journal of the Univ. of Bombay*, *IX, part 2*, pp. 147ff.
146. See *J.U.B.*, *IX 2*, *op. cit.*, p. 161 and note 1.
147. *Śukla-Yajurvedīya Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā*, ed. by Pt. Jagdishlal Shastri (Delhi, 1971), p. 435.
148. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, part 2, p. 358.
149. *J.U.B.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 30, p. 164. Some of the forms illustrated by us in the paper on the Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā show the *ḍamaru*, the *pāśa*, or the *vajra-ghaṇṭā* in one of the hands of the Jaina Ambikā which fact is reminiscent of the common origin and close relation of the Hindu Durgā and the Jaina Ambikā.
150. *J.U.B.*, *op. cit.*, figure 32.
151. Cf. *abhyarcayanneva pure ca Koḍināre sphuratkīrtikadambakam—Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya*, 15, V. 14. Also, Ambikā-devī-kalpa in *Vividha-tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha sūri (Singhi Series, no. 10), pp. 107ff.
152. *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 2.117-119, pp. 84-87.
153. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, vol. II, p. 644, gāthā 25; and pp. 648ff.
154. *Bṛhat-Saṃgrahaṇī*, vv. 58ff, pp. 28ff; p. 73, v. 163; Kierfel, *Cosmographie Der Inder*, pp. 270ff.
155. *Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra*, verses 30, 32, see also comm. thereon.
156. *Bhāratīya-Saṃskṛti-Kośa*, vol. II, p. 456.
157. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I.12.13.
158. *Bhāratīya-Saṃskṛti-Kośa* (in Marathi, Poona, 1964), vol. II, p 456.
159. Also see *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, 3.7.1.
160. *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti-Kośa*, *II* (op cit.), pp. 456-457.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 370.
162. Bannerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography.*
163. Bhattasali, N.K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 63-67.
164. Shah, U.P., *Harinegameṣin*, *J.I.S.O.A.* (old series), vol. XIX for year 1951-52.
165. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Charmichael Lectures, 1921*, and *Madras Lectures*, 1938-39. Puri, Baijnath, in *Indian Culture*, VII.2, pp. 225ff and VII.4, pp. 493ff.
166. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, p. 118.
167. *Cat. C.P.M.*, p. 197, no. 135 noticed by Whitehead and *Cat. C.P.M.*, p. 207, no viii, noticed by Cunningham.
168. Mukerjee, B.N., *Nana on the Lion*, publ. by Asiatic Society Calcutta, 1969.
169. Also see Bhandarkar, D.R., *Madras Lectures*, 1938-39, p. 16 and *Vedic Index*, I, p. 440.
170. Mukerjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, p. 3f.
171. Rosenfield, J., *Dynastic Arts of the Kuṣāṇas*, pp. 83ff B. Chattopadhyaya, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas—A Numismatic Study*, pp. 164-67 etc.

172. Mukerjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, chp. II. For Nana, Ishtar and Hariti, *ibid.*, pp. 26-28, footnote no. 95.
173. A useful study of the development of iconic concept of Nana in India, made by Miss B. Sarasvati, is published in *J.A.S.* (Calcutta), *1965*, *vol. VII*, pp. 95-98.
174. Shah, U.P., *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, *J.I.S.O.A.* (old series), Vol. VI, pp. 52-87
175. See above Chapter Five, p. 60 and footnotes 46-47.
176. *Nana on the Lion*, pp. 57ff.
177. *Nana on the Lion*, p. 58. B.N Mukerjee has also noted that the term Nāṇaka or Nāṇā was also used in the general sense of coins or wealth.
178. Mukherjee, B N., *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58
179. Hanaway, Jr, William L., *Anahita and Alexander*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 102, no. 2 (April-June, 1982), p. 289.
180. Hanaway, Jr., William L., *op. cit.*, pp. 289-90. Herman Lommel, *Die Yast's des Awesta ubersetzt und eingeleitet* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1972), pp. 37-39; also, p. 26, pp. 32-33, p. 53 etc. Yasht V probably dates from the period of Artaxerxes II or slightly later
181. See note 180.
182. Hanaway, *op. cit*, pp. 290-291.
183. M Chaumont, *Le Culte d'Anāhitā a Staxr et les premiers Sassānides*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 153 (1958), pp. 154-175.
184. Hanaway, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293. Hanaway informs in his paper cited above that Dorothy G. Shepherd has written a paper on the "*Iconography of Anāhitā*". Also see L. Ringbom, "*Zur Ikonographie der Gottin Ardvi Sura Anahita*", Acta Academiae Aboensis: Humaniora, 23.2 (1957), p. 15.
185. Mukherjee, B.N., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
186. For such coins see *NC*, 1892, pl. VII, nos. 10 and 11; *PMC*, Vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 66 etc.
187. *NC*, 1892, pl. VII, nos. 9, 11 and 14; pl. XII, nos 14, 15; *PMC*, vol. I, pl XVII, no. 57 etc.
188. *Oriental and Babylonian Records*, August, 1892, pp. 1ff, *NC*, 1892, pp. 77f; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp 422ff.
189. *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 428. For literary references to Nana, see G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten perischer Martyrer*, *Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1880, vol. VII, no. 3, pp 151f.
190. For Nānā-Anāhitā's association with beasts and Ishtar-Nānā-Anahitā's relation with the Greek goddess Artemis see, Mukherjee, *op. cit*, pp. 12ff.
191. Mukherjee, B.N., *op cit.*, p. 14 and fig. 20.
192. Mukherjee, B N., *op. cit.*, p 14, fig 18, also, pp. 16-17; *NC*, 1892, pl. XIII, no. 2, *PMC*, vol. I, pl XVIII, no. 135.
193. Hanaway, William L., Jr, *Anāhitā and Alexander*, *J.A.O S.*, vol. 102, no. 2, April-June, 1982, p. 292.
194. Published by U.P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 28-29, pls. 11 and 74a.
195. Chanda, R.P., *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pl. xxi, p 68; *A.S I. Annual Report for 1934-35*, pl. xxiv, fig. a.
196. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Book I, *ācārādhyāya*, transl. by R.B Śrisachandra Vidyabhusana (Panini Office, Allahabad). For the text of the Smṛti, see the Bombay ed. by Pandit Moghe.
197. Published by Coomaraswamy in *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 177.
198. Glynn, Catherine, *Some Reflections on the Origin of the type of the Ganga Image*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (New Series), vol. V, pp. 16-27, pl. VII, fig. 2 (Sudarśanā Yakṣi); also see pl. VII. figs. 3, 5, 6, 7.
199. The benefic aspect of Ganga is her bringing to life the sixty thousand sons of Sagara. Also see Catherine Glynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.
200. Published by Dhavalikar, M.K., *Paiṭhaṇ Terracottas*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (*New Series*), vol. VII, pp. 62-68, pl. XXIV, fig. 6.
201. *Ibid.*, fig. 11 illustrates such a male figure from Paithan.
202. *Pārśvanāthacaritam* of Vādirāja sūri (Manikchand Digambara Jaina Granthamala, vol. 4), canto X, vv. 81-88; canto XI, vv. 77-85; canto XII, vv. 42ff

    Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritam of Hemacandra, VIII.3. 274-295.

    Pārśvanāthacaritam of Bhāvadeva sūri, V.55-64; VI 170-213; VII.827-830; V.463-466.

    Śrī-Pārśvanāthacaritam of Udayavīra gaṇi, canto VII.

    Pāsanāhacariu, 14. Also see *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta and *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra
203. For representations of the scene of attack by Kamaṭha (Meghamālī or Bhūtānanda), see Shah, U P, *A Pārśvanatha Sculpture in Cleveland*, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, for December, 1970, pp. 303-311, and fig. 1 (Central India, 9th century, now in Cleveland Museum), fig. 2 (from Jaina Cave, Aihole), fig. 3 (from Tirakkol, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu), fig 4 (Badami Jaina Cave), fig. 5 (rock-relief, Kilakkudi, T.N.), fig 6 (Samnar-koyil, Anamalai, Tamil Nadu), fig 7 (Kilakkudi, Unmanamalai hill, Madurai district), fig. 8 (also Kilakkudi), fig. 9 (Chitharal, Kerala), figs. 10, 11, 12 (Ellora Jaina Caves), fig. 13 (Indian Museum, Calcutta), fig 14 (Maladevi temple, Gyaraspur, M.P). fig. 15 (Ajmere Museum), fig 16 (National Museum, New Delhi).

    C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art*, fig 33 (Tirakkol, 8th cent.), fig. 88 (Kilakuilkudi, 9th cent.), fig. 94 (Chitharal, 7th-8th cent.), fig. 121 (Aihole, c. 7th cent.), fig. 127 (Badami, c. 7th cent.), fig. 136 (Ellora, cave 32, 9th cent.), fig. 138 (Ellora, cave 32, 9th cent.), fig. 142 (Ellora, cave 32, 9th cent), etc.
204. *Parśvanāthacaritam* of Vādirāja, X 84-88 and *Uttarapurāṇa*, 73.
205. Compare—

    देवी पद्मावती नाम्ना रक्तवर्णा चतुर्भुजा ।
    पद्मासनाङ्कुशं धत्ते अक्षसूत्रं च पङ्कजम् ॥
    अथवा षड्भुजा देवी चतुर्विंशति सद्भुजा ॥
    पाशासिकुन्तबालेन्दुगदामुशलसंयुतम् ।
    भुजाषट्कं समाख्यातं चतुर्विंशतिरुच्यते ॥
    शङ्खासिचक्रबालेन्दुपद्मोत्पलशरासनम् ।
    पाशाङ्कुश घट बाण मुशल खेटकम् ॥
    त्रिशूल परशु कुन्तं भिण्डमाल फल गदा ।
    पत्रं पल्लवं धत्ते वरदा धर्मवत्सला ॥

    —*Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha*, 5 67-71

206. Dhaky, M.A., *Śāntara Sculpture*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (New Series), vol. IV (1971-72), pp. 78-97, figs. 9 and 13.
207. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, vol. I, pl. XXXII reproduced in colour. Sarayu Doshi in *Marg*, vol. XXXVI, no. 3 —*The Iconic and the Narrative in Jaina Painting*—has illustrated, on p. 86, fig. 22, beautiful similar forms of Dharaṇa and Padmāvatī from a Kalpa-sūtra in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
208. For other similar examples of Dharaṇa and his queen's bodies tied into a knot, obtained from Eastern India, see Mitra, Pratip Kumar, *Jaina Sculptures from Anai-Jambad*, *Jaina Journal*, vol. XVIII.2, pp. 67ff, figs. 3, 4. Anai-Jambad is in Purulia district, W. Bengal. Also see *JAA*, I, pl. 84b Pārśvanātha from Pakbira; *ibid.*, vol.. II, pl. 161b, Pārśvanātha from Orissa, Khiching Museum.
    For the Mahuḍī bronze, see Shastri, Hirananda, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1938*, plate V(b).
209. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, vol. I, plate I
210. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, pp. 238-239.
211. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 189-90, pl. 86, fig. 2.
212. तथा पद्मावती देवी कर्कु (कुक्कु-) टोरगवाहना ।
    स्वर्णवर्णा पद्मपाशभृद्दक्षिणकरद्वया ॥
    फलाङ्कुशधराभ्यां च वामदोर्भ्यां विराजिता ।
    अभूद् द्वितीया श्रीपार्श्वप्रभोः शासनदेवता ॥
    —*Triṣaṣṭi* , IX.3.364-65
212a. Cf. पद्मावती देवी कुर्कुटवाहना चतुर्भुजा पद्म-पाशान्वितदक्षिणकरा फलाङ्कुशाधिष्ठितवामकरा चेति ।
    —*Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 37
213. *Ācāradinakara*, II, p 178; *Pārśvanāthacaritra*, 7.829-30.
214. *Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭīkā*, I, p. 95.
215. *Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*, 3.65, p. 250.
216. पद्मावती रक्तवर्णा कुक्कुटस्था चतुर्भुजा ।
    पद्म पाशाङ्कुश बीजपूरं हस्तेषु कारयेत् ॥
    —*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, 7.63, p. 142
    Also see *Rūpamaṇḍana*, 6.21, p. 44.
217. Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, p. 237.
218. Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII, fig 3 and p. 211.
219. Sankalia, H D., *Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis*, *Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute*, March, 1940, p. 159, fig. 5.
220. Dhaky, M.A., *Śāntara Sculpture*, *J.I.S.O.A.* (*New Series*), vol. IV, pp. 78ff, pl. XXV, fig. 26. Also see P. Gururaja Bhatt, *op. cit.*, pl. 444b, pl. 444d, pl. 429b for more figures of this variety of form.
221. *Panorama of Jaina Art, South India, p. 57, fig. 69.*
222. *Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa* published as Appendix 1 to *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, pp. 1-14.
223. पद्मवदने! पद्मे! सपद्मे हंसपृष्ठाधिरूढे! फलवरदपाशाङ्कुश-चतुर्भुजे! देवि भैरवि! भैरवकपालसारे! तारे! तारावतारे!······
    Ibid., p. 13
224. *Ibid.*, p. 8, v. 6.
225. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
226. पाशफलवरदगजवशकरण पद्मविष्टरा पद्मा ।
    सा मां रक्षतु देवी त्रिलोचना रक्तपुष्पाभा ॥
    —*Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, 1.2 and comm., p. 1
227. चतुर्भुजा पाशफलप्रदानद्विपेन्द्रवश्याङ्कुशचारुहस्ता ।
    त्रिलोचना रक्तसरोजपीठा पद्मावती मामवतादनन्तम् ॥
    —*Vidyānuśāsana* (*Ms. Beawar*), folio 56
228. The verses are really borrowed from the earlier work of Malliṣeṇa, namely, *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, 2, 11-12, p. 6, पन्नगाधिपशेखरां etc.
229. पाशाङ्कुशी पद्मवरे रक्तवर्णा चतुर्भुजा ।
    पद्मासना कुक्कुटस्था ख्याता पद्मावतीति च ॥
    —*Aparājitapṛcchā*, 221.37, p. 568
230. नाभ्युद्गताष्टपत्त्रकमलप्रान्तस्थिता सुधाशुभ्राम् ।
    त्रिफणाहिभूषितातमस्कारशिरस्कां शुभाङ्कधराम् ॥
    पद्माङ्कुशवरपाशकसम्भूषितभुजचतुष्टयां हृष्टाम् ।
    अम्भोजासनसंस्था श्रीपद्मा देवता स्थिरधीः ॥
    शुभ्राम्बरपरिधानां दन्ताच्छेदाभहंसरूढाम् ।
    ध्यानविधानेनान्तः श्रीपद्मा देवता स्थिरधीः ॥
    —*Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, 4.52-54 published in *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, App 1, p. 6
231. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 137. For Janguli, *ibid* . pp. 78ff, 137.
232. Ms. No. 8765 Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Catalogue vol XVI. Cf —
    श्रीपार्श्वनाथजिननायकरत्नचूडा
    पाशाङ्कुशाभयफलाङ्कितदोश्चतुष्का ।
    पद्मावती त्रिनयना त्रिप (फ) णावतारा
    पद्मावती जयतु पद्मकुलाधिवासा ॥
233. Ramachandran, T.N., *op. cit.*, p. 211, pl. xxxii, fig. 2 and pl. xxxi. fig 2.
234. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62 and fig. 3.
235. *Ibid.*, pp. 158ff.
236. श्रीपार्श्वनाथजिननायकरत्नचूडा
    पाशाङ्कुशोरगफलाङ्कितदोश्चतुष्का ।
    पद्मावती त्रिनयना त्रिफणावतंसा
    पद्मावती जयति शासनपुण्यलक्ष्मीः ॥
    —*Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, app. 5, p. 30
237. गर्जद्वीरदगर्भनिर्गततडिज्ज्वालासहस्रस्फुरत्—
    सद्वज्राङ्कुशपाशपङ्कजधरा भक्त्यामरैरर्चिता ।
    सद्यः पुष्पितपारिजातरुचिरं दिव्यं वपुर्बिभ्रती
    सा मां पातु सदा प्रसन्नवदना पद्मावती देवता ॥
    Ibid., p. 27, v. 12
238. *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, app. 7, p. 44.
239. From the collections of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji, the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Paṭa* was first published by Hirananda Shastri and Sarabhai Nawab in *Śrī Ātmānanda Śatābdī Smāraka Grantha*.
240. बालार्ककान्तिशशिलाञ्छनचक्रशोभां
    पाशाङ्कुशौ च वरमप्यभयं दधानाम् ।
    चित्रांशुका (च) नवरत्नविभूषिताङ्गीं
    मिश्राम्बिकां त्रिनयनां हृदि भावयामि ॥ रक्तवर्णः ॥
    Quoted in *Śrī-Tattvanidhi*, p. 9
241. For the form, see *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa*, 8.14, p. 146.

242. Rao, Gopinath, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, part 2, pp. 371ff.
243. *Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*, 3.119, p. 258 published in *Mantrādhirāja-Cintāmaṇi* which is *Jaina Stotra-Samdoha*, vol. II (Ahmedabad, 1936).
The *Mantrādhirāja-kalpa* was composed by Sāgaracandra sūri. The author pays homage to Abhayadeva, Padmadeva, Lalitaprabha, Śrīprabha, Nemiprabha, Punyasāgara and Yaśaścandra in the last verses. One Sāgaracandra lived around v.s. 1450-1475, another, a pupil of Nemicandra, of Rājagaccha in c. v.s 1246 and a third wrote the first copy of Amamacaritra of Muniratna sūri. A Sāgaracandra wrote some verses in praise of Siddharāja. The date of the author of Mantrādhirāja-kalpa is not certain but looking to the great Tantric influence and the iconography of yakṣas, yakṣiṇis etc. given in it, the work may be of c 12th-13th cent. A.D.
244 **पद्मावती** भुजगराजवधूर्विभूत—
विध्ना सुवर्णतनु कुर्कुटसर्पयाना ।
पाशाम्बुजाश्वअकरा त्रिफणाढ्यमौलि.
पायात फलाङ्कुशविराजितवामपाणि ॥
Ibid., 3, v. 65, p. 250
245. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, vol. I, pl. xcviii, fig. 282.
246. Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sutra*, pl. 29, fig. 98, p. 44 Brown describes the vāhana as a parrot but it is the kukkuṭa (cock).
247. Burgess, J., *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, fig. 23.
248. Bruhn, Klaus, *Jina Images of Deogarh* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 102, 105-106, 315, fig 57.
249. *Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha*, 5 60-61.
250. ता शान्तामरुणा स्फुरच्छ्रणिसरोजन्माक्षमाला वराम् ।
पद्मस्था नवहस्तकप्रभुनतां यायज्मि **पद्मावतीम्** ॥
Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p 73, v 177
251. *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, 7, v. 23, p 348.
252 *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka* of Brahma sūri, unpublished, Ms. in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah.
253. Ramachandran, T.N , *op. cit.*, p 210.
254. तोतला त्वरिता नित्या त्रिपुरा कामसाधिनी ।
देव्या नामानि पद्मायास्तथा त्रिपुरभैरवी ॥
Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa, 1.3, p 1
255. पाशवरफलाम्भोजभृत्करे तोतलाह्वया ।
Vidyānuśāsana (Ms), f. 53
256. शङ्खपद्माभयवरदा त्वरिताख्याऽरुणप्रभा ।
Ibid , f. 53
It must be remembered that these forms are not as late in Jainism as the 16th century A.D. when Vidyānuśāsana seems to have been composed, for, though not described by him, Malliṣeṇa knew them.
257. पाशाङ्कुशाभयोजातमाक्षमालाकरा वरा ।
हंसवाहाऽरुणा नित्या आवलि (ज्वालावलि) विमंडिता ३ ॥
Ibid.
258. शङ्खचक्रफलाम्भोजभृत्करा कामसाधिनी ।
बन्धूकपुष्पसंकाशा कुक्कुटोरगवाहगा ॥ ५ ॥
Ibid.
259. शूलचक्राङ्कुशाम्भोजचापबाणफलाङ्कुशी.
राजिताष्टभुजा देवी त्रिपुरा कुंकुमप्रभा ॥ ४ ॥
Ibid.
260. Mohapatra, R.P., *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 94, fig. 2, and p. 190. Acc. to Mohapatra the symbols are right hands—*varada*, arrow, sword, disc; left hands—bow, shield, lotus stalk, lotus stalk.
261. शङ्खचक्रधनुर्बाणखेटखड्गफलाम्बुजैः ।
लसद्भुजेन्द्रगोपाभा त्र्यक्षी त्रिपुरभैरवी ॥ ६ ॥ *Ibid.*
262. अथवा षड्भुजा देवी चतुर्विंशतिसद्भुजा ॥ ६१ ॥
पाशासिकुन्तबालेन्दुगदामुशलसंयुतम् ।
भुजाषट्क समाख्यातं········ · ···· ॥ ६२ ॥
Vasunandi, *op. cit.*, 5.61-62
263 *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna (Hindi)*, p. 239, and fig. 55.
264 Described by Banerji, R.D., *Progress Report, Western Circle, for 1921*, p. 94.
265. *Bhairava Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, app 5, pp. 32ff.
266. भुजाषट्क समाख्यातं चतुर्विंशतिरुच्यते ॥ ६२ ॥
शङ्खासिचक्रबालेन्दुपद्मोपलशरासनम् ।
शक्ति पाशाङ्कुश घण्टां बाणा मुशलखेटकम् ॥ ६३ ॥
त्रिशूल परशु कुन्त वज्र मालां फलं गदाम् ।
पत्र च पल्लव धत्ते वरदा धर्मवत्सल ॥ ६४ ॥
Op. cit., 5.62-64
267. *Op cit.*, p. 73, v. 177.
268. *Op. cit.*, p 348, v. 23.
269. *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, app. 5, p. 28, v. 16.
270. Gopal, B.R , *Guḍnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman*, *Śrikaṇṭhikā*, *Prof. S Srikantha Sastri Felicitation Volume* (Mysore, 1973), pp. 61-62. S. Settar, *in Paper 5 in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 40 Also see *Guḍnāpur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman*, *Studies in Indian History and Culture, Prof. P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, pp. 57-62.
271. Sundara, A., in *Karnataka Bharati*, vol IV, part 2.
272 Banerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 116, note 1
273 कामदत्तो जिनागारपुरो लोकप्रवेशने ।
मृगध्वजस्य प्रतिमा स न्यधान्महिषस्य च ॥ १ ॥
अत्रैव **कामदेवस्य रतेश्चप्रतिमां न्यधात्** ।
जिनागारे समस्तायाः प्रजायाः कौतुकाय स ॥ २ ॥
कामदेवरतिप्रेक्षा कौतुकेन जगज्जनः ।
जिनायतनमागत्य प्रेक्ष्य तत्प्रतिमाद्वयम् ॥ ३ ॥
सविधानकमाणर्य तत्र भाद्रकमृगध्वजं ।
बहवः प्रतिपद्यन्ते जिनधर्ममहर्दिवम् ॥ ४ ॥
प्रसिद्धं च गृहं जैनं कामदेवगृहाख्यया ।
कौतुकागतलोकस्य जात जिनमताप्तयं ॥ ५ ॥
274. Desai, P.B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (Sholapur, 1957), p. 72 and note 2.
275. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
276. *Ibid.*, p 171, note 1.
276a. *Varāṅgacarita of Jaṭāsimhanandi*, edited by A.N. Upadhye (Māṇikchandra-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā, vol. 40, Bombay, 1938).
277. *Bhairava-Padmā.-Kalpa*, app. 1-9, p. 157.
278. *Jaina Stotra*, app. gha; pp. 77ff.
279. *Bhairava-Padmā.-Kalpa*, app. 10, pp. 57-60.
280. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, p. 45.
281. *Jaina Iconography* (second ed.), p. 105 and note.

282. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 84, 98f; 52, 11ff; 77, 101, 103ff.
283. *Bhagavatī-Sūtra, 10.5* (Becharadāsa's ed., Vol. III, p. 201). The text gives chief queens of other Indras also. Padmā and Padmāvatī occur as the names of two (out of the four chief queens of Bhīma and Mahābhīma, the Rākṣasendras (*ibid.*, p. 202), also of Śakra (p. 204).
284. *Sthānāṅga*, 6.3, sū. 508ff reads—Alā (Ilā), Sakkā (Śukra or Śuklā), Saterā, Sotāmanī (Saudāminī), Indiā (Indrā), Ghanavijjuyā (Ghanavidyutā).
285. सुफणरत्नगरीसृपराजितां रिपुबलप्रहृतापराजितम् ।
    स्मरत तां धरणाधिपयोषित जिनगृहेषु ययाऽध्यमयोषितम् ॥ ८ ॥
    Caturviṁśatikā, text, p. 18
286. *Stuticaturviṁśatikā* ed. by Kapadia with 4 commentaries, p. 268, Bhanucandragani in his comm. raises the same question.
287. I am thankful to Dr. Wayne Begley for the photograph.
288. Account of Nāgila or Nāila in the Prabhāvakacaritra.
289. For Manasā, see Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 212-227; *Hindi Viśvakośa*, XVI, pp. 639-44; Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I, pp 39-40; *Brahmavaivarta Purāna*, *Prakriti Khaṇḍa*, adh. 45-46.
290. Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 226ff; pl. lxxii, fig. b, p. 219
291. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *op. cit.*, 78-80.
292. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
293. Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 221, p. 224.
294. *Ibid.*
295. It was really a struggle between Padmāvatī and Caṇḍī on one hand and Padmāvatī and Tārā and Jāṅguli on the other. Tārā and Caṇḍī took time in being reduced, but Jāṅguli was defeated.
296. *Karakaṇḍacariu*, 7.13, p. 68.
297. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *op. cit.*, 137f, 109f.
298. *Compare.*
    तारा त्वं सुगतागमे, भवति गौरीति शैवागमे,
    वज्रा कौलिकशासने, जिनमते पद्मावती विश्रुता ।
    गायत्री श्रुतशालिनां, प्रकृतिरित्युक्तासि सांख्यायन,
    मातर्भारति किं प्रभूतभणितैर्व्याप्तं समस्तं त्वया ॥ २० ॥
    —*Śrī-Padmāvatī-stotra*, v 20, published in *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, appendix 5, p. 28
299. *Also compare*:
    जैने पद्मावतीति त्वमशुभदलना त्वं च गौरीति शैवे
    तारा बौद्धागमे त्वं प्रकृतिरिति मता देवि साङ्ख्यागमे त्वम् ।
    गायत्री भट्टमार्गे त्वमसि च विमले कौलिके त्वं च वज्रा
    व्याप्तं विश्वं त्वयेति स्फुरदुरुयशसे मेऽस्तु पद्मे नमस्ते ॥ ६ ॥
    —*Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, 5.6, in *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, appendix 1, p. 8

    या देवि त्रिपुरा पुरत्रयगता शीघ्रासि शीघ्रप्रदा
    या देवी समया समस्तभुवने सङ्गीयते कामदा ।
    तारा मानविमर्दिनी भगवती देवी च पद्मावती
    तास्ताः सर्वगतास्तमेव (त्वमेव) नियतं मायेति तुभ्यं
    नमः ॥ २९ ॥
    —*Śrī-Padmāvatī-stotra*, v. 29 published in *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, appendix 5, p. 29
300. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *op. cit.*, p 78, Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
301. Banerji, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 116, note 1. In the Purāṇa literature, at least in later phase, Padmā, mentioned along with Sarasvatī, signifies Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth, cf. Agni Purāṇa, xlii.7-8 etc.
302. Cf. जिनस्य मूर्तयोऽनन्ताः पूजिताः सर्वसौख्यदाः ।
    अनन्तोऽतिशयैर्युक्तास्तासां पूज्या विशेषतः ॥ २५ ॥
    श्री आदिनाथो नेमिश्च पार्श्वो वीरश्चतुर्थकः ।
    चक्रेश्वर्यम्बिका पद्मावती सिद्धायिकेति च ॥ २६ ॥
    —*Rūpamaṇḍana*, 6.25-26, p. 45
303. Shah, U P., *Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantras*, Ācārya Dhruva Commemoration Volume, III, pp. 67ff.
304. Cf. सिद्धायिका तथोत्पन्ना सिंहयाना हरिच्छविः ।
    समातुलिङ्गवल्लक्यौ वामबाहू च बिभ्रती ॥
    पुस्तकाभयदौ चाभौ दधाना दक्षिणौ भुजौ ।
    अभूता ते प्रभोर्नित्यासन्ने शासनदेवते ॥
    —*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, X.5, 112-113
    Pravacanasāroddhāra Ṭīkā, I, p. 95; *Mantrādhirāja-Kalpa*, 3.66, p. 250, calls her Siddhārthikā.
    M.N.P. Tiwari in Jaina Pratimāvijñāna, p. 244, says that according to Mantrādhirāja-kalpa Siddhāyikā is six-armed showing in her hands the book, *abhaya mudrā*, *varada mudrā*, *kharāyudha*, *vīṇā* and fruit The verse is printed as under in the text—
    सिद्धायिका नवतमालदलालिनील—
    रुक् पुस्तिकाभयकरा नखरायुधाङ्का ।
    वीणाफलाङ्कितभुजद्वितया हि भव्या—
    नव्याज्जिनेन्द्रपदपङ्कजबद्धभक्तिः ॥
    Tiwari makes an emendation in line 2 of this verse and reads . . . पुस्तिकाभयकरा(दा) नखरायुधाङ्का । Then he interprets दान and खरायुध as two symbols. To me it seems that adding दा above is against metre and that in the second line the author intended to give only two symbols, namely, book and *abhaya* in one group of two hands, in the second group of two hands he refers to *vīṇā* and fruit and says वीणाफलाङ्कितभुजद्वितया. Besides, I do not know what symbol is meant by खरायुध, Tiwari does not explain it.
305. Cf. तत्तीर्थोत्पन्नां सिद्धायिकां हरितवर्णां सिंहवाहनां चतुर्भुजां
    पुस्तकाभययुतदक्षिणकरां मातुलिङ्गबाणान्वितवामकरां चेति ॥
    —*Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 37
    It is just possible that बाण was a scribal error for वीणा and that later works like Rūpamaṇḍana and Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa were misled by the scribal error.
306. सिद्धायिका नीलवर्णा सिंहारूढा चतुर्भुजा ।
    पुस्तकं चाभयं चैव बाणं स्यान्मातुलिङ्गकम् ॥
    —*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, 7.65, p. 142; *Rūpamaṇḍana*, 6.23, p. 45
307. सिंहस्था हरितांगरुग्भुजचतुष्केन प्रभावांजिता
    नित्यं धारितपुस्तकाभयलसद्वामान्यपाणिद्वया ।
    पाशाम्भोरुहराजिवामकरभाक् सिद्धायिका सिद्धिदा
    श्रीसङ्घस्य करोतु विघ्नहरणं देवार्चने संश्रिता ॥
    —*Ācāra-Dinakara*, II, p. 173, v. 24

308a. Shah, U.P., *Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-Fourth Jina Mahāvīra*, *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (JOI)*, Vol. 22, nos. 1-2, pp. 70-78, fig 1.

308b. *Ibid.*, fig. 2.

308c. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.

309. Shah, U.P., *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. IX, pp 42ff. Also see *JOI*, Vol. 22, *op. cit*, fig. 5.

310. *Mahāpurāṇa*, Vol. I, 1 10 1-15.

311. Known from archaeological evidence, shown below

311a. *JOI*, Vol. 22, *op. cit*, fig 6.

312. Shah, U.P., *Jayā Group of Goddesses*, *Vijaya-Vallabha-Sūri-Smāraka Grantha*, pp. 124-127

313 *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, JISOA, Vol. IX (1941), pp 42ff For texts of Simhatilakasuri's *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-kalpa*, and two others of unknown authorship, see *Surimantrakalpa-samdoha*, app. pp. 1-28.

314 *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśāstra*, p 159, 185ff; the *Mahānisitha*, adh. 3, uddeśa 11 gives this Vidyā. It is also given at the end of adh. 8 after the colophon.

315. सिद्धायिका तथा देवी द्विभुजा कनकप्रभा ॥
वरदा पुस्तकं धत्ते सुभद्रासनमाश्रिता ।

—*Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha*, 5.66-67

316. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p 73, 178.

317. Cf. बिभर्ति या पुस्तकमिष्टदान
सव्यापसव्येन करद्वयेन ।
भद्रासनामाश्रितवर्द्धमाना
सिद्धायिका सिद्धिकरी यजेताम् ॥

—*Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, 7-24, p. 348

318 Cf. द्विभुजा कनकाभा च पुस्तकं चाभयं तथा ।
सिद्धायिका तु कर्तव्या भद्रासनसमन्विता ॥

—*Aparājitapṛchhā*, 221, 33, p. 568

319. Ramachandran, T N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 211.
Shah, U.P, *Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra*, *JOI*, vol. 22, *op. cit*, fig. 7.

320a. Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, pp. 245-246. *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, p. 61

320b. *Ibid.*

320c. *Ibid*

320d *Ibid.*

320e. *Ibid.*

320f. *Ibid.*

321a. Shah, U.P., *Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra*, *JOI*, *op. cit.*, fig. 9.

321b. *Ibid.*, fig. 11. Also see S. Settar, *The Classical Kannada Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography*, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper no. 5, pp. 41-42.

322. Desai, P.B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 56. For inscriptions nearby, see *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, Appendix C, nos. 67-74.

323. Desai, P.B., *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; also see pp. 40, 95.

323a. In the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, March, 1940, fig. 2, p. 161. Also see Shah, U P., *Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty fourth Jina Mahāvīra*, *JOI*, *op. cit.*, fig. 12.

323b. *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna*, pp. 245-246.

323c. *Ibid.*

323d. *Ibid.*

324. Barrett, Douglas, *A Jain Bronze from the Deccan*, Oriental Art (N.S), Vol V, No 4 (1959), pp. 162-165.

325 The Nāhara collection bronze was published in *Jaina Sāhitya no Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (in Gujarati), by M.D. Desai. Also see *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, *Paper no. 26* (*Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey*), fig. 23. The symbols of two upper hands are not distinct.
In the Karanja bronze, Siddhāyikā carries the lotus in the right upper hand and not the axe as Barrett thought.

326 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

327. *Ibid.*, p 212, pl. xxxiv, fig. 3.

328. Mitra, Debala, *Śāsanadevīs in the Khandagiri Caves*, Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), New Series, Vol. I (1959), No. 2, pp. 127-133 and plates.

329. वर्द्धमानजिनेन्द्रस्य यक्षी सिद्धायिका मता ।
तद्देव्यपरनाम्ना च कामचण्डालिसञ्ज्ञका ॥
भूषिताभरणै मर्वैर्मुक्तकेशा दिगम्बरी ।
पातु मां कामचण्डाली कृष्णवर्णा चतुर्भुजा ॥
फलकांचनकलशकरा शाल्मलिदण्डोच्चडमरुयुग्मोपेता ।
जपन(?)स्त्रिभुवनवंद्या वश्या जगति श्रीकामचण्डाली ॥

—*Vidyānuśāsana* (Mss., Bombay, Ailaka Pannalal Dig. Jaina Bhandara), Folios 40-41

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ERRATA

P. 83 line 8 from below read: Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi for Adidhāna Cintāmaṇi
P. 135 line 11 from below read: Abhinandana for Ajitanātha
P. 177 line 10 from below read; object in left hand for object in each hand
P. 213 line 3 from end read: theoretically for theorically
P. 230 line 22 read: Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha for Pratiṣthāsāroddhāra
P. 258 line 9 read: tato=Ambikām for tato=Ambikam
P. 279 line 8 read: Dhanada Tārā for Dhanauda Tārā

List of Plates with Acknowledgements

Frontispiece (*Pl. I*). Kamaṭha's hordes attacking Pārśvanātha. From Eastern Rajasthan or U.P., now in Indian Museum, Calcutta. Age, c. seventh century A.D. Ref. Shah, U.P., *A Pārśvanātha Sculpture in Cleveland, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* for December 1970, pp. 302-311 and plates. *Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Fig. 1 (*Pl. II*). Mutilated, headless, red-stone statuette from Harappa.

A surface-find only, cannot be definitely assigned to the Chalcolithic period. The circular frontal depressions on shoulder-fronts suggest that either extra hands or something was attached which goes against the identification of the statuette as that of a Tīrthaṅkara. Ref. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 1, pp. 3-4. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 2 (*Pl. II*). Polished stone torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohanipur, Patna, Bihar. The site is an extension of the ancient site of Pataliputra at Kumrahar, Patna. The torso with parts of legs and arms mutilated has the typical Mauryan high polish on it. Ref. Jayaswal, K.P., *Jaina Images of the Mauryan Period, JBORS*, XXIII.1, pp. i-iv, 130-132 and Banerji-Shastri, *Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur—Patna, JBORS*, XXVI.2, 120ff, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 5-6, Fig. 2. Note that the figure stands in the typical Jaina kāyotsarga posture. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar.*

Attempts are made recently to assign it to c. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. since the polish continued for a few centuries after Mauryan period. The polished shining N.B.P. ware in different colours was found from foundations of Ghoṣitārāma at Kausambi. Shall we assign the finds from foundations of Ghoṣitārāma to second cent. B.C. or even to 2nd cent A.D. since the N.B.P. seems to have continued for a long time? This type of reasoning advanced for *post-dating everything* is not valid. Only silver punch-marked coins and bricks of a size also popular in Mauryan period were found from this Jaina temple site. As already noted the site is an extension of ancient Pataliputra site. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, is well-known in ancient Jaina traditions as a convert to and a great patron of Jainism. Even now all orthodox Jainas assign all traditionally known old images to the gifts of Samprati. Udayana, the successor of Ajātaśatru, is known to Jaina canons as having built a temple to a Jina at Pataliputra. Kharavela in his inscription refers to the image of Kalinga Jina once carried off by Nanda king which shows that image worship in temples seems to have started already in Pataliputra not long after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. A few years ago, B.B. Lal has unearthed a terracotta Jina figure, assigned to c. 3rd cent. B.C., from Ayodhyā.

Fig. 3 (*Pl. III*). Metal image of standing Pārśvanātha, now in Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Findspot or source not known.

For detailed discussion about the age of this image assigned by us to c. 1st cent. B.C., see Shah, U.P., *Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 273-74. Chemical analysis of the metal alloy used in this image is overdue. *Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*

Fig. 4 (*Pl. IV*). Brass or Bronze image of standing Ṛṣabhanātha with hair on head and hair-locks falling on shoulders. From Chausa, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6538. Modelling shows Gandhara influence. Age, c. 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. Ref. H.K. Prasad, *Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum, Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, p. 280; *Patna Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XX. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 5 (Pl. IV). Ādinātha (Ṛṣabhanātha) sitting in padmāsana. From Chausa, Bihar, now in the Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6554. Brass or Bronze, c. 5th cent. A.D. H.K. Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 282. *Patna Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XIX. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 6 (Pl. IV). Brass or Bronze image from Chausa hoard, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6552. Identified generally as Candraprabha, the sixth Tīrthaṅkara, on the basis of the crescent moon on top of the image. Note the plain halo with beaded border and the back-seat with *makara-mukha* endings on top, both suggesting an early tradition. Crescent moon as cognizance on top of halo is unusual. H.K. Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 283. Note locks of hair falling on his shoulders and the hair arranged in top-knot on head. It may be that this is an image of Ādinātha. The crescent on top has to be investigated. It may be mutilated part of something. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 7 (Pl. IV). Stone, Hariṇegameṣi from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. E.1 in Mathura Museum. Age, Kuṣāṇa. Note the typical triangular shaped necklace with pointed end on chest. God with goat-head wearing a crown with typical *cūḍamaṇi* front ornament of Kuṣāṇa period. For Hariṇegameṣin, see Shah, U.P., *JISOA*, vol. XIX (1952-53), pp. 19-41; Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII (1950), p. 66. *Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.*

Fig. 8 (Pl. V). Brass or Bronze image of standing Pārśvanātha from Chausa hoard, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, no. 6531. Much corroded. Age, c. 1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D. H.K. Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 281, Fig. 6, *Patna Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XX, *Akota Bronzes*, Fig. 16. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 9 (Pl. V). Headless stone image of standing Jina, Kankali Tila, Mathura. Now No. J.7, State Museum, Lucknow. Inscription on pedestal dated in the year 9. Front shows a monk and a nun to the right and left respectively of the Jina's legs. On the other three sides of the sculpture are similar smaller figures of Jaina laymen and laywomen, see *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 53, Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12; *Luders' List*, no. 229; *The Scythian Period*, Fig. 64, pp. 295-96. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 10 (Pl. VI). Āyāgapaṭa, set up by Acalā, wife of Bhadranandi, Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.252 in State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. Buhler in *Epi. Ind.*, II, p. 207, no. XXXII; *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 10, pp. 82-83. Note the auspicious symbols—four in top row and eight in the last row. For discussion on *aṣṭamaṅgalas*, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 109ff. In this Tablet of Homage a pillar on the right is surmounted by a lion, i.e. this is a *Simha-dhvaja* pillar; the pillar on left is surmounted by a *dharmacakra*. Lion is the cognizance, the dhvaja of Mahāvīra. The Jina in the centre must therefore be identified as Mahāvīra in front of whom (whose temple) is the *Simha-dhvaja* pillar, cf. Garuda-dhvaja pillar at Vidiśā. The Jainas also raised pillars with *dharmacakra* on top, cf. U.P. Shah's *Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture* published in *Journal of Indian Museums*, volume. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 11 (Pl. VII). Āyāgapata, set up by Sihanādika, Kankali Tila, Mathura, now in State Museum (on. J. 249), Lucknow. Note four auspicious motifs in top row—pair of fish (*mīna-pugala*), unidentified sign, *śrī-vatsa*, powder-box (*vardhamānaka*)—and four in last row—*tri-ratna*, *padma* (full blown lotus), *bhadrāsana* and *mangala-kalaśa*. The pillar on the left of the Jina in centre is surmounted by an elephant, i.e. it is a *Gaja-dhvaja-stambha*. Elephant is the dhvaja or cognizance of Ajitanātha, hence the Jina in centre is Ajitanātha *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 13 and pp. 79-80. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 12 (Pl. VII). Pedestal of Vardhamāna image set up by daughters of Damitra in 162 A.D. in the reign of Vāsudeva. From near Kankali Tila, Mathura, now Mathura Museum no. 490. Note the *Caturvidha-samgha* (*sādhu, sādhvī, śrāvaka, śrāvika*) on two sides of *Dharmacakra pillar* shown in relief on pedestal. Installed by Okharikā, daughta, of Damitra, in the year Samvat 84. Agrawala, V.S., *Cat. of the Mathura Museum, JUPHS*, XXIII, p. 38. *Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.*

Fig. 13 (Pl. VIII). Image of Ariṣṭanemi standing, from Mathura, now Lucknow Museum No. J. 8, inscribed, dated year 18. *Luders' List*, no. 26. Note halo with scalloped border and flower design. A Jaina layman and a Jaina laywoman standing to the right and left of the Jina. Pedestal shows two monks on two sides of the *Dharmacakra-Pillar*, Kuṣāṇa, c. 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. Ref. Euolution of Jaina

Iconography and Symbolism, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper 6, Fig. 19. *Photo Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 14 (Pl. VIII). A four-fold image—*Pratimā-Sarvato-bhadrikā*—from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. B.70 in the Mathura Museum. The Jina facing us is Pārśvanātha having as attendants near pedestal a male and a female Jaina lay devotees. Age, Kuṣāṇa. Note the peculiar attachment (like a piece of cloth) to the palms of the hands of the Jina. Inscr. dated in the year 35. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, JUPHS*, XXIII, p. 37. Agrawala notes that there is a round mortice in the top of the stone. The base is broken. Obviously another stone could be attached to it because of the mortice. This sculpture was, therefore, part of a pillar. *Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Fig. 15 (Pl. VIII). Lower part of an image of a standing Jina, with the inscribed pedestal better preserved. From Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.10, Lucknow Museum. *Luders' List*, no. 28. Dated in Samvat 20. Image of Vardhamāna dedicated by Dattā Śrāvikā. *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 9. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 16 (Pl. IX). A wheel—*Dharmacakra*—of brass or bronze from the Chausa Hoard, now in the Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6540. Ref. H.K. Prasad, *op. cit*, p. 280; *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper 26, Fig. 3, Age, Kuṣāṇa. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 17 (Pl. IX). Caitya tree, brass or bronze, from the Chausa hoard, now in Patna Museum.

Found along with Jaina bronzes, this may be regarded as a Caitya-tree separately worshipped by the Jainas in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is not known whether a Jina image was placed under it near the trunk or whether the tree was separately worshipped. It is very likely that this was worshipped as a Caitya-tree. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper 26, Fig. 4. H.K. Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

Note the female figure (perhaps a yakṣī!) on top which shows that the tree dates from the Kuṣāṇa period. For the worship of the Caitya tree and other trees in Jainism, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 65-76. *Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.*

Fig. 18 (Pl. X). Dance of Nīlāñjanā—Scenes from the Life of Ṛṣabhanātha. Stone relief from Kankali Tila, Mathura. In two pieces, nos. J.609 and J.354, Lucknow Museum. *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 5, p. 11, n. 4.

The relief panel is partly preserved and we miss other scenes from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha. What is preserved is in two pieces. The piece on the left, a bigger piece, no. J.354 in Lucknow Museum, represents the scene of Dance of Nīlāñjanā in a pavilion before Ṛṣabhadeva. Nīlāñjanā is said to have died dancing. The Laukāntika gods appear. They are shown standing behind Ṛṣabhadeva who is seated and dressed as a king. With folded hands they request Ṛṣabhadeva to renounce the world. Transitoriness of worldly life and pleasures is shown by the death of Nīlāñjanā. Ṛṣabhanātha retires, turns a naked monk, and practises penance sitting in meditation. The dress and treatment of different figures in this panel shows that the reliefs date from c. 2nd-1st cent. B.C. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 19 (Pl. X). A mutilated panel from Kankali Tila representing "*Bhagava Nemeso*" according to the letters carved on the lower border. See Smith, *Jain Stūpa*, Pl. XVIII, p. 25. Now in Lucknow Museum, no. 626. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Harinegameṣin, JISOA*, Vol. XIX (1952-53), pp. 19-78, where we have shown that the scene does not depict transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo by Hariṇegameṣī. Nor does the scene of dancing and rejoicing on the back side of this piece (see *JISOA*, XIX (1952-53), *op. cit.*, Fig. 4) necessarily refer to the Transfer-incident. Age, Kuṣāṇa. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 20 (Pl. XI). Image of Sarasvatī, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now in State Museum, Lucknow. This was supposed to be the earliest image of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, so far discovered in India, but a figure carrying *vīṇa*, from Bharhut, is now identified as Sarasvatī. Inscr. dated in year 54. An attendant devotee on her right carries a *kalaśa*—a *pūrna-kumbha*—a pitcher of nectar, life force, knowledge, etc. In ancient times, *kalaśa* seems to have been a symbol of learning, and of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning. A seal from Bhita, having pitcher symbol on it, has the words

Sarasvatī below the *kalaśa*, see Bannerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (second ed.), p. 197; and A.S.I.A.R. for 1911-12, p. 50, pl. XVIII (for the Bhita seal).

Sarasvatī in this sculpture sits in a peculiar posture with leg tucked up from knees, i.e. with "knees up", which was the posture in which Mahāvīra obtained highest knowledge (*Kevala-jñāna* according to Jainism). The goddess carries a book in her left hand. The right hand is broken but beads of a rosary held in this hand are preserved near the wrist. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

In Jaina iconography, this is the earliest form of this goddess. Later, in the bronze image of Sarasvatī from Vasantagadh (ref. *Akota Bronzes*, Fig. 19) and in the loose images of Sarasvatī from Akota, Sarasvatī is two-armed and shows the lotus and the book with her right and left hands respectively. See *Akota Bronzes*, Pls. 18, 33, 37, pp. 34, 43, 46.

For Iconography of Sarasvatī—Śrutadevatā—see Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī* in *Journ. of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X (September, 1941), pp. 195-79 and plates.

Fig 21 (Pl. XI). Tablet of Kaṇha Samaṇa (a stone Tablet of Homage—āyāgapaṭa) depicting the ascetic Kanha (Kṛṣṇa), from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.623, State Museum, Lucknow. Dated Samvat 95 (=173 A.D.). Ref. Smith, *JS*, pl. XVII and p. 24; *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper no. 6, Fig. 15 and p. 61. Note the Stūpa in the upper panel of this Tablet, perhaps it is a model of the Jaina stūpa at Mathura. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 22 (Pl. XII). Brass or Bronze statue of Ādinātha from Akoṭā, now in the Baroda Museum, no. AR.542. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes*, Figs 8a, 8b, pp. 21 and 25. This is the earliest image so far discovered showing a Jina with a lower garment. The image is assigned to c. 450-500 A.D. For its bearing on Jaina image worship, see Shah, U.P., *Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara images and the earliest known Śvetāmbara Bronzes, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1. Photo Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 23 (Pl. XIII). Pārśvanātha in padmāsana with a canopy of seven-hooded snake at the back overhead. Stone, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.39 in State Museum, Lucknow. The Jina seems to have a clean-shaven head; age, Kuṣāṇa. Faint Śrīvatsa mark on chest. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 24 (Pl. XIII). Stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha in padmāsana, from Rajgir, Bihar. Age, early mediaeval, c. 7th cent. A.D. Pārśva with a canopy of seven snake-hoods over which are the triple umbrellas, on two sides of the latter are two divine garland-bearers. On the right of the Jina, beginning from the top (below the *mālā-dhara*), are four planets headed by Sūrya. Similarly on the left are four remaining planets, the last one being Rāhu. Ketu is not shown. Upto about the end of the tenth century only eight planets are shown in Jaina sculptures.

The pedestal face is only partly preserved. But the figure of elephant to the left of the now defaced *dharmacakra* in the centre is quite clear and better preserved. This is a very rare instance where an elephant, rather than the snake, is shown as the cognizance of Pārśvanātha. There is another smaller stone sculpture of Pārśva at Rajgir where a conch on each side of the dharmacakra is shown as cognizance of Pārśva. *Photo Courtesy & Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Fig. 25 (Pl. XIV). A stone sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, from collections of Musee Guimet; probably hails from Orissa. The beautiful sculpture shows the first Jina with a high (crown-like) jaṭā overhead and hair-locks on shoulders, arms reaching knees, attended by a standing cāmaradhara each side. Above these are small figures of four planets on each side of the Jina. Above them there are heavenly mālā-dharas (suggesting sūrapuṣpavṛṣṭi, an atiśaya, a part of parikara) and a pair of hands beating the drum, on each side, representing the heavenly music and drum-beating (*dundubhi*). Above the jaṭā of the Jina are the triple umbrellas with a leaf on each side suggesting the caitya-tree, the aśoka-tree. Behind the head of the Jina is the *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo). The Jina stands on a double-lotus (a *viśvapadma*) under which is the small figure of a bull (ṛṣabha), the cognizance of the first Tīrthaṅkara; the yakṣa-yakṣī pair is not shown. The sculpture, of Pala art of c. 9th and 10th cent., shows an evolved parikara of the Jina image representing most of the aṣṭa-mahāprātihāryas. Preserved in Musee Guimet (Paris), no. 3944. The tradition of representing the planets on two sides of the Jina

was current all over Eastern India in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, cf. Fig. 47 below from Ajodhya (Orissa). Cf. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 44 Candraprabha from Bihar; and fig. 38 Pārśvanātha from Bankura, Bahulara, Bengal, etc. In Western India and Madhya Pradesh, the planets figure on top of the pedestal or at the end of the pedestal, cf. *Akota Bronzes*, Figs. 22, 25, 27b, 49, 56b. *Photo Copyright & Courtesy of Musee Guimet, Paris.*

Fig. 26 (Pl. XV). Neminātha, age of Candragupta II (inscribed) from the old temple, Rajgir. Age, early fifth century, Gupta. Neck and face mutilated. Pedestal shows in the centre the *cakrapuruṣa* in front of the dharmacakra, with a conch on each side representing the cognizance of Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha), the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara. Two figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in padmāsana are also shown on the pedestal. Upper parts of the sculpture are lost. Ref. *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 14, Fig. 18. Ramaprasad Chanda in *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1925-26, pp. 125ff. Note that on each side of the dharmacakra, the cognizance is shown in the Gupta age—not the usual pair of deer as in sculptures of the mediaeval period where the cognizance is shown elsewhere on the pedestal. *Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Fig. 27 (Pl. XVI). Image of Puṣpadanta, inscribed, from Durjanpur near Vidiśā, now in the Vidiśā Museum. Gift of Mahārājādhirāja Ramagupta at the instance of a grand-pupil (name lost) of *pāṇipātrika* (ācārya) *Candra-kṣamaṇa*. Ref. G.S. Gai, *Three Inscriptions of Ramagupta, Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, pp. 247ff and Ep. Ind., XXXVIII, pp. 46ff. Installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta II, the sculpture does not show the introduction of the cognizance on two sides of the dharmacakra. This however came only a few years later during the rule of Candragupta II, cf. the Neminātha from Rajgir in Fig. 26 above. Note the beautiful figures of attendant cāmaradharas and the lotus-halo with scalloped-border. Age, late fourth cent. A.D. The inscriptions on the three images from Durjanpur (all installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta) show that the titles ksamaṇa and kṣamāśramaṇa were started at least in the fourth cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 28 (Pl. XVI). Ādinātha from U.P. in the Mathura Museum, no. 00, B.64. The halo is more ornate and the sculpture, dating from Gupta period, c. 5th cent. A.D., is in the style of sculptures from Sarnath. The central part of the simhāsana is much defaced but the Jina is identified as Ādinātha on account of hair-locks on shoulders. Ref. *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 26, pp. 13-16, also see *ibid.*, Figs. 25, 27, 23, 24 for other specimens of Jina images of the Gupta age. Also see Sharma, R.C., *Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum*, Lucknow, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume (English Section), pp. 143-155 and plates; Joanna Williams, *Two New Gupta Images, Oriental Art*, XVIII.4 (1972), pp. 378-80; Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Figs. 20, 21; U.P. Shah, *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed. A. Ghosh), Vol. I, Central India, chap. 12, and R.N. Mishra, Chap. XI on East India, in *ibid.*, pp. 117ff, N.P. Joshi, chap. X on Mathura, in *ibid.*, pp. 107ff. *Copyright, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.*

Fig. 29 (Pl. XVII). Jīvantasvāmī installed by Nāgiśvarī Śrāvikā, Akota, bronze, now in the Baroda Museum. Ref. Shah, U.P., *A Unique Jaina Image of Jīvantasvāmī*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, pp. 72-79 and *Akota Bronzes*, pp. 27-28, Fig. 12a, where the art and the inscription on this image are discussed. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 30 (Pl. XVII). Jīvantasvāmī, brass or bronze image with pedestal lost, from Akota, now in the Baroda Museum. Only the bust is illustrated here. For the full figure, see *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 9a, 9b and pp. 26-27. This is an exquisitely cast beautiful image of the Gupta age, c. late fifth century A.D. Also see M.N.P. Tiwari, Jīvantasvāmī Images, Bharati, New Series no. 2 (1984), pp. 78ff. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 31 (Pl. XVIII). Brass or Bronze image of Jīvantasvāmī from a Jaina temple in Jodhpur, Rajasthan. Very well preserved image, c. 8th cent. A.D. Note elaborate crown. Eyes studded with silver. Ref. Shah, U.P., *More Images of Jīvantasvāmī, Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XI, pp. 49-50 and plates. For images of Jīvantasvāmī from Osia, etc. see Devendra Handa, *Jaina Sculptures from Osia, Panjab Univ. Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Vol. XIV, no. 1 (1983), pp. 172-174. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 32 (Pl. XVIII). Brass or Bronze image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Orissa, now no. 9243 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Note the high crown-like *jaṭā* and hair-locks falling on shoulders. Bull cognizance on pedestal. The Bull (*Nandi*) cognizance, the big *jaṭā* and name Ṛṣabha all remind one of Śiva riding over Nandi. Such figures with elaborate big jaṭā etc. are reminiscent of Śiva. *Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

Fig. 33 (Pl. XIX). A caumukha sculpture of Gupta age from Sarnath in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (no. 850). On one side in the photo is seen the figure of Ajitanātha with his elephant cognizance on each side of the dharmacakra on pedestal. On the other side is Kunthunātha, whose goat cognizance is shown on his pedestal.

A very large number of Caumukha stone sculptures and bronzes are available all over India in Jaina shrines, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 11-12, 85-95 etc., Figs. 28 (Rajgir), 74 (Terahi, Madhya Pradesh), 84 (Surat); *Akota Bronzes*, Figs. 70a, 70b, 71a; *Jaina Pratimā-Vijñāna* (Hindi), Figs. 67 (Ahad, M.P.), 68 (Pakbira, Bengal), 69 (Guna, M.P.), etc.

Fig. 34 (Pl. XIX). Ādinātha in padmāsana, brass or bronze from Vasantagadh hoard, now in a Jaina shrine in Pindvada. Eyes silver-studded, lips with a copper-slip. Note the treatment of hair on head suggesting a *jaṭā*; also mark the typical horse-shoe shaped arch around head serving the purpose of a halo. Twigs of a caitya tree hang from the centre of this halo. Hair-locks on shoulders and a bull on each end of the pedestal with the dharmacakra in centre help us to identify the image as representing Ṛṣabhanātha. Age, Gupta, c. 6th cent. A.D. The practice of showing the cognizance on each of the two sides of the Wheel of Law seems to have been discontinued after the Gupta Age or towards the end of the sixth century A.D. The back seat with *makara*-ends is also noteworthy. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 35 (Pl. XX). Ṛṣabhanātha (or Śāntinātha) installed by Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, from Akota hoard of Jaina Bronzes, now in the Baroda Museum. The Jina standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* has hair-locks falling on shoulders, hence he was formerly identified by us as Ṛṣabhanātha. In front of his feet is the dharmacakra with a deer on each side. Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa (or Sarvāṇha Yakṣa) with a fruit and a money-bag in his right and left hands respectively is sitting on a lotus near the right end of the pedestal. On the corresponding left end is the two-armed Ambikā Yakṣī with an *āmralumbi* in her right hand and holding her son on the lap with her left hand. This is the earliest instance, so far discovered, of the introduction of this Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair in Jaina images. Jinabhadra Vācanācārya has been identified with the famous Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa since according to Jaina traditions (e.g. sthavirāvali of the unpublished Kahāvali) Vācanācārya, Kṣamāśramaṇa and Divākara are epithets which are synonymous. The date of this great scholar Jinabhadra Gani, the author of Viśeṣāvaśyaka mahābhāṣya, etc., is supposed to be about 500 A.D. to about 610 A.D. according to Jaina traditional accounts. Also see *Akota Bronzes*, Figs. 10a, 10b, 11, and p. 28. The bronze should date from about 550-600 A.D. Formerly I had assigned this figure to c. 500-550 A.D. but now I think the image dates from somewhat after 550 A.D. and before the end of the sixth century A.D. It is not unlikely that this image represents Śāntinātha whose cognizance is the deer, shown on two sides of the dharmacakra. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 36 (Pl. XXI). Nava-Devatā, stone, from Tamil Nadu. Discovered by R. Nagasvami, this is datable to c. 11th cent. A.D., and is the earliest archaeological evidence so far discovered of the worship of the Nine Dignitaries or Deities—namely—the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya, the Sādhu, the Caitya (image), Caityālaya (shrine), the Dharmacakra (Wheel of Law), and the Śruta or the Scripture (here shown on a stand, a *sthāpanā*). This is according to Digambara tradition. The stone is partly mutilated. Also cf. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Fig. 23 which represents only the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins in Dig. tradition, and Fig. 25 representing the Nava-Devatā (Dig. tradition). Also cf. *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 77, pp. 97-103. *Photo Copyright and Courtesy of R. Nagaswami, Dept. of Arch., Madras State.*

Fig. 37 (Pl XXI). Nava-Devatā (Dig.) brass or bronze, from a Jaina temple, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. For references to Nava-Devatā, see notes on Fig. 36 above. Also see *Jaina Art and Architecture* (ed.

A. Ghosh), Vol. III, chap. 35, Figs. 308 and 309b for bronzes representing Pañca-Parameṣṭhins and Nava-Devatā. *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 77 from Jina-Kāñchī. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 38 (Pl. XXII). Pañca-Parameṣṭhī—(Śve.), stone from Jaina temple, Nadol, see U.P. Shah, Chap. 35 on Iconography, in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III, pp. 477ff and Pl. 307. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 39 (Pl. XXII). Siddha-Cakra (Śve.), bronze, now in Baroda Museum, Baroda, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 97-103, Fig. 85; *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III, pp. 477ff. *Copyright, Baroda Museum, Baroda.*

Fig. 40 (Pl. XXIII). Ṛṣabhanātha meditating, with Nami and Vinami standing on his sides. From Śatruñjaya. Nami and Vinami, the grandsons of Ṛṣabha, were not present when Ṛṣabha divided his kingdom amongst his sons before he turned a monk. Nami and Vinami later came to Ṛṣabha when the latter was standing in meditation as a monk, and requested that both of them may be given some share. At this, Dharaṇendra, a demi-god, is said to have approached and bestowed on Nami and Vinami lordship over cities of Vidyādharas situated on the southern and northern slopes of the Vaitāḍhya mountain. For fuller account of the story see *Triṣaṣṭiśalāka-puruṣacarita*, I.3, 124-233, GOS, vol. LI, pp. 170ff. U.P. Shah, *Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas*, JISOA, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 114ff. M.A. Dhaky, *Apropos of the Image of Ṛṣabha with Nami and Vinami*, S.K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume, pp. 59ff, assigns this sculpture to c. 1240-41 A.D. *Copyright and Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Varanasi.*

Fig. 41 (Pl. XXIV). Sculptures of Bharata and Bāhubali on the Śatruñjaya hill. Representations of Bāhubali in Śvetāmbara shrines are rare. Of course amongst miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra, one often comes across paintings of Bāhubali standing in meditation with creepers entwining his body and his sisters—Brāhmī and Sundarī—standing, one on each side, and requesting him to give up his subtle egoism. The sisters said, "Please come down from the elephant"—the elephant symbolising ego. Here, in Fig. 41, the image on the right is of Bāhubali having a long beard and creepers entwining his body. On each side is his sister. On the pedestal is carved a figure of an elephant as if it were a cognizance of Bāhubali. No literary evidence is known for such a cognizance of Bāhubali and perhaps this is an innovation of the artist or the donors of this image. The idea of the elephant symbol could have been inspired by the story of Brāhmī and Sundarī requesting him to come down from the elephant (his subtle egoism), i.e. to give up his subtle egoism.

According to the inscription on this image, it was the gift of Vyavahārī Dhaḍasimha and installed in the Śrī Śāntinātha Vidhicaitya at Śrī-Pattana by Sri Jinapadma sūri of Kharatara gacca in the year Samvat 1391 (=1334 A.D.). See M.A. Dhaky, *Image of Jina Ṛṣabha with Nami and Vinami, S.K. Saraswati Memorial Volume*, pp. 56-67 and note 49.

The image on the left in this illustration (our fig. 41) represents Bharata Cakravartī, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha. The Wheel on the pedestal is the cognizance of a Cakravartin. Here Bharata stands in the *kāyotsarga mudrā* and hence the image represents Bharata after he renounced the world and became a Jaina monk. The inscription on the pedestal shows that it was also installed (like the Bāhubali image) in the Śrī Śāntinātha Caityālaya at Śrī-Pattana by Jinapadma sūri in Samvat 1391 (=1334 A.D.), the donor being the wife of Vyavahārī Dhaḍasimha. *Copyright & Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art & Archaeology, Varanasi.*

Both the images are now on the Śatruñjaya hill alongside of the image of Ṛṣabha with Nami and Vinami illustrated in Fig. 40.

Fig. 42 (Pl. XXV). Miniature painting showing different *Kalyāṇakas* from the life of Ariṣṭanemi, Folio 60 from Ms. of Kalpa Sūtra in L.D. Institute of Indology, Muni Sri Puṇyavijayaji Collection, size 8 × 8.7 cms. Assigned to V.S. 1403 = 1346 A.D. by Puṇyavijayaji and U.P. Shah. Divided into four sections, the upper two sections show the Mother with Child Ariṣṭanemi in the section to the right, and Ariṣṭanemi being carried in a palanquin when he goes out to renounce the world and be initiated as a monk (this represents part of his *Dīkṣā Kalyāṇaka*) on the lower two sections, one on the right shows Ariṣṭanemi plucking out hair on his head which are being collected in the palm of his hands by four-

armed Śakra sitting near Nemi. The scene represents the *Dīkṣā-Kalyāṇaka*. The last section shows the *Samavasaraṇa* with the Jina in the centre. This represents the *Kevalajñāna* of the Jina who after obtaining the highest knowledge gives his first sermon. Gods have created a circular structure—an audience theatre—with three fortifications dividing the audience in three circular compartments, and having four gates in four different directions. For scenes of different *Kalyāṇakas* from lives of Jinas Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, see Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sūtra*, and Sarabhai Nawab's *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Vols. I & II. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah*; *Courtesy, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.*

Fig. 43 (Pl. XXV). Miniature painting of Pārśvanātha with Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī from the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of Dhavala + Jaya-Dhavala + Mahadhavala, Digambara Jaina Bhandara at Mūḍabidri (Karnataka). Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. Ref. Sarayu Doshi, *Twelfth century illustrated manuscripts from Mudabidri, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, no. 8 (1962-64), pp. 29-36, C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Painting* (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 90-96.

Pārśva here sits on a siṁhāsana (lion-throne) and has on each side an attendant fly-whisk bearer. A canopy of seven snake-hoods is arranged from behind his head so as also to look like an ornamental halo. On the right end of the miniature is a big figure of Padmāvatī canopied by snake-hoods. Four-armed, the goddess carries the goad and the noose in her right and left upper hands respectively. The right lower hand seems to have carried the lotus while the left lower holds the fruit. For other miniatures from this group, see Bussagli & Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, Fig. 328. To the right of Padmāvatī is a swan-like figure whose head is more like that of a serpent. The figure intended by the artist is that of *kukkuṭa-sarpa* though it is not convincingly rendered.

To the left of Pārśva's siṁhāsana stands the four-armed Dharaṇendra, showing the *abhaya* and the *varada mudrās* with the right and left lower hands respectively. His left upper hand holds the noose (*pāśa*) while the symbol of his right upper hand is not distinct (may be goad!). *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 44 (Pl. XXVI). Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Singanikuppam, S. Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, now in the Government Museum, Madras (Mu. No. 389/57). A beautiful specimen of Cola art of c. mid-eleventh century A.D. The lion cognizance is shown on the pedestal. *Copyright, Government Museum, Madras.*

Fig. 45 (Pl. XXVI). Standing Neminātha—the Śaṅkha-Jina from Mūḍabidri, Karṇāṭaka. The Jina here stands on a conch of enormous size. Conch is the cognizance of Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi. In the Karnataka is a famous Śaṅkha-Jinālaya, of c. 11th cent. A.D, at Mulgund, Dharwar district, vide C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art, South India*, Figs. 473, 474. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 46 (Pl. XXVII). Inscribed image of Pārśvanātha from Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Age, c. late 11th cent. A.D. From Karnataka, style Chalukyan. A beautiful specimen. To the right of Pārśvanātha is sitting his yakṣa Dharaṇendra carrying the goad and the noose in his right and left upper hands respectively and showing the lotus and the fruit in the corresponding lower hands. Dharaṇendra has one cobra-hood overhead. Padmāvatī, with one cobra-hood overhead, is sitting to the left of the Jina and shows the goad and the *varada-mudrā* in the right upper and lower hands respectively while she holds the noose and the fruit in the corresponding left hands. Pārśvanātha has a canopy of seven cobra-hoods overhead. The body of this huge cobra is shown in zig-zag pattern behind the body of the Jina. Ref. *Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 1546, Fig. 323B. *Copyright & Courtesy, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

Fig. 47 (Pl. XXVII). Pārśvanātha from Ayodhya, Orissa. For this figure see notes on Figs. 24 & 25. On the pedestal, in the centre are figures of snake-queens of Dharaṇendra who come and sing and dance and play on musical instruments to alleviate the suffering of Pārśvanātha and divert his attention from Kamaṭha's attack. For different representations of Kamaṭha's attack, see *A Pārśvanātha in Cleveland, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, December 1970.

Fig. 48 (Pl. XXVII). Ambikā-Yakṣī and a row of Tīrthaṅkaras on a boulder, Anandamangalam, Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu. Ambikā here stands on a lion, as if in some dancing pose and has

placed her left hand on the head of a female figure standing on her left side. Her right hand is held akimbo. Near her right leg are her two sons. The carvings seem to date from c. seventh century A.D. Mark the big cushion behind the Jina in the centre. Behind this round oblong cushion is the back-rest with a horizontal bar resting on two pilasters shaped like two standing animals. Marks of nudity are not clear on the figures of any of the three Tīrthaṅkara images. For Anandamangalam and these figures, see K.G. Krishnan, *Jaina Monuments of Tamil Nadu, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 99, Fig. 8. There is a one line inscription on the boulder which records "the gift of gold for feeding one devotee in Jinagiripalli by Vardhamānapperiyadigaḷ . . ." The inscription is of the 38th year of Cola Parantaka I, d. 945 A.D. The sculptures on the rocks date from a period before 945 A.D. C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art, S. India*, p. 16. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 49 (Pl. XXVIII). Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra with different *prātihāryas* in *parikara*, central panel, aṣṭa-Dikpala ceiling, raṅgamaṇḍapa, Śāntinātha temple, Kambadahalli, Karnataka. Age, c. end of the tenth century A.D. Besides two usual cāmaradharas behind the seat of the Jina, we have here one more cāmaradhara on each side of the Jina; these are not yakṣas but are nāgas (snake-deities) having five snake-hoods overhead. The Yakṣa and Yakṣī are each two-armed. The Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti (Sarvāṇha) rides on an elephant and holds a lotus-stalk in his right hand. Symbol of the other hand is not distinct. Yakṣī Ambikā here holds lotus in her right hand and rides on the lion; symbol of the other hand is not distinct. Ref. M.A. Dhaky, *Ganga Jaina Sculpture*, paper no. 16, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 195-203 and Fig. 8. *Copyright & Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 50 (Pl. XXIX). Attack of Kamaṭha on Pārśvanātha, Kalugumalai, Tamil Nadu. Age, c. 8th century A.D. Style, Pandyan. Ref. U.P. Shah, *A Pārśvanātha Image in Cleveland, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, Dec. 1970, pp. 303-311, giving the story of attack by Kamaṭha and its various representations on stone, mainly in S. India. For the Kalugumalai relief, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art*, coloured plate facing page 11, and Fig. 37. For other reliefs of this scene, see *ibid.*, figs. 38 & 39, 44 (from Tirakkol, North Arcot district, age, c. 8th cent. A.D.), fig. 80 (from Karaikoyil, c. 8th-9th cent. A.D., style Pandyan), fig. 121 (from Aihole, age, c. 7th cent. A.D.), fig. 127 (from Badami, c. 7th cent. A.D.), fig. 136 (from Ellora, cave 32, c. 9th cent.), fig. 138 (also from Ellora, cave 32, 9th cent. A.D., style Rāṣṭrakūṭa), fig. 142 (also from Cave 32, Ellora, 9th cent. A.D., Rāṣṭrakūṭa). For Śve. representations in paintings, see W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 51 (Pl. XXIX). Tīrthaṅkara Vimalanātha standing in kāyotsarga posture. From Sarnath or Varanasi, now in Sarnath museum, no. 236. Age, c. 9th cent. A.D. Attended by a cāmaradhara on each side, the Jina is recognised with the help of the figure of his cognizance—the pig—carved in the centre of the pedestal.

Fig. 52 (Pl. XXIX). Neminātha standing in kāyotsarga mudrā from Paḍhāvali (M.P.). Pedestal shows the dharmacakra on the left, a female in a dance pose with folded hands, and on the right is a conch, the cognizance of Neminātha. Obviously there is a slight departure from the arrangement in which the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal was flanked on each side by the cognizance of the Jina. Note the winged animal on top of the pillar on the left side. Age, c. late 6th century A.D. *Copyright, Dept. of Archaeology, old Gwalior State, now Madhya Pradesh.*

Fig. 53 (Pl. XXX). Sambhava Jina with horse cognizance and Jina Abhinandana with the monkey as cognizance. The *lāñchanas* shown in the centre of simhāsana of each Jina. From Cave 9 on Khandagiri, Orissa. The Cave is described as Mahāvīra-Gumpha, R.P. Mohapatra, *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 170-171, 60-61, pl. 10, Fig. 2, p. 174. For images of Sambhava in Navamuni-Gumpha, Bārābhuji-Gumpha and Mahāvīra-Gumpha, see *ibid.*, Pl. 85, Fig. 1, Pl. 88, Fig. 1, and Pl. 97, Fig. 1. For Abhinandana, *ibid.*, Pl. 85, Fig. 2, Pl. 88, Fig. 1 and Pl. 97, Fig. 1, and p. 175. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 54 (Pl. XXX). Sumatinātha and Padmaprabha, with curlew (*krauñca*) and lotus respectively

as their cognizances from Mahāvīra Gumphā, Khandagiri, Orissa. Also see *ibid.*, Plates 88 and 97 for figures from Barabhuji and Mahavira Gumphas, and *ibid.*, p. 175 for descriptions.

Fig. 55 (Pl. XXXI). Ṛṣabhanātha, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now No. J.78 in the State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 7th-8th cent. A.D. In the centre of the simhāsana, on one side of the dharmacakra is the figure of a bull, the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha. On the other side of the Wheel is a small indistinct figure which may be a deer suggesting the dharmacakra with the deer motif which seem to have been borrowed by the Jainas from the Buddha images after the Gupta age. Head of the Jina mutilated. On the right side of the Jina stands Balarāma with snake hoods overhead while on the left stands Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. Ordinarily the Jina would have been identified as Neminātha, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa, but here the absence of the conch cognizance of Neminātha and the presence of bull symbol of Ṛṣabhanātha makes certain the identification of this Jina as Ādinātha. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma figures are added to show the superiority of the Jaina deity over the Brahmanical deity who was very popular in and around Mathura. Two-armed Sarvāṇha Yakṣa and Ambikā Yakṣī figure as śāsana-devatās on two ends of the simhāsana. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 56 (Pl. XXXII). Candraprabha, standing with his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī standing by the side of his legs. Crescent symbol on pedestal. Age, c. 12th-13th cent. A.D. From Humca, southern Karnataka.

Triple umbrella above and oblong halo behind head. Note absence of other members of the *aṣṭa-prātihāryas*. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 57 (Pl. XXXII). Covīsī with Ṛṣabhanātha in centre, from Surohar, Dinajpur, Rajashahi district, Bengal. A beautiful typical sculpture of Pala art; Ṛṣabhanātha in the centre has a typical high jaṭā which is especially common in sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 58 (Pl. XXXII). Sambhavanātha standing with attendant cāmaradharas on the sides of his legs. Dharmacakra flanked by the horse cognizance in the centre of the pedestal. Triple umbrella on top. Two branches of the caitya-tree on the sides of the head and two divine garland bearers. No other members of the parikara. Figure represents one side of a four-fold stone sculpture found in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 59 (Pl. XXXIII). Ajitanātha with Mahāyakṣa and Rohiṇī yakṣī in the Suttalaya of Gommata, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Karnataka. Age, late 12th cent. A.D. These sculptures of Hoyasala period in the groups of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras usually show the triple umbrella, yakṣa and yakṣī, halo behind head of the Jina and his cognizance on the pedestal. Other members of the parikara are hardly portrayed in these groups. *Copyright and Courtesy of S. Settar, Dharwar.*

Fig. 60 (Pl. XXXIV). Tīrthaṅkara Puṣpadanta with Ajita yakṣa and yakṣī Mahākālī. Digambara tradition. From Suttalaya of Gommata, Śravana Beḷagola. Age, c 1200 A D. Beautiful workmanship. *Copyright and Courtesy, Prof. S. Settar, Dharwar.*

Fig 61 (Pl. XXXV). Supārśva standing with a big cobra with five snake hoods behind him and attended by his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī standing near the legs. The svastika cognizance of this Jina is shown on the pedestal. To the left of this figure is a sculpture of Candraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara, standing with his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī on the sides and the crescent moon symbol on the pedestal. From the Bhandara Basti, Śravana Beḷagola. Age, 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U P. Shah.*

Fig. 62 (Pl. XXXVI). Tīrthaṅkara Puṣpadanta standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. From Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, age, 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 63 (Pl. XXXVI). The tenth Tīrthaṅkara Śītala standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. His cognizance of *Śrī-druma* is shown on the pedestal. From Bhandara Basti, Śravana Belagola. c. 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U P. Shah.*

Fig. 64 (Pl. XXXVI). Tīrthaṅkara Vimala sitting with the *sūkara* symbol in centre of simhāsana. To the left of this figure is sitting Jina Ananta with the bear as his cognizance. From Barabhuji Gumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa. R.P. Mohapatra, *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pl. 90, fig. 1, pp. 159, 170-173, 178. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 65 (Pl. XXXVII). Tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṁsa standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. c. 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U P. Shah.*

Fig. 66 (Pl. XXXVII). Tīrthaṅkara Dharmanātha standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. Vajra (thunderbolt) *lāñchana* on pedestal. To his left is sculpture of sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha standing with his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. Deer cognizance on pedestal. Both sculptures from the group of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, Jaina temple, Mudabidri, Karnataka. Age, c. 14th century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 67 (Pl. XXXVIII). Tīrthaṅkara Vāsupūjya standing, cognizance *mahiṣa* (buffalo) on pedestal and the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī by the side of the Jina. To the left of this sculpture is a figure of Tīrthaṅkara Vimala standing with his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. Cognizance *varāha* on pedestal. Both the images from Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, c. 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 68 (Pl. XXXVIII). Seventeenth Tīrthaṅkara Kunthū and the eighteenth Jina Ara, each sitting on a double-lotus placed on a simhāsana. Kunthū and Ara have the goat and the fish respectively as their cognizances. R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, pl. 101, fig. 1, p. 179. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 69 (Pl. XXXIX). Pañcatīrthī image with Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha sitting in the centre on a simhāsana. The deer cognizance on a cloth hanging over the simhāsana. Full parikara with yakṣa and yakṣī. From Pabhosa, U.P., now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. Ref. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 158, fig. 455. *Copyright and Courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 70 (Pl. XXXIX). Twelve-armed figure of Cakreśvarī yakṣī on the left wall of the verandah of Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. One of her right hands is in *varada mudrā*, two others hold the sword and the *cakra*. Of her left hands, one is held against the chest and three other hands carry the shield, the *ghaṇṭā*, and the *cakra*. Symbols of the remaining hands are damaged and indistinct. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, pl. 95, fig. 1. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 70A (Pl. XXXIX). Sculpture of Munisuvrata at Rajgir, Vaibhāragiri, Bihar. Pāla art, c. 8th-9th cent. A.D. Note rendering of devadundubhi on two sides of the triple umbrella. See also text, pp. 161-162. Debala Mitra, *Iconographic Notes, Journ. of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, no. 1 (1959), pp. 38-39. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 71 (Pl. XXXIX). Pārśvanātha from Godavari district, now in Madras Museum. Seven cobra-hoods overhead. The Jina sitting in ardhapadmāsana is attended on each side by a standing male Nāga having one snake-hood over the crown. The Nāgas are holding one end each of a big garland of flowers. This is a rare example of a Jina image attended by Nāgas. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 72 (Pl. XL). Munisuvrata with tortoise cognizance on pedestal, and dated in Samvat 1063= 1006 A.D. From river Yamuna near Agra Fort, now No. J.776 in State Museum, Lucknow. A unique composition of miniature figures of other Jinas and Jīvantasvāmī figures along with main image of Munisuvrata, see text, p. 163. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 73 (Pl. XLI). Mallinātha with the pitcher as cognizance and Naminātha with a bunch of blue-lotuses shown as cognizance on the simhāsana. From Mahāvīra-Gumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180, pls. 93, fig. 1, 94, fig. 1, 101, fig. 2. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 74 (Pl. XLI). Tīrthaṅkaras Munisuvrata and Neminātha from Mahāvīra-Gumpha, Khandagiri. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181, pls. 86, 93, 94 and 102. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 75 (Pl. XLII). Standing Śāntinātha with Garuḍa yakṣa and Mahāmānasī yakṣī, from Mangayi Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. Age, c. 1325 A.D. *Copyright and Courtesy of Prof. S. Settar, Dharwar.*

Fig. 76 (Pl. XLII). Austerities of Pārśvanātha, painting from a paper manuscript of Kalpa-sūtra, c. 15th century A.D. *Copyright & Courtesy, The Cleveland Museum of Art (The Edward L. Whittemore collection).*

Fig. 76A (Pl. XLII). Eighteen-armed Cakreśvarī. Miniature painting on palm-leaf Ms. folio in the

collections of the late Shri Bahadursinghji Simghi, Calcutta. *Photo Courtesy, Prof. Ernest Bender, Philadelphia, U.S.A.*

Fig. 77 (Pl. XLIII). Sculptures of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra standing with their yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs. From Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. Age, 1159 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 78 (Pl. XLIV). Image of Vardhamāna installed in the year 35. Kuṣāṇa. From Kankali Tila, Mathura, now J.16, Lucknow Museum. Ref. *Luders' List*, no. 39. *The Scythian Period*, pp. 249-50, Fig. 60.

In the centre of the pedestal, *dharmacakra* with rim facing us, is placed on a peculiarly shaped pillar. To the right of the Wheel of Law, a naked monk with the broom in raised right hand and a piece of scarf hanging from his left hand wrist covers his male organ. Modern scholars recognise such monks as *ardhaphālakas*. These may as well be the monks of the Yāpanīya sect. Next to him on his right, a standing śrāvaka (Jaina layman) with garland in right hand and some object in the left hand. He wears a *dhoti* and a *dupaṭṭā*. Next to him, two small male devotees with folded hands.

To the left of the *dharmacakra* stands a female with raised right hand carrying a broom-like object. She wears a coat-like upper garment and a *sārī* as lower garment, and holds an unidentified object with left hand. She must be identified as a Jaina nun. Next to her, on her left, is a standing śrāvikā (a Jaina laywoman) wearing a lower garment, ornaments, etc., and holding a long wreath of flowers in her right hand. Next to her are two small figures of female devotees with folded hands.

Thus the pedestal shows the Dharma (cf. Dharma of the Buddhist formula—*Dhammam śaraṇam gacchāmi*), represented by the *dharmacakra*, and Samgha represented by a monk (sādhu), a nun (sādhvī), and Jaina laymen (śrāvaka) and laywomen (śrāvikā), cf. the Buddhist Formula: *samgham śaraṇam gacchāmi*. The Jina figure on top of pedestal is the chief object of worship (cf. *Buddham śaraṇam gacchāmi* of the Buddhists). Thus the conception of the Jina sculpture of Kuṣāṇa period is analogous to the Buddhist conception of the three *śaraṇas*. Full *parikara* of the Jina image, obtained in mediaeval sculpture, was not yet evolved. Cf. Shah, U.P., *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 497f and figs. 16-21, 9-12 for Jaina images of the Kuṣāṇa period and Figs. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14 for later periods, Fig. 23 for an evolved *parikara* of mediaeval age.

Note the typical Śrīvatsa mark on the chest of Vardhamāna in the figure under consideration.

No cognizances are shown on any part of Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa period, nor are the two deer shown on two sides of the *dharmacakra* which latter practice, adopted by the Jainas since about the end of the Gupta period, is clearly in imitation of the Buddhist practice. In Buddhism, this symbolism signifies Buddha's setting into motion the *dharmacakra* by delivering his first sermon in the deer-park at Sarnath. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 79 (Pl. XLV). Ajitanātha standing with the horse symbol below the simhāsana and the dharmacakra on the lowermost end of the sculpture. To his right is standing Sambhavanātha with horse symbol similarly shown. This is the practice in sculptures from this region. From Narwar, Shivpuri district, Madhya Pradesh. Now No. 16 in Shivpuri district Museum. This is a *dvitīrthī* sculpture, both the Jinas are carved on one stone. In the centre of simhāsana of each Jina is sitting, in a niche, a small figure of *a gaṇadhara or an ācārya*. This also is typical of the sculptures from this region. Below this figure is the dharmacakra. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Varanasi.*

Fig. 80 (Pl. XLVI). Parents of a Jina. From Lacchagir, U.P., now No. 244 in the Allahabad Museum. Age, c. 8th cent. A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 81 (Pl. XLVI). Parents of a Jina from Khajuraho Museum, Khajuraho. The fact that the yakṣa and yakṣī are shown separately on the ends of the pedestal proves that the main figures are Parents of the Jina on top and not the yakṣa and yakṣī. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, no. 5, 1955-57, pp. 24-32 and plates. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 82 (Pl. XLVII). The two rows in the middle are of Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras, all with names carved below each figure. On the analogy of these panels the loose sculptures in examples like figs. 80, 81, 85A can be identified as Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras. From a ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple,

Kumbharia. Age, eleventh century A.D. The first and the fourth panels in the illustration show scenes from the life of Pārśvanātha. *Photo Courtesy, Shri Amritlal Trivedi, Palitana.*

Fig. 83 (Pl. XLVII). Ambikā Yakṣī with two sons and the lion vāhana on her left. Her right hand rests on head of a small female figure on her right. There is a bigger dancing figure with one hand raised, on the right end of the relief. This cannot be identified. From cavern on the hill, Kalugumalai, Tamil Nadu: Age, c. 9th-10th cent. A.D., Pandyan. Compare with this, for iconography, a relief sculpture of Ambikā, carved on a boulder at Anandamangalam, Tamil Nadu. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 84 (Pl. XLVIII). Panels of Past and Future Tīrthaṅkaras of this age, from a ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia. All figures have inscribed labels below them. Age, eleventh cent. A.D. Also see text, p. 103. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 85 (Pl. XLVIII). A sculpture, cylindrical in shape, with Ṛṣabhanātha in the uppermost panel and in all 148 miniature figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras in the seven rows below. See text, p. 97 for explanation. From Sat Deulia, Burdwan district, West Bengal. Ref. P.C. Das Gupta, *A rare Jaina Icon from Sat Deulia, Jaina Journal*, vol. VII, no. 3, pp. 130-32 and plates.

Fig. 85A (Pl. XLVIII). Parents of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha identified with the help of the bull cognizance. From Khajuraho Museum. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Bull. of Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 5. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 86 (Pl. XLIX). A *Covīsī* (Caturvimśati-paṭa) of Ṛṣabhanātha (with Ṛṣabhanātha in ardhapadmāsana in the centre). Brass or Bronze, from Lilva Deva, Pancha Mahals, Gujarat, now in the Baroda Museum, Acc. No. A.C. 8.89. Age, c. tenth century A.D. Style, Rashtrakuta. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Seven Bronzes from Lilva-Deva (Panch-Mahals), Bull. of the Baroda Museum*, vol. IX.I-II, pp. 43-52 and plates.

Fig. 87 (Pl. XLIX). A *Ṣat-tīrthī* bronze of Parśvanātha from Vasantagadh. Dated V.S. 1055 = A.D. 998. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh, Lalit Kala*, 1-2 (1955-56), pp. 55-65 and plates; *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 63a. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 88 (Pl. L). Sculpture of Ambikā-devī from Meguti temple, Aihole. Age, 634 A.D. Ref. H. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture, Arch. Surv. of India, New Imperial Series, vol. 42*, p. 31, pl. 4. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay*, vol. IX, part 2 (1940-41), pp. 147-169. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 89 (Pl. L). Two-armed Ambikā from Ellora, Cave 32. Also see Jose Pereira, *Monolithic Jinas. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 90 (Pl. L). Two-armed Padmāvatī yakṣī of Pārśvanātha and to her left two-armed Ambikā, the yakṣiṇī of Neminātha, from wall carvings of the Navamuni cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. Padmāvatī shows the *abhaya mudrā* with her right hand and holds a lotus flower in the left hand. Below her lotus seat is her vāhana, the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. Ambikā, sitting in lalitāsana under a mango-tree, holds a child on her lap with the left hand while her right hand is held in the *abhaya mudrā*. A defaced figure of the lion is seen below the lotus seat. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190, pl. 86, fig. 2, also see pl. 84, fig. 2 for figures from Barabhuji cave. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 91 (Pl. LI). Door-jamb from Khajuraho, found in the compound near Matangeśvari temple, shows Ambikā, Cakreśvarī and Padmāvatī and smaller figures of the nine planets. Ambikā, four-armed, carries *āmralumbī* in three hands and the left lower hand holds her son on the lap. Lion vehicle. Cakreśvarī, in the central projection, four-armed and riding on the eagle, holds the *gadā* and the *cakra* in her right and left upper hands and shows the *varada mudrā* with the right lower hand. The left lower hand symbol is mutilated. Padmāvatī on the left end projection is four-armed with a canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead. In the right and left upper hands she holds the noose and the goad respectively while the right lower hand is held in the *varada-mudrā*. The fourth hand is mutilated. A '*kukkuṭa-sarpa* is her vāhana. Age, c. 10th century A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 92 (Pl. LI). Old pedestal of a big brass or bronze image of Pārśvanātha, from Patan. Two-armed Sarvāṇha (Sarvānubhūti) and Ambikā on two ends and nine planets in a row. Dharaṇendra and

his queen, half-human, half-snake, each with folded hands and a snake-hood above crown, have their snake-tails tied into a beautiful *nāga-pāśa* knot in the centre. Age, c. tenth century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 93 (Pl. LII). Two-armed Ambikā sitting under a big mango-tree. *Āmralumbi* and the citron in her right and the left hands respectively. A child on lion on her right side and another son standing by her left side. Beautiful example of art, c. 12th century A.D. From Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Karnataka State.*

Fig. 94 (Pl LII). Four-armed Cakreśvarī on the eagle, carrying the *cakra* in each of the two upper hands, the fruit in the left lower and holding the right lower hand in the *abhaya mudrā*. From Kambadahalli, Mandya district, Karnataka. c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 95 (Pl. LII) Standing two-armed Aparājitā, the yakṣī of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra Temple 12, Devgadh, U.P. Right hand on her *kaṭi* and the left holding a lotus-bud. Age, middle ninth century A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 96 (Pl. LIII). Two-armed Ambikā yakṣī sitting in lalitāsana under a mango-tree rendered like an arch behind the head of the goddess. From Vidiśā, in the Vidisha Museum. Age, c. 10th century A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 97 (Pl. LIII). Two-armed Ambikā from a cell in the Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. Age, c. 1032 A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 98 (Pl. LIV). A beautiful sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha sitting like a great yogi in padmāsana, with a big jaṭā on the head and flowing hair strands falling on the shoulders. The Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, composed in the ninth century A.D., invokes Ṛṣabhanātha with names of Śiva, such as Īśāna, Aghora, Sadāśiva, Tatpuruṣa and so on. This sculpture represents Ṛṣabha like Śiva Mahāyogi. From Kukkuramatha, Mandla district, M.P. Age, c 8th-9th century A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 99 (Pl. LV). Eight-armed *(Cakra-)Dhṛti* riding on the eagle. Name inscribed on pedestal, the first two letters of the name are worn out but part of *ca* is still visible. This is Cakreśvarī, the yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, the Jina figure is shown on top of the sculpture. Style, Gurjara-Pratihara, probably from M.P., region around Maladevi temple, or from Maladevi temple (?). c. 9th century A.D. Now in the British Museum, London. Ref. Ramaprasad Chanda, *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum. Copyright and Courtesy of British Museum, London.*

Fig. 100 (Pl. LVI). Four-armed Padmāvatī from Lakkundi, Dharwar district. Goad and noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively, fruit in the left lower and the right lower in the *varada* pose. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 101 (Pl. LVI). Four-armed Padmāvatī, bronze, Jaina temple, Cambay. c. 14th century A.D. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 102 (Pl. LVI). Siddhāyikā, the yakṣī of Mahāvīra, on a lion. Four-armed, *Veeṇā* and the book in the right and the left upper hands respectively, citron in the right lower hand, and the left lower held in the *abhaya mudrā*. From the Kharatara Vasahi shrine, Mt Abu. Age, c. 1458-59 A D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 102A (Pl. LVI). Four-armed Cakreśvarī with eagle as vāhana. From Jinanāthapura near Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa. Age, 12th century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 103 (Pl. LVII). Tīrthaṅkara Mallinātha in padmāsana, with head lost. Developed breasts suggest that Tīrthankara Malli is here represented as a female according to Śvetāmbara tradition. The only known example of a sculpture of the nineteenth Jina Malli represented as a female. The back in Fig. 104 shows a long *veṇī*. Cognizance in front of pedestal defaced. From Unnāv in U.P., now no. J.885 in the State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. Shah, U.P., *A Rare Sculpture of Mallinātha, Vijaya-Vallabhasūri Smāraka Grantha*, p. 128. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 104 (Pl. LVII). Tīrthaṅkara Mallinātha in padmāsana, with head lost (back).

Fig. 105 (Pl. LVIII). Four-armed standing Ambikā yakṣī from Dhar, in Malva, M.P. Hitherto wrongly identified as Sarasvatī, correctly identified recently by Kirit Mankodi in *Sambodhi*, vol. 9, pp. 96-103. Image in the British Museum, London. *Photo by U.P. Shah with the courtesy of British Museum.*

Fig. 106 (Pl. LVIII). Two-armed standing Ambikā from Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa, Jaina temple in the Math. Brass or Bronze, c. 17th cent. A.D. This form, with lotus bud in the right hand and the left hand hanging loose, is also known as Dharmadevī at Jina-Kāñchī, vide T.N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparutti-kuṇṛam and its Temples*, p. 209, pl. XXXII, fig. 3. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 107 (Pl. LIX). Standing Ṛṣabhanātha from Candrāvatī, near Mt. Abu. A very beautiful marble image of c. 10th century A.D. now in the Zurich Museum, Switzerland. *Photo Copyright and courtesy, Zurich Museum. Photo courtesy, B. Moosbrugger.*

Fig. 108 (Pl. LX). Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, elaborate relief with parikara, from Badami Cave IV. Late sixth or early seventh century A.D. Note the evolution of the parikara. *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Grittli Mitterwalner, Munich, W. Germany.*

Fig. 109 (Pl. LX). Pārśvanātha from Arthuṇā, now in the Ajmer Museum. See text, p. 175. A very interesting beautiful sculpture with several small figures of Nāginīs with folded hands on both the sides of Pārśvanātha. Age, c. 9th century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 110 (Pl. LXI). Four-armed Padmāvatī from Karnataka, now no. 121 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies.*

Fig. 111 (Pl. LXI). Eight-armed Padmāvatī from Jhalrapatan, Rajasthan. From vedibandha niche, south wall, Jaina temple. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Photo kind courtesy and Copyright of Prof. Michael Miester and American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 112 (Pl. LXI). Four-armed Ambikā, Brass or Bronze, dated 1460 A.D. Gujarat or Rajasthan, now in Philadelphia Museum. *Copyright, Philadelphia Museum of Art.*

Fig. 113 (Pl. LXI). Twelve-armed Cakreśvarī, from Trikuta Basti, Markuli. "Reveals details laid down by Pampa. The devi has twelve arms, cf which eight bear the *cakras*, two the *vajras*, of the other two, one bears the *padma* and the other the *varada-mudrā*." Ref. S. Settar, *The Classical Kannada Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 28. *Copyright and Courtesy of Prof. S. Settar, Dharwar.*

Fig. 114 (Pl. LXII). Eight-armed Cakreśvarī from Pillar II, Temple I, Devgadh. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, JOI*, XX.3, pp. 280-313. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 115 (Pl. LXII). Eight-armed Cakreśvarī, Ellora, Cave 32, first floor, left niche shrine. Symbols of right hands, from top, are: *cakra, triśula* (or *vajra* ?), sword (?), *varada mudrā*. Symbols of the left hands, from top, are: *cakra, cakra*, sword (?), *abhaya mudrā*. Goddess sitting in ardhapadmāsana. Age, c. 9th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 116 (Pl. LXII). Padmāvatī, four-armed, from Humcha, Shimoga district, Karnataka. Pārśvanātha Basti. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig. 117 (Pl. LXII). Marble image of four-armed Padmāvatī from Dig. temple, Idar, North Gujarat. Dated in V.S. 1254 = 1197 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 118 (Pl. LXIII). Pañcatīrthī sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha. Below the seat of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, in the middle compartment of this sculpture, is a Gaṇadhara or an ācārya sitting with a book (ms.) in hand and preaching to the disciple in front, a *sthāpanā* placed between the two monks. In the last panel or compartment we find at the right end a two-armed Ambikā (instead of a yakṣa usually) and at the left end a four-armed Cakreśvarī. This is rare type of composition of figures in a Jaina sculpture. Age, c. 11th century A.D. Ref. Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, pp. 182-83, figs. 231-233. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 119 (Pl. LXIII). Four-armed standing Cakreśvarī from Temple No. 12, Devgadh. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, JOI*, XX.3, pp. 280-313. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 120 (Pl. LXIV). Eight-armed Cakreśvarī on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha from Orai, U.P., now no. 178, State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, JOI*, XX.3, fig. 27. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 121 (Pl. LXIV). Sixteen-armed standing Cakreśvarī from Gandhawal (Gandharvapuri), Devas district, M.P., now no. S.17 in the State Museum, Gandharvapuri. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.*

Fig 122 (Pl. LXIV). Eight-armed Yakṣī Cakreśvarī from Kharatara Vasahi (the Caumukha temple), Delvada, Mt. Abu. Age, 1458-59 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 123 (Pl. LXIV). Four-armed yakṣī Cakreśvarī from pedestal of sculpture of Ṛṣabhanātha, no. 322, State Museum, Lucknow. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 124 (Pl. LXV). Jaina Yakṣī Padmāvatī, four-armed, from Karnataka, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), Varanasi.*

Fig. 125 (Pl. LXV). A beautiful sculpture of four-armed yakṣī Padmāvatī from Anatur, Chikamangalur district, Karnataka. Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 126 (Pl. LXV). A sculpture of Tīrthaṅkara Vāsupūjya sitting under a big tree, from a Jaina shrine, Surat. See text, pp. 148-49. Ref. M.A. Dhaky, T.O. Shah and M. Vora in *Sambodhi*, vol. 3, nos. 2-3, pp. 21-24. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 127 (Pl. LXV). Four-armed standing Padmāvatī from Jina-Kāñchī, Tamil Nadu. Brass or Bronze. Age, c. 18th cent. A.D. Ref. T.N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples*, pl. xxxiii. *Copyright, Madras Museum, Madras.*

Fig. 128 (Pl. LXVI). Elaborate sculpture of Covīsī of Mahāvīra with his yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal ends. From Rajasthan, now in the Seattle Museum, U.S.A. Age, c. 11th cent A.D. *Copyright and courtesy of Seattle Museum, Seattle, U.S.A.*

Fig. 129 (Pl. LXVII). Seated figure of Mahāvīra from Tamil Nadu, now in the Brooklyn Museum, U S.A. Bronze. Age, Pallava-Cola transition, c. 9th cent. A.D. Ref. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper 26. *Copyright, Brooklyn Museum, New York, U.S.A. Bronze lent by Drs. Arthur M. Raymond and Mortimer Sackler.*

Fig. 130 (Pl. LXVII). Standing Mahāvīra as Jīvantasvāmī. From Khimvasar, Jodhpur district, Rajasthan, now in Jodhpur Museum. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. Compare the conception of Crowned Buddha. Dhaky has discovered Jīvantasvāmī sculptures from temples at Ahar and Sewadi. Ref. R.C. Agrawal, *An Image of Jīvantasvāmī from Rajasthan, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. xxii (May 1958), pp. 32-34. *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Rajasthan State.*

Fig. 131 (Pl. LXVII). A Covīsī—Caumukha sculpture, i.e., a four-fold image with six Tīrthaṅkara figures facing each side thus making this a Caturviṁśati Jina image (Covīsī). From Paḍhāvali, M.P. Age, c. 8th cent. A D. *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh.*

Fig. 132 (Pl. LXVIII). Two-armed Sarvāṇha yakṣa, Camundarai Basti, Śravana Beḷagoḷa. Age, c. 10th century A.D. *Copyright, Prof S. Settar, Dharwar.*

Fig. 133 (Pl. LXVIII). Hariṇegameṣī flying with the foetus of Mahāvīra in the act of taking it to the womb of Triśalā. Goat-faced, with peacock vehicle. Painting from a paper ms. of Kalpa-sūtra, private collection, Cambay. Age, c. 15th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 134 (Pl. LXVIII). Mahāvīra with his eleven Gaṇadharas, full page illustration from a palm-leaf manuscript of Āvaśyaka-Laghuvṛtti, dated A.D. 1388. Gold liberally used in this miniature. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 135 (Pl. LXVIII). Door-lintel in the compound of Temple no. 12, Devgadh, with figures of Tīrthaṅkaras, ācāryas, upādhyāyas and sādhus (monks). Age, c. 9th-10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 136 (Pl. LXIX). Relief panel showing attack by Kamaṭha on Pārśvanātha and protection by Dharaṇendra and his chief queen, Badami, cave no. 4, the Jaina cave. Age, c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D. *Copyright and Courtesy of Prof. Grittli Mitterwalner, Munich.*

Fig. 137 (Pl. LXIX). Relief panel of Kamaṭha's attack on Pārśvanātha. Dharaṇendra protecting with his snake-hoods and his chief queen holding an umbrella. Kamaṭha, defeated and repenting, bowing down before the Jina meditating. From Jaina cave, Aihole, Karnataka. Note five snake-hoods above head of Pārśvanātha. Age, c. seventh century A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 138 (Pl. LXX). Kamaṭha's attack on Pārśvanātha, elaborately carved relief panel from cave 31, Ellora. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 139 (Pl. LXX). Standing Pārśvanātha with his yakṣa and yakṣī seated by the side of his legs.

From Pañcha Basadi, Stavanidhi, Chikkodi taluq, Belgaum district, Karnataka. Age, c. 14th cent. A.D. *Photograph by P. Gururaja Bhatt.*

Fig. 140 (Pl. LXXI). Four-armed Padmāvatī in padmāsana, Śve. Jaina temple, Patan, N. Gujarat. Age, c. 16th-17th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 141 (Pl. LXXI). Four-armed Padmāvatī on a pillar, Devgadh fort. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 142 (Pl. LXXI). Four-armed Padmāvatī from Badami cave 4 (the Jaina cave). Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 143 (Pl. LXXII). Four-armed yakṣī Padmāvatī from U.P., now no. G.316, State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 144 (Pl. LXXII). Two-armed seated Padmāvatī from cellar of Śitalanātha temple (Śvetāmbara), Patan, N. Gujarat. Attended by four miniature figures of Nāginīs, showing in her right hand an ornamental lotus bud with stalk and in the left a cup with fruit. Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 145 (Pl. LXXIII). Kaolin figure of a female yakṣī (?) riding on some animal, perhaps a horse. The horse vāhana separately moulded is lost. The female figure, two-armed, holds an *āmralumbi* in her right hand and a parrot is held with the left hand. From Paithan. Satavahana period. Perhaps a prototype of the Jaina Ambikā. *Copyright and courtesy of AAA, Ann Arbour, Michigan, U.S.A. Photo kindly supplied by Prof. Dhavalikar, Poona.*

Fig. 146 (Pl. LXXIII). Two-armed Ambikā sitting beside a tree, with one son on her right riding a lion and the other sitting on her left. Palm-leaf manuscript of Dhavalā etc., Mudabidri, Karnataka. Age, c. 12th century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 147 (Pl. LXXIV). Two-armed Ambikā standing under canopy of a mango-tree, the mangoes on ends of the branches are mutilated and lost. Right hand mutilated, left holds the child on her *kaṭi*. Three small sitting goddesses on each side of Ambikā may be *parivāra-devatās* (or some other goddesses). Five Tīrthaṅkara figures on top. Lion vehicle near the right leg. Beautiful sculpture, perhaps from Hinglajgadh, now in the Indore Museum. Age, c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 148 (Pl. LXXIV). Four-armed Ambikā sitting under a mango-tree arranged like an arch. The whole enshrined in a shrine with trefoil shaped toraṇa arch supported by pillars having, on each side, four miniature goddesses not identified but who may be *parivāra-devatās* of Ambikā. From a Śve. Jaina shrine, Cambay, Gujarat. Age, c. 13th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 149 (Pl. LXXV). Two-armed Ambikā sitting with a lotus-bud with a long stalk in the right hand and a child held on the lap with the left. From a Jaina temple, Humcha, Karnataka. Santara art of early tenth cent. A.D. Ref. M.A. Dhaky, *Santara Sculpture, JISOA*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 78-97, pl. XVII, fig. 8. *Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi (AIIS).*

Fig. 150 (Pl. LXXV). Two-armed Ambikā sitting with the lotus in her right hand and the son held with the left one. From Jaina temple, Humcha, Karnataka. Ref. M.A. Dhaky, *ibid., JISOA*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 78ff, pl. XXII, Fig. 19. Age, 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 151 (Pl. LXXVI). Standing Pārśvanātha with Kamaṭha standing on his right, from Devgadh. c. 10th cent. A.D. A rare sculpture. Ref. Klaus Bruhn, *Further Observations on the Iconography of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and His Teachings* (Ahmedabad, 1972), pp. 371-388 and plates. *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Klaus Bruhn, Berlin, West Germany.*

Fig. 151A (Pl. LXXVI). Pārśvanātha and Kamaṭha, Jaina Cave (32 or 33). Compare 151 above. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 152 (Pl. LXXVII). Anantavīrya, tentatively identified as Future Tīrthaṅkara with his Parents. See text, p. 103. Probably from M.P., now in the British Museum. Ref. Ramaprasada Chanda, *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. IX, pp. 41-42. *Copyright, British Museum, London.*

Fig. 152A (Pl. LXXVII). An incident from the life of Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra playing *āmalakīkrīḍā* with boys when a jealous god tries to test the courage of Mahāvīra. For the full account, see *Masterpieces of the Kalpasūtra Paintings*, fig. 224 and description of plates, *ibid.*, p. 44. Miniature painting on

a paper manuscript in the Ātmārāma Jaina Jñānamandira, Baroda, no. 1401/1, folio 57b. Age, 16th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U P. Shah.*

Fig. 153 (Pl. LXXVII). Aṣṭamaṅgala plaque, silver-plated brass. From a Śvetāmbara Jaina shrine, Gopipura, Surat. Age, modern. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 154 (Pl. LXXVIII). Four-armed Ambikā with cāmaradhara females and dancers as attendants. From corner ceiling of Sabhāmaṇḍapa, Vimala Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. Age, 12th century A.D. *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Grittli Mitterwalner, Munich.*

Fig. 155 (Pl. LXXIX). Twelve-armed Cakreśvarī, Ellora, cave 30. Age, c. 9th-10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 155A (Pl LXXIX). Standing goddess Siddhāyinī, the yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra, from Jina-Kāñchi. Brass or Bronze. Ref. T N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV. *Copyright, Madras Museum, Madras.*

Fig. 156 (Pl. LXXX). Bharata Cakravartī, standing with the different *ratnas* of a Cakravartī by his sides. From Devgadh, Temple 31 (?). *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Klaus Bruhn.*

Fig. 157 (Pl LXXX). Sarvāṇha Yakṣa riding on the elephant. Digambara tradition, from South India, now in the Samantabhadra Vidyālaya, Delhi. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 158 (Pl. LXXX). Brahmaśānti yaksa, miniature painting on a palm-leaf manuscript, Chhani near Baroda. Age, 13th century A.D. *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Klaus Bruhn, Berlin.*

Fig. 159 (Pl. LXXX). Māṇibhadra riding on an elephant. From a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple, Gopipura, Surat. c. 18th-19th cent. A D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 160 (Pl. LXXXI). Four-armed Kaparddī-yakṣa from Vimala-vasi Tunk, Mt. Śatruñjaya. Age, 14th century A.D. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 160A (Pl. LXXXI). Bharata Cakravartī with his *ratnas*. From a shrine in Devgadh. Age, c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. Temple no. 2, Devgadh. *Copyright and courtesy of M.N.P. Tiwari, Varanasi.*

Fig. 161 (Pl. LXXXI). Kubera Dikpāla dancing with attendants, from a corner-ceiling, Sabhāmaṇḍapa of Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. Age, 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 162 (Pl. LXXXII). Two-armed Ambikā, standing, with *āmralumbi* in her right hand caught by a son standing near her right leg Her left hand is engaged in holding her son on the *kaṭi*. From Devgadh. Age, c. ninth cent. A.D. *Photo Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Klaus Bruhn, Berlin.*

Fig. 163 (Pl. LXXXIII). Four-armed Ambikā sitting with two sons on laps held by her two normal hands and *āmralumbi's* two ends held by two upper hands. Gujarat or Rajasthan, now in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Museum of Rev. Heras Institute. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 164 (Pl. LXXXIII). Four-armed Ambikā, dated 1490 A.D. From possibly Rajasthan, now in the Boston Museum, U.S.A. Brass or Bronze. *Photo kind courtesy of Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy. Copyright, Boston Museum.*

Fig. 165 (Pl. LXXXIII). Four-armed Ambikā with the noose and the *vajra-ghaṇṭā* in her right and left upper hands. From U.P., now no 66.225 in State Museum, Lucknow. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 166 (Pl. LXXXIV). Five rock-cut Jaina relief sculptures with Mahiṣāsuramarddinī at the right end and two-armed Siddhāyikā (?) at the left end. Karadipatti, Madurai district. On the vaulted surface of the natural cavern at Samnarmalai. Pandyan, c. 8th cent. A.D. Mahiṣāsuramarddinī was possibly known as Koṭṭavi or Koṭṭavyā in the south In the north, Jaina authors like Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramana, Haribhadra sūri and Jinadāsa Mahattara have called her *Koṭṭāryā*, or Koṭṭakriyā, a terrific form of Durgā. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 167 (Pl. LXXXIV). Mahāvīra under a big caitya-tree. From a garden in Annamvasal, old Pudukkotai state, Tamil Nadu. Style, Muttaraiyar (?), c. 9th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).*

Fig. 168 (Pl. LXXXV). Four-armed Śānti-devī in the centre of the simhāsana of the colossal image of Ajitanātha at Taranga, North Gujarat. A mediaeval development in place of dharmacakra which now is shown below the simhāsana. Age, c. 14th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 169 (Pl. LXXXV). Mothers of the twenty-four Jinas worshipped in a group in a stone plaque, Śvetāmbara Jaina temple, Patan, North Gujarat. An earlier plaque of eleventh century was published by U.P. Shah, in *Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, JISOA (Old Series)*, Vol. IX (1941), pp. 52-87 and plates. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 170 (Pl. LXXXV). Gautama-svāmī, the chief Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra, from a Jaina Paṭa published by Coomaraswamy, in 1914. *Reproduced from a photograph of the Paṭa kindly given by Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy.*

Fig. 171 (Pl. LXXXVI). Īśānendra or Śūlapāṇi-yakṣa. From corner ceiling of sabhāmaṇḍapa of Lūṇa-Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. Age, 13th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 172 (Pl. LXXXVII). Two-armed Ambikā sitting with right hand in the *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand probably in the *varada mudrā*. On each side is a son riding on a lion. A rare iconographic type. Palm-leaf miniature, Mudabidri, Karnataka. c. 12th century A.D. *Photo copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 173 (Pl. LXXXVII). A rare type of four-armed Ambikā with the book and the mirror in her two upper hands. Influenced by Hindu form of Durgā holding a mirror. From U.P., now no. G.312 in State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 174 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Twelve-armed Padmāvatī sitting in padmāsana and showing the *varada mudrā*, sword, axe, arrow, *vajra* and *cakra* in her right hands and the shield, *gadā*, goad, bow, snake and the lotus in her left hands. The vāhana in front of her lotus seat is a curious representation of the *kukkuṭa sarpa* sitting and facing us and not a tortoise as supposed by M.N.P. Tiwari. From Shahdol, Thakur Sahib's collection, Shahdol, M P. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 175 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Twenty-armed Cakreśvarī, Temple no. 12, Devgadh. Age, c. ninth cent. A.D. Ref. *Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, JOI*, Vol. XX, no. 3. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 176 (Pl. LXXXIX). Colossal sculpture of Sīmandhara Jina, one of the Viharamāṇa Tīrthaṅkaras. In padmāsana, with bull cognizance in the centre of the seat. The crown etc. are attached by Śvetāmbaras during *pūjā*. From a modern Jaina temple built at Mehsana in the last decade. *Photograph courtesy of the Temple Trustees, Mehsana, North Gujarat.*

Fig. 177 (Pl. LXXXIX). Puṇḍarīka Gaṇadhara sitting in the padmāsana on a lotus with a long thick stalk. Installed in memory of Muni Sangamasiddha, according to the inscription on the pedestal. On one side of the stalk is Sangamasiddha, facing him on the other side of the stalk are his pupils. Installed in V.S. 1064=1007 A.D. A typical sculpture of the style of the age. According to the inscription it would seem that it is a sort of memorial in honour of Sangamasiddha who died of voluntary starvation—*Sallekhanā*!

Fig. 177A (Pl. LXXXIX). Śrī Merucandra-sūri-Jīvitsvāmi-mūrtiḥ. An image (portrait ?) of Śrī Merucandra sūri installed in his life-time (*jīvitsvāmi-mūrtiḥ*). Installed in V.S. 1491=A.D. 1434, the image shows the Sūri (ācārya) standing with folded hands and a rosary of beads held by the hands. The broom-stick shown at the back of his head. Śvetāmbara monk. On his right is a miniature figure of Śrī Pralayacandra sūri and on the left is standing Śrī Munitilaka sūri according to the labels inscribed beside these figures. From a Jaina temple, Cambay, Gujarat. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 178 (Pl. XC). Parents of Mahāvīra. Inscription on pedestal reads: *Priyati Siddhah*. Inscription read by V.S. Agrawala. Mathura Museum no. 278. *Priyati* perhaps refers to *Priyakāriṇī* the Mother of Mahāvīra according to Digambara tradition, *Siddhaḥ* stands for *Siddhārtha*, the Father of Mahāvīra according to both the traditions. *Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.*

Fig. 178A (Pl. XC). Bronze figure of Ṛṣabhanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*. No cognizance on pedestal. Some parikara figures, perhaps the yakṣa, yakṣiṇī and the halo etc., seem to have been lost as suggested by two vertical attachments on the sides. The Jina identified with the inscription on back. Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. From Tindivaram, Tamil Nadu, now in the Madras Museum. *Photo, U.P. Shah, with the kind permission of the Madras Museum.*

Fig. 179 (Pl. XCI). Big stone Paṭa (plaque) representing the 52 Śāśvata-Jinālayas on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. Ref. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 119-121, fig. 89. From the Caumukha temple, Ranakpur. Age, c. 1439 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 180 (*Pl. XCII*). Sahasra-kūta or Sammeta Śikhara (?), from Dharana-Vihara Caumukha temple, Ranakpur, Pali district, Rajasthan. Age, c. 1476 A.D. See *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 116-118. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 181 (*Pl. XCIII*). Representation of Mt. Aṣṭāpada from Dharana-Vihara Caumukha shrine, Ranakpur, Rajasthan. Dated V.S. 1551 = A.D. 1495. See *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 116-118. *Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.*

Fig. 182 (*Pl. XCIV*). Stone sculpture representing Samavasaraṇa with three fortifications. Vertical representation. From cell 20, Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. Age, c. 11th-12th cent. A.D. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 85-95. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 183 (*Pl. XCV*). Brass or bronze plaque representing 185 Jinas in all. Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat. Age, c. 15th-16th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 184 (*Pl. XCVI*). Representation of Mt. Meru, brass or bronze, from Dāṇḍiānu Dehru (shrine), Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat. Dated V.S. 1513 = A.D. 1456. Ref. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 116-118, fig. 78. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 185 (*Pl. XCVI*). Siddha-Pratimā. Image of a Siddha. Stencil cut, Brass. A Siddha is said to be free from the bondage of his body (*a-śarīrī*), so he is represented without the body. No early stencil-cut Siddha images are known. The practice of representing Siddhas in this way seems to be very late. From Digambara Jaina temple, Vidisha, M.P. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 186 (*Pl. XCVII*). Śatruñjaya-Girnāra-Tīrtha-Uddhāra. Representation (a sort of mapping) of the various tīrthas (shrines etc.) on Mt. Śatruñjaya and Mt. Girnar. Stone plaque from Śve. Jaina temple, Varakhana, Rajasthan. Age, 15th cent. A.D. Such representations, technically called *uddhāra* or *avatāra*, have been popular in Western India from c. fourteenth century onwards. The practice could have started earlier but no earlier representations in stone or paintings are yet discovered. Such representations on cloth are preserved in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad and in the National Museum, New Delhi, etc. Such modern representations on walls of the maṇḍapas of Jaina temples are quite common in Gujarat. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 187 (*Pl. XCVIII*). Fourteen dreams seen by a Jina's mother. Four-armed Śrī in the centre. Śvetāmbara tradition. Paper Ms. of Kalpa-sūtra, Jaina Jñāna-mandira, Baroda. 16th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 188 (*Pl. XCVIII*). Four-armed Śrī and Kāmadeva shooting an arrow. Palm-leaf manuscript of Oghaniryukti, dated V.S. 1117 = A.D. 1060, Jesalmer Bhandara. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 189 (*Pl. XCIX*). Lower part of a sculpture of Pārśvanātha, showing the simhāsana, below which in a row are figures of the nine planets, one small figure of Ambikā and another of a yakṣī on two ends of the row of planets. Bigger figures of Pārśva yakṣa and Padmāvatī yakṣī on two sides of the simhāsana. There are besides figures of devotees and attendants. Must have been an elaborately carved sculpture with upper parts now lost. Age, c. 11th-12th cent. A.D. Findspot not given on the photograph (neg no. 1559) supplied by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh State, Bhopal. *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh.*

Fig. 190 (*Pl. XCIX*). Indra dancing with attendants. Corner ceiling of Rangamaṇḍapa, Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. Age, 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 191 (*Pl. C*). Circumambulation of a *Dhvaja-stambha*, having lion on top. From Kankali Tila, Mathura, now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 1st cent. B.C. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Jaina Anuśrutis etc., Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture, Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. 34. *Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.*

Fig. 192 (*Pl. C*). Śrutaskandha-yantra. Brass or Bronze. Jaina Kāṣṭhā Samgha temple, Kārañjā, Maharashtra. *Photo kind courtesy of Mrs. Sarayu Doshi.*

Fig. 193 (*Pl. CI*). Four-armed yakṣī Siddhāyikā from Cambay. Age, c. 13th-14th cent. A.D. Ref. *Yakṣinī of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra, JOI*, Vol. XXII, nos. 1-2, pp. 70-78. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 194 (*Pl. CI*). Four-armed Siddhāyikā yakṣī from Patan, Gujarat. c. 14th cent. A.D. Ref. *Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra, JOI*, XXII.1-2, pp. 70-78 and plates. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 194A (*Pl. CI*). Four-armed Siddhāyikā standing. From pillar in the Sabhāmaṇḍapa, Vimala Vasahi. c. 12th-13th cent. A.D. Ref. see above no. 194. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 195 (*Pl. CII*). Sarvānubhūti (Sarvāṇha) yakṣa and Ambikā, on rock, Gwalior fort, M.P. Age, c. seventh century A.D. *Copyright, Dept. of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh State, Bhopal.*

Fig. 196 (*Pl. CII*). Two-armed Ambikā, no. D.7, Mathura Museum, Mathura. Ref. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, JUB*, IX.2. *Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.*

Fig. 197 (*Pl. CII*). Twelve-armed Padmāvatī on pillar, Devgadh. The goddess shows the *padma, vajra*, snake, noose, bow and citron in her left hands and the *padma*, goad, arrow and *varada* in the right hands. Symbols of two right hands are indistinct. *Kukkuṭa sarpa* as vāhana. *Copyright and courtesy of Prof. Klaus Bruhn, Berlin.*

Fig. 198 (*Pl. CIII*). Four-armed Padmāvatī with one snake-hood on crown. A figure of Pārśvanātha above. Relief on rock, Vallimalai, Tamil Nadu. Age, c. 9th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 199 (*Pl. CIII*). Four-armed Ambikā on wall of Pārśvanātha temple, Ranakpur, Rajasthan. c. 15th century A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 200 (*Pl. CIII*). Four-armed Ambikā from a cell in the Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. 13th cent. A.D. *Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 201 (*Pl. CIV*). Four-armed Ambikā from Pālitāṇā—Śatruñjaya, Saurashtra, Gujarat, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. c. 10th century A.D. *Copyright, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

Fig. 202 (*Pl. CIV*). Two-armed Ambikā, with lotus in right hand, from Sembuttu, Tamil Nadu. Age, c. 9th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.*

Fig. 203 (*Pl. CIV*). Parents of a Tīrthaṅkara. From Deopara, district Rajashahi, now in Dacca Museum, Bangladesh. *Copyright, Dacca Museum, Bangladesh.*

Fig. 204 (*Pl. CIV*). Rock relief of Ambikā, Chitharal, Kerala State. Age, c. 850 A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 205 (*Pl. CV*). Sculpture in three panels, Devgadh, U.P. The uppermost panel shows five Tīrthaṅkaras standing. The middle panel represents Sarvāṇha yakṣa and Ambikā. The lowermost panel represents Parents of some Tīrthaṅkara. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Fig. 206 (*Pl. CV*). Brass image of the Siddha from the Jaina temple in Shahpuri, Kolhapur. Identified as Siddha by late Prof. A.N. Upadhye. Digambara tradition. Worshipped as Siddha in the temple. *Photo by Mr. B.B. Bage, kindly taken for me and supplied by the late Prof. A.N. Upadhye.*

Fig. 207 (*Pl. CV*). The Jina-Mother, with 24 Jina figures suggesting that this represents *the Jina-Mother*. Temple no. 4, Devgadh. Ref. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 39. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 208 (*Pl. CVI*). Kṛṣṇa subduing the Kālīya Nāga. Scene of *Kālīya-damana*. Hindu influence in Jaina art. Corridor ceiling, Vimala Vasahi, Mt. Abu. c. 12th cent. A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 209 (*Pl. CVI*). A Yantra of Padmāvatī. From a manuscript of Vidyānuśāsana, now in the Digambara Jaina Bhandara, Beawar, Rajasthan. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 210 (*Pl. CVII*). A page from a manuscript of Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra in the collections of Yaśovijaya sūri, Palitana. Showing Asurakumāra, Nāgakumāra, Suparṇakumāra, Vidyutkumāra, Agnikumāra, Dīva(Dīpa)kumāra, Udadhikumāra, Diśākumāra, Vāyukumāra, Stanitkumāra. *Photo Copyright, Ramesh D. Malavania.*

Fig. 211 (*Pl. CVII*). Painting from a manuscript of Saṃgrahaṇī sūtra, showing Piśāca, Bhūta, Yakṣa and Rākṣasa of Jaina cosmographical belief. Age, 17th cent. A.D. From the Jaina Jñānamandira, Baroda. *Photo, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 212 (*Pl. CVIII*). Tīrthaṅkara on top with figures of ācārya and his pupil below. A sthāpanā between them. From Khajuraho, c. 10th cent. A.D. *Photo Copyright and courtesy of Śrī Niraja Jaina, Satna.*

Fig. 213 (*Pl. CVIII*). Sculpture dated Saṃvat 1544 (=A.D. 1487), of an *Ārjikā* (*Āryikā*), female

ascetic, Digambara tradition, in a Digambara Jaina shrine, Khapāṭiā Caklā, Surat. Ref. M.K. Kapadia, *Surat Digambara Jaina Mūrti-lekha-samgraha*. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 214 (Pl. CVIII). A marble image of a Śvetāmbara sādhvī—nun—from Aṣṭāpada temple, Patan. Ref. *Vijaya Vallabha Sūri Smāraka Grantha*, Gujarāti section, pp. 172-173. Acc. to inscription on it, this is an image of Demati-gaṇī installed in v.s. 1255=1198 A.D. *Copyright, U.P. Shah.*

Fig. 215 (Pl. CIX). A board (*pāṭalī-paṭṭikā*) with embroidered cloth wrapped on it. The embroidery work shows *Aṣṭamaṅgalas* according to Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition. Modern. Collection of Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. For *Aṣṭamangalas*, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 109-112. *Photo Copyright, Ramesh D. Malavania, Ahmedabad.*

Colour Pictures

Front page of Jacket	Jīvantasvāmī (Bronze from Akota Hoard) *Courtesy & Copyright: Baroda Museum*
Back page of Jacket	Jina on Siddha-Śilā after attaining Nirvāṇa (Kalpa-sutra, c. 1417 A.D., Jnana Mandir, Baroda)
Title page	(1) Vāsudeva (2) Baladeva (3) Prati-Vāsudeva (4) Cakravartin Some Śalākāpurusas (from a wooden Book-cover in Jesalmer, c. 12th cent. A.D.) *Courtesy: Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji*

Plate II

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10-A

Plate VII

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Plate IX

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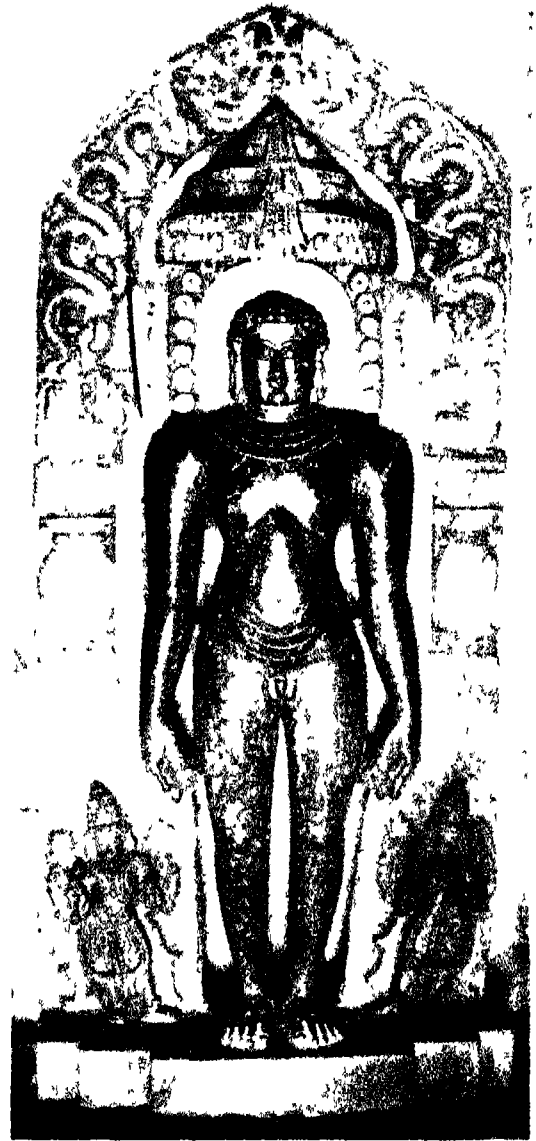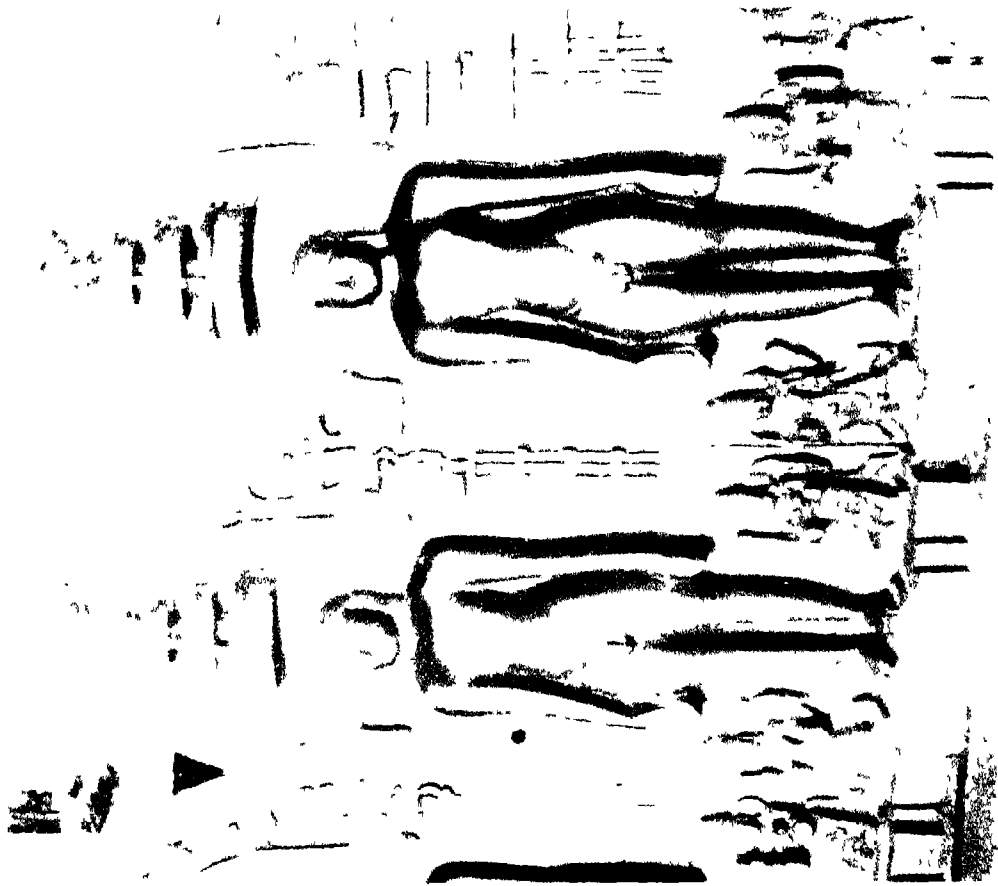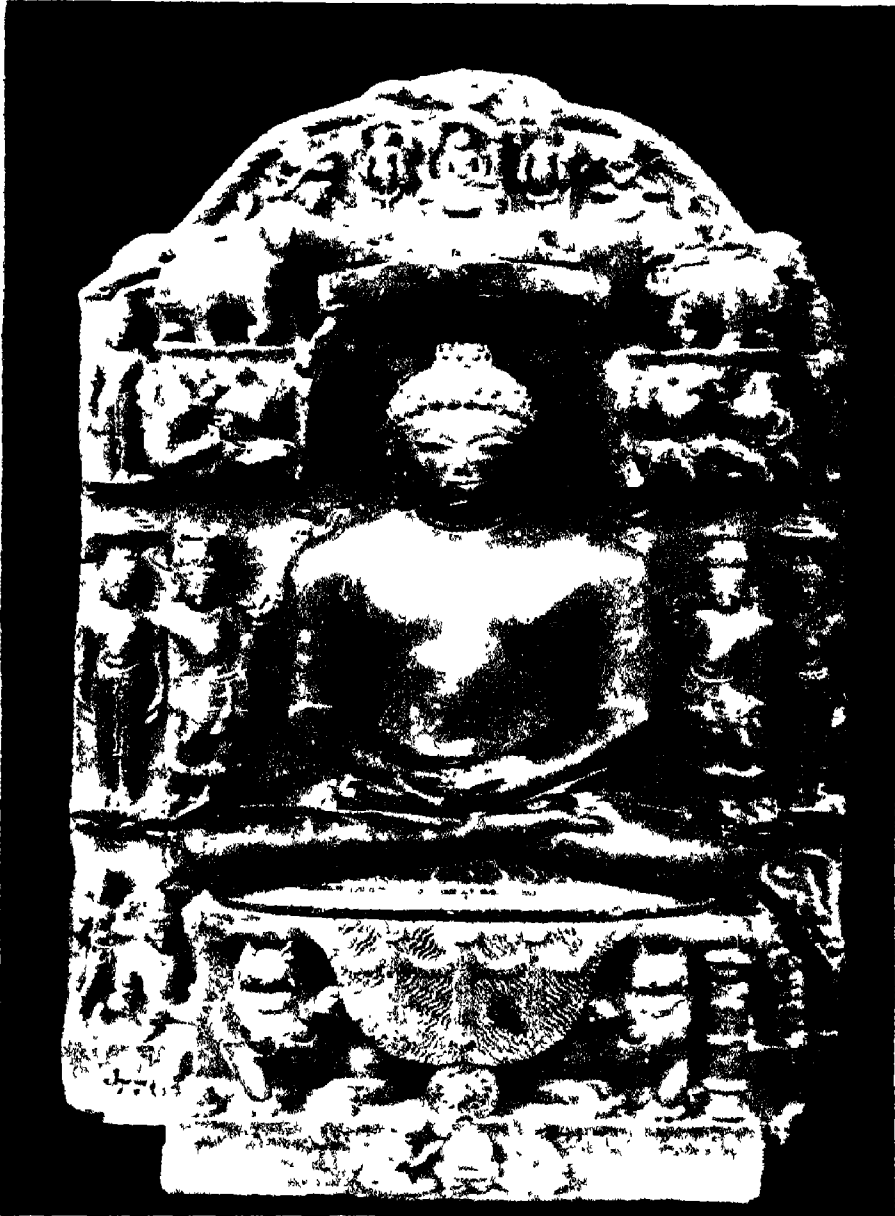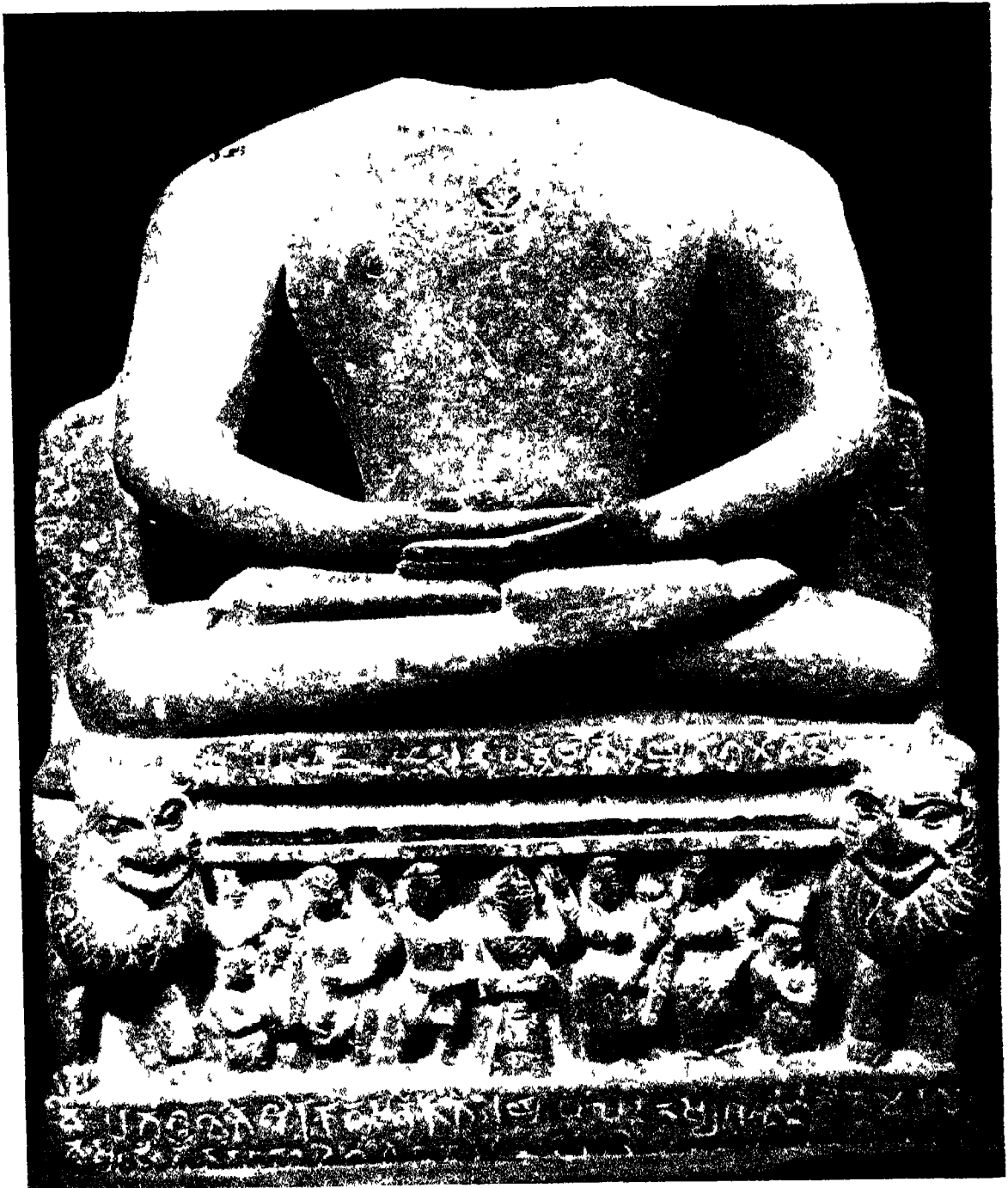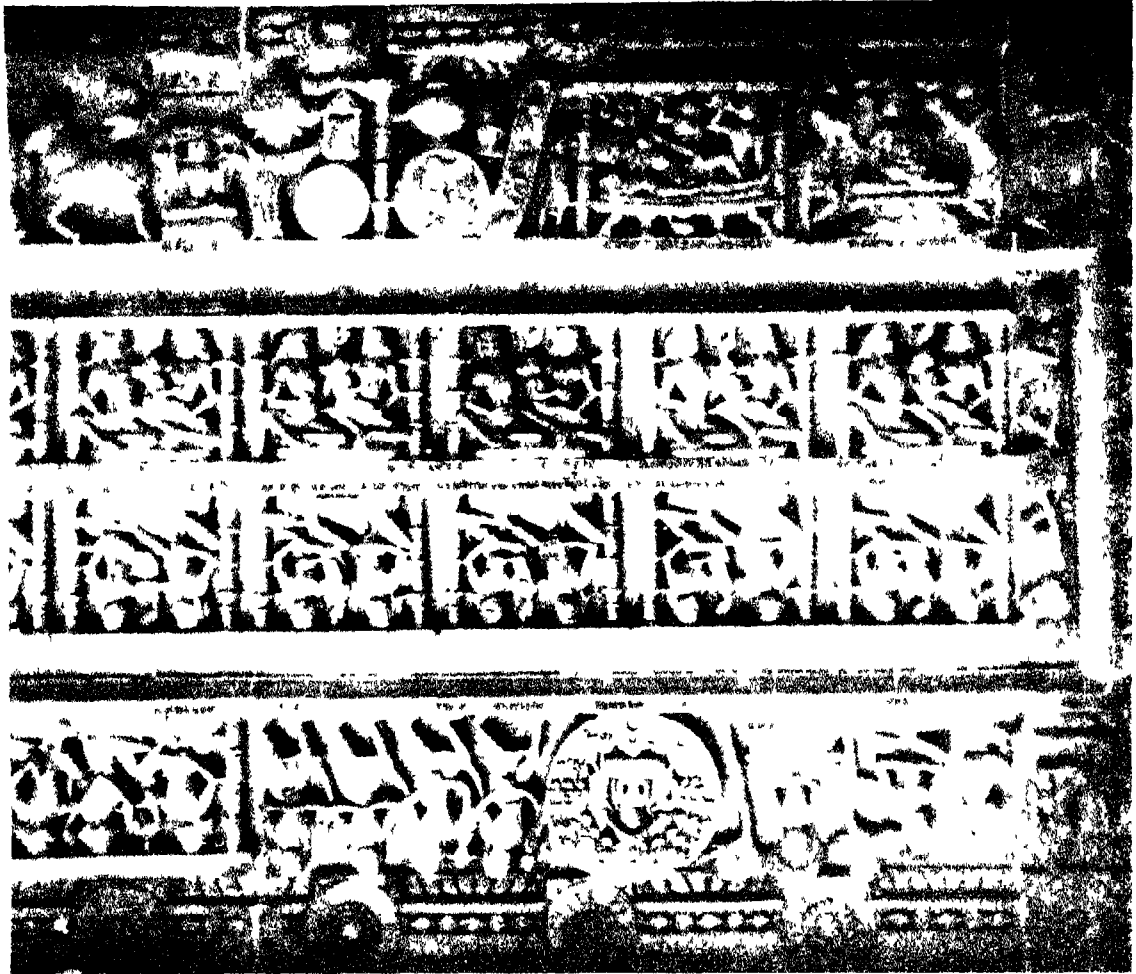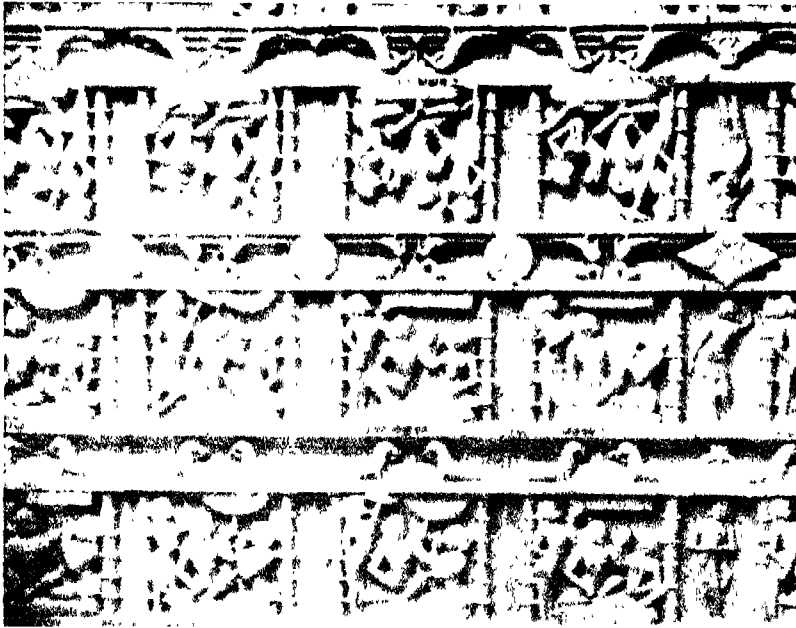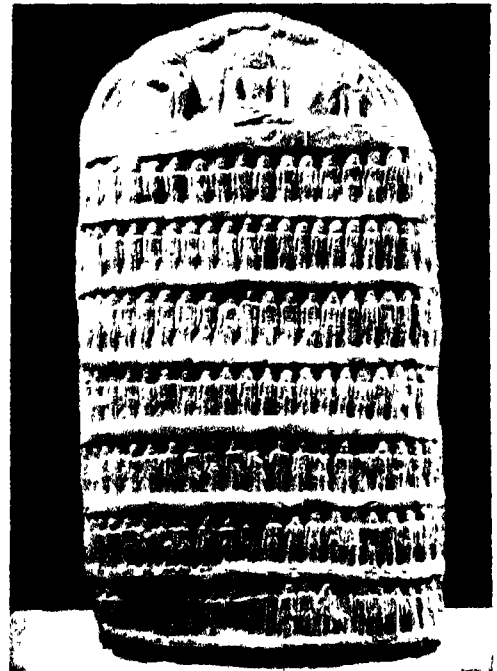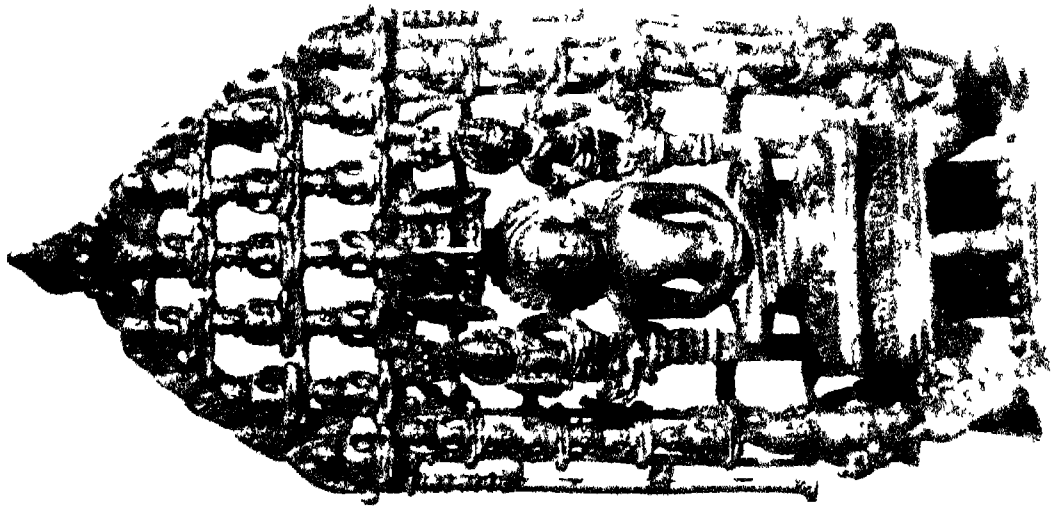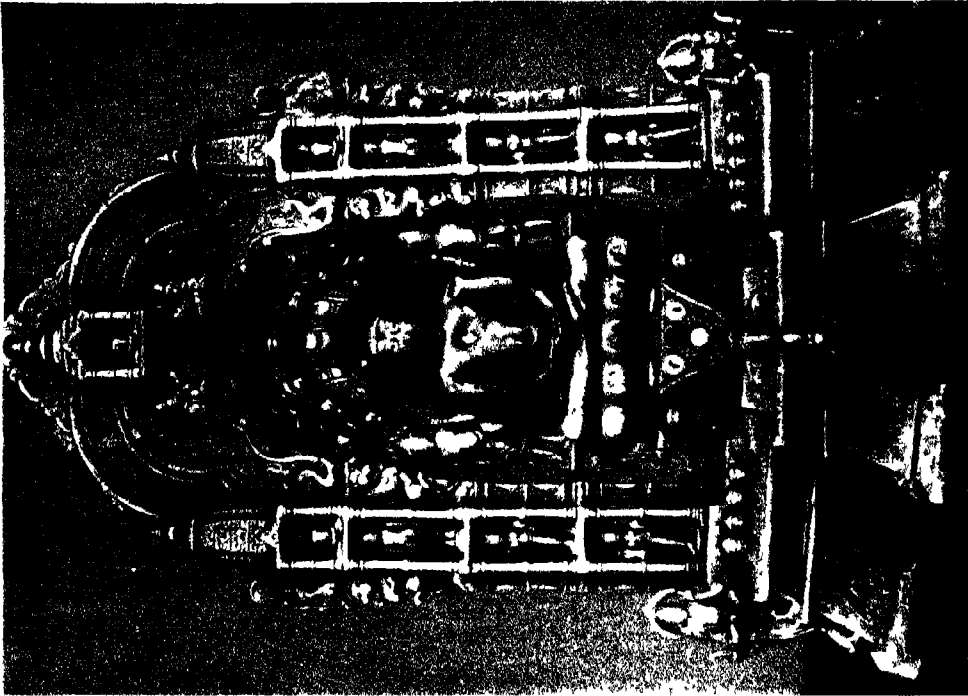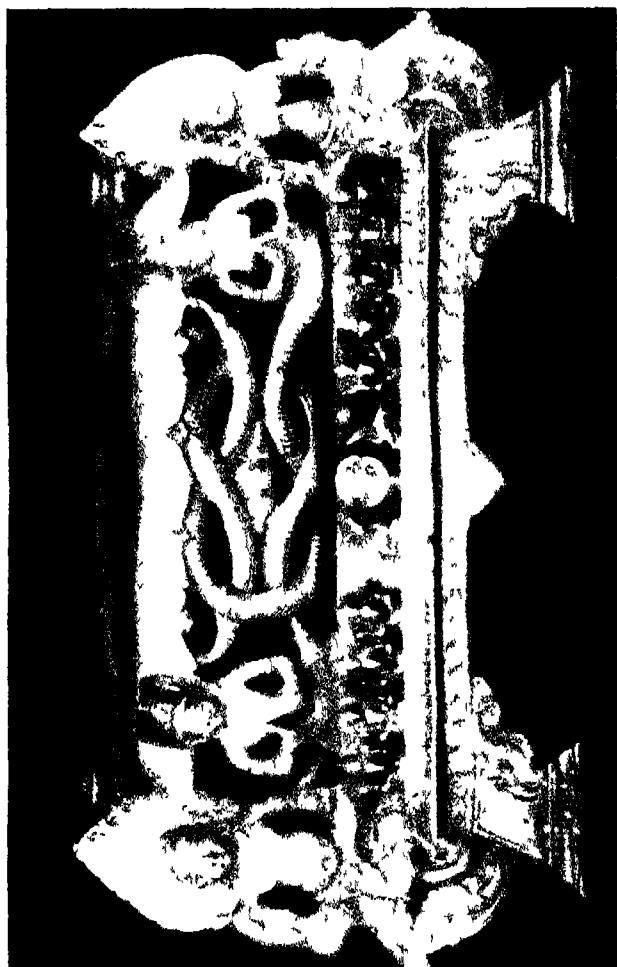
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Plate XII

Plate XIII

Plate XV

Plate XVI

Plate XVII

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Plate XIX

Plate XX

Plate XXI

Plate XXII

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Plate XXV

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Plate XXVII

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Plate XXXI

Plate XXXIII

Plate XXXV

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Plate XXXVII

Plate XXXVIII

Plate XXXIX

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Plate XLI

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76A

Plate XLIII

Plate XLV

Plate XLVII

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85 A

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Plate XLIX

Plate LI

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Plate LIII

Plate IV

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Plate LIX

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Plate LXI

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Plate LXII

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Plate LXIII

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Plate LXV

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Plate LXVII

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Plate LXIX

Plate LXX

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Plate LXXI

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Plate LXXV

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Plate LXXVII

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Plate LXXVIII

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Plate LXXXI

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Plate LXXXIII

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Plate LXXXIV

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Plate LXXXVI

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Plate XCVI

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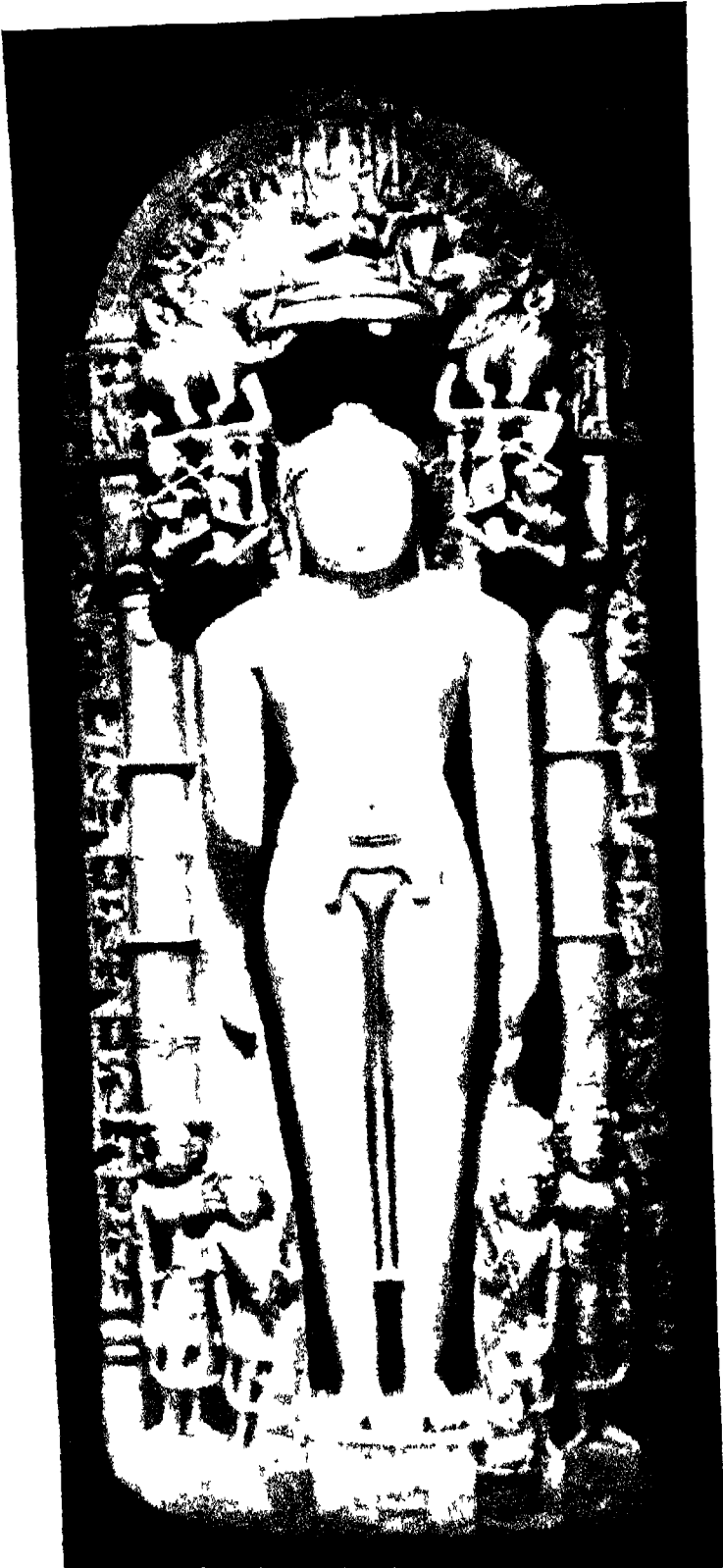
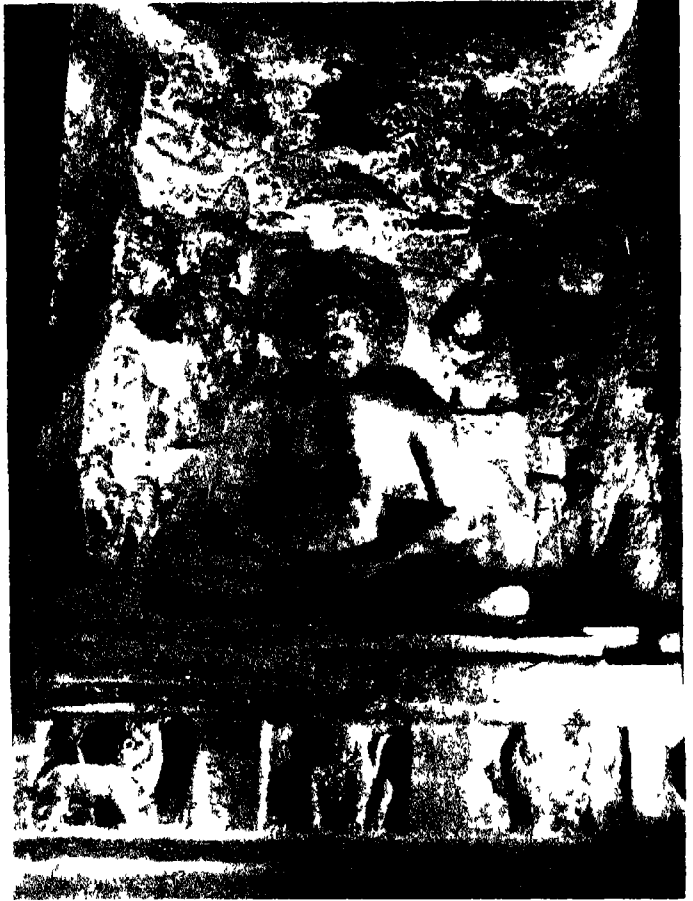
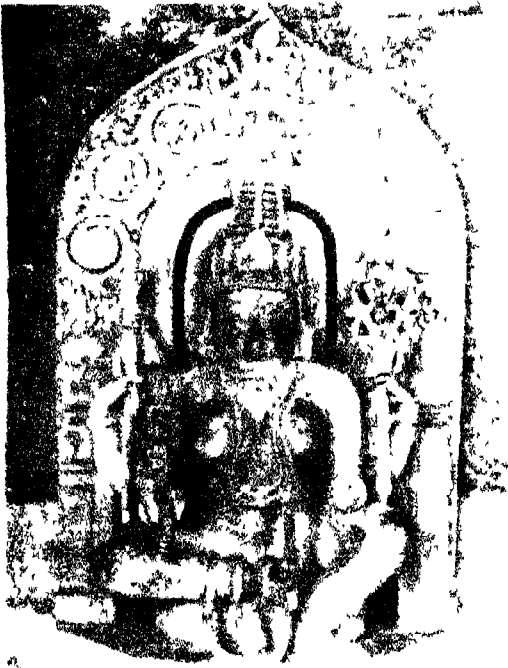
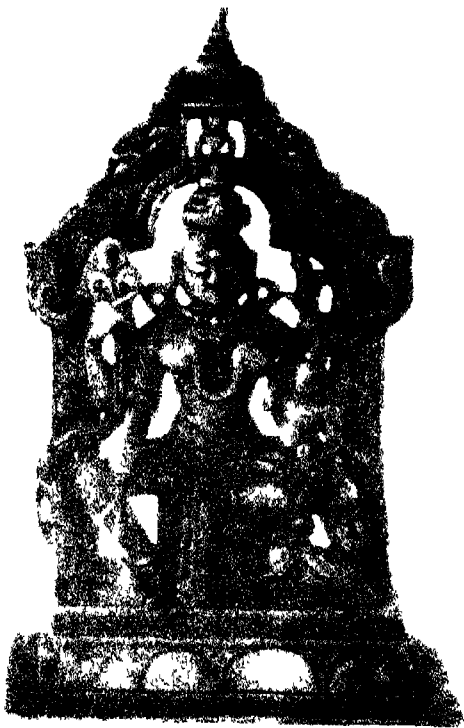
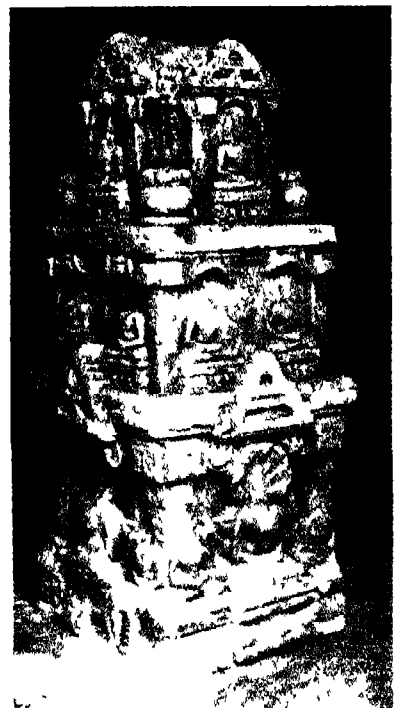
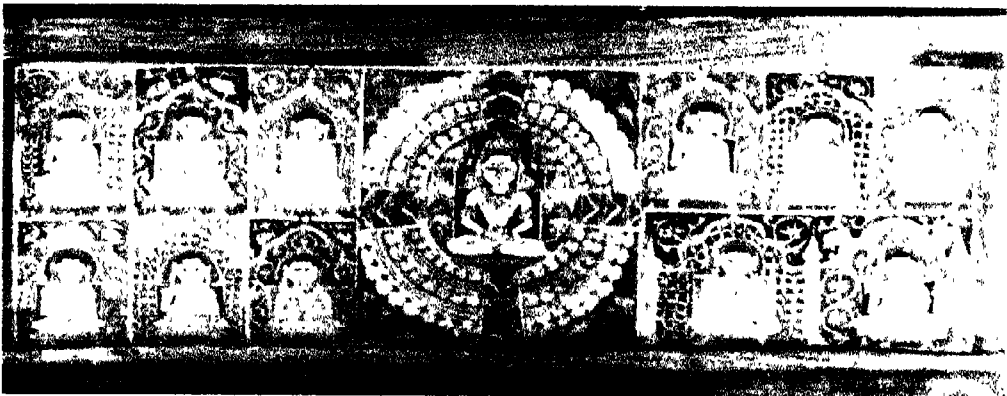
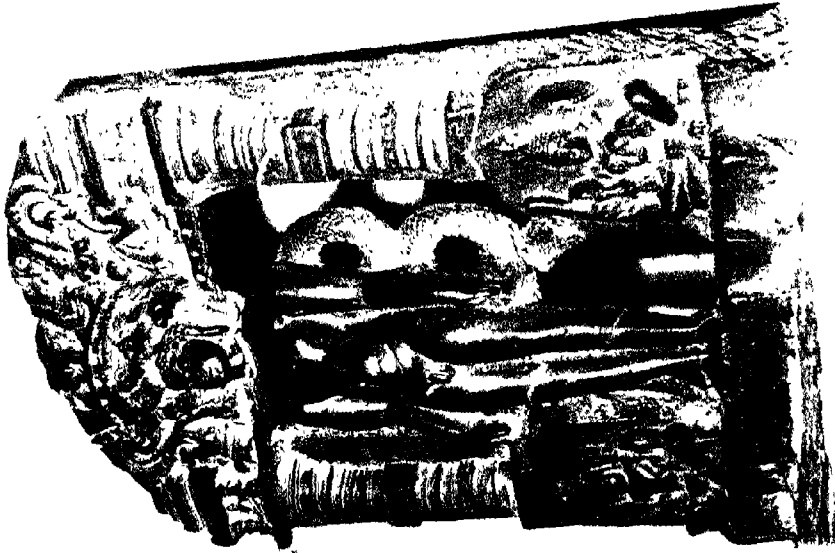
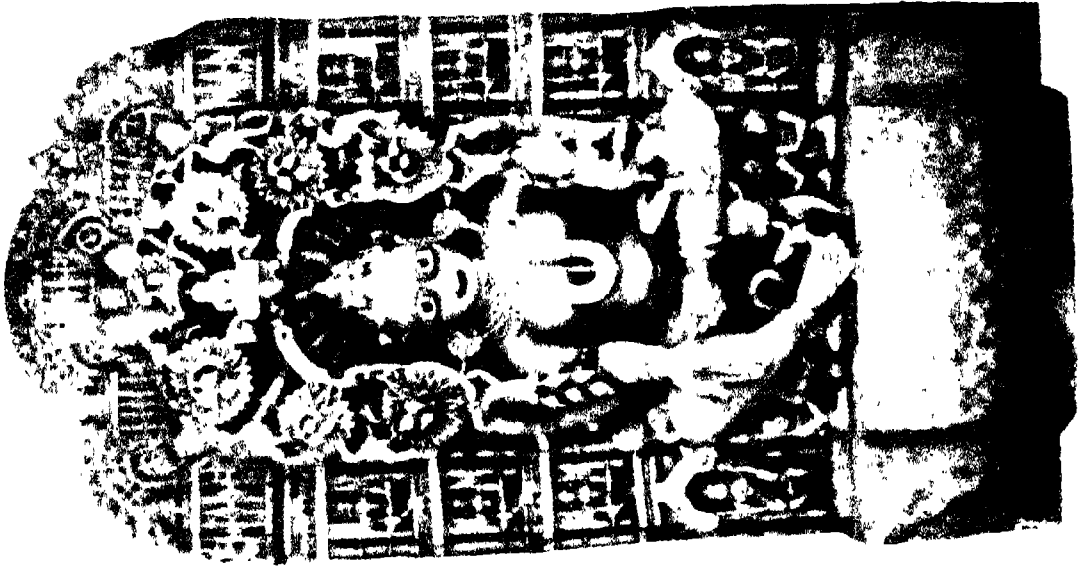
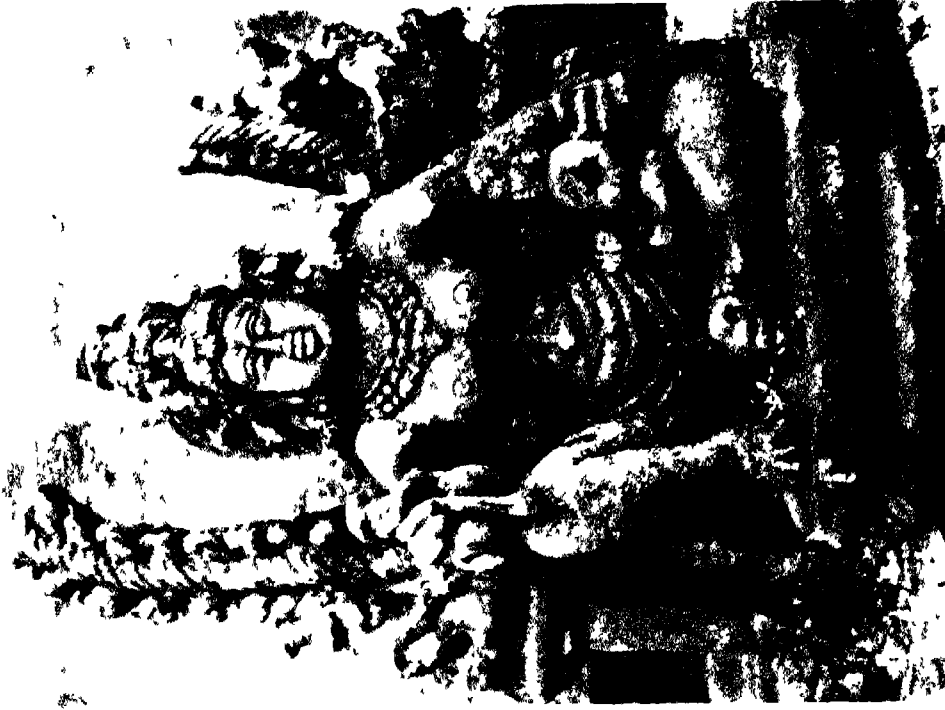
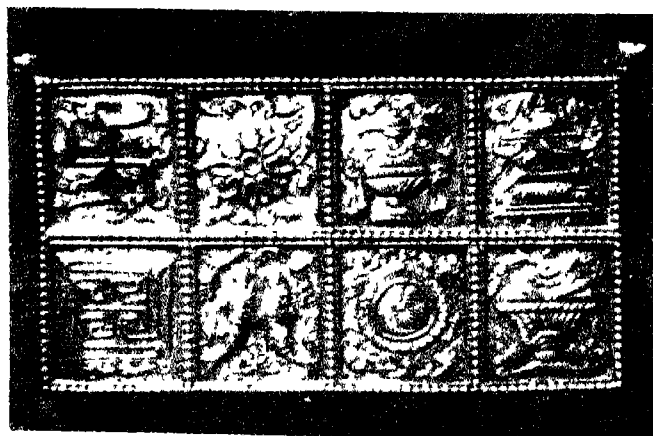
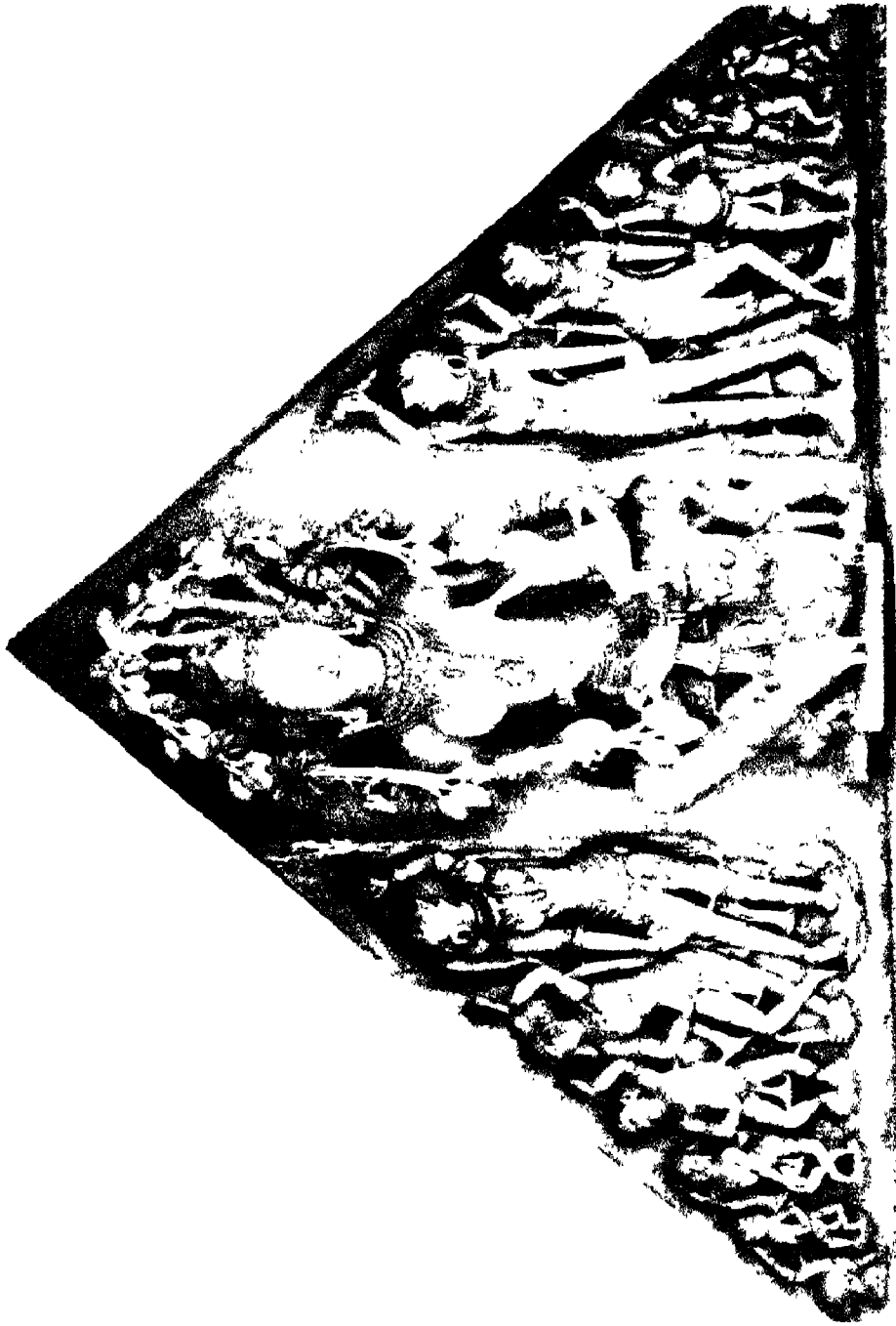
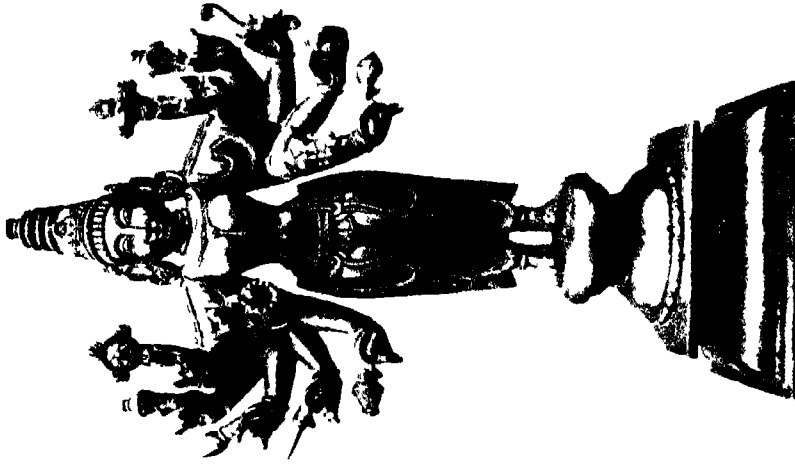
Plate CI

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Plate CV

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देवीपद्मा
वती

Plate CVII

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Plate CVIII

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Plate CIX